

(as the Scottish writers haue) but the English authors name a farre greater number, as sixtē hundred at the least.

King Henrie (as the same Scottish writers doe record) vsed the counsell & aduise of the earle of March, in the obtaining of this victorie, being fled latelie before from the rebels side to him. The earle of Douglas, in respect of his noble parentage and high valiance, was verie tenderlie cherished by king Henrie, who for that he had sene him doe so valiantlie in the day of that battell, reputed him worthy of all honor. The earle of Douglas yet was verie infortunat in most of his enterprises, so farre forth, that he neuer wan battell wherein he chanced to be, and was therefore named Archembald Tinneman; though there were no default to be found at anie time in his owne person, for he euer fought with great manhood. At the battell of Hommildon he lost one of his eyes, and at this battell of Shewelburie he lost one of his stones. The old earle of Northumberland, hearing that euill successe his sonne and other his kinsmen had found in their rebellious enterprisse at Shewelburie, with one of his nephues (that was his sonnes sonne) and other of his friends and kinsmen, withdrew into Scotland, where he was receiued by Henrie Wardlow bishop of saint Andrewes, and lodged with him at his ease and in good libertie within his castell of saint Andrewes aforesaid.

About the same time, king Robert was aduertised, that his sonne the duke of Rothsaie was pined to death in Falkland (in manner as before is expressed) which newes were so gracious vnto him, that he grew each day more and more in sorrow and melancholie. The duke of Albanie kept it so long as was possible from the kings knowledge, and being not sent for by the king to answer him for such treasonable slaughter of his sonne, he came, and so executed the matter with a faire painted tale, as though he had bene nothing guiltie in the cause, and for further declaration of his innocencie, he promised (if it might please the king to come vnto Edinburgh) he would bring in the offenders which were culpable of the murder. The king as then remaining in Bute (where for the most part he euer sojourned) though he were not well able to trauell by reason of long sickness, yet in a chariot he came vnto Edinburgh, vpon the earnest desire he had to see his sons death punished. And at his comming thither, the duke of Albanie deliuered vnto him certē naughtie persons, & such in deed, as for their heinous acts and vnguarantions conditions deserued well to die (though not for this matter) which neuerthelesse by vntreue suggestions and forged accufements, being brought before corrupt iudges (and such as the duke of Albanie had provided for his purpose) were condemned as guiltie of his death, whome in all their life time they neuer saw.

Though this matter was handled as finelie as was possible, and made so found and cleare as could be deuised; yet was not the king so satisfied in his mind, but that he had a great suspicion in the duke of Albanie as author of his sonnes death; but for so much as the duke had all the realme vnder his obedience, partly by policie, and partly by authoritie of his office, being gouernor thereof, the king durst not attempt anie thing against him, but rather doubted, least he hauing an ambitious desire to the crowne, would compass also to haue the life of his second sonne (named James) as then prince of Scotland; and therefore by the faithfull helpe & good aduise of Walter Wardlaw the bishop of saint Andrewes, he provided a ship, and sent the said prince forth in the same to passe into France to R. Charles the first, deliuering him also a letter written and directed

vnto the king of England in his fauour, if he chanced at vntowares by anie fortune to fall into the Englishmens hands.

Henrie lord Sinclair, the second earle of Dakenie, was appointed to haue the conueie of him, who hauing all his purueiance readie, took the ship that was appointed for them at the Balles, where it laye at anchor, and losing from thence, they sailed forward till they came to Flamburgh head, where (as some say) they were taken on the sea by Englishmen, the which hearing how the prince of Scotland should passe that waies, laye in wait for him. Others write, that his desire was to be set on land there, because he might not alwaie with the aire of the sea, being brought far out of quiet in his head & stomach therewith. But howsoeuer it was, the truth is, taken he was in the ninth yeare of his age, the 33 day of March, in the yeare of our incarnation 1406, and was kept in captiuitie of the Englishmen by the space of eightē yeares. At his comming to the presence of king Henrie, he deliuered to him the letter directed from his father king Robert, the tenor whereof here insueth, as in the Scottish tong they be written.

James prince of Scotland taken by the Englishmen. H.B. 1404.

The tenor of the said letter as it
is written in the Scottish
toong.

Rober king of Scots to Henrie king of England greeting. Thy great magnificence, humilitie, and iustice, are right patent to vs, by gouernance of thy last armie in Scotland; howbeit like things had bene vncertaine to vs afoze. For though thou seemed as enemy with most abussfull incursions in our realme; sit we found mair humanities and pleasures than damage (by thy cumming) to our subdittes. Speciallie to yame that receiuit thy noble fader the duke of Longcastell the time of his exill in Scotland. We may not ceis yairfore, while we are on life, but aye luf and loif thee as mair noble and worthie prince, to ioy thy realme. For yoch realmes and nations contend among themselves for conquests of glorie & launds, sit na occasion is among vs to inuade athir realmes or lieges with iniuries, bot erat to contend among our selfe, quhay fall persewoche with mair humanitie and kindnesse. As to vs we will meis all occasion of battell, quare any occures at thy pleasure. Forther, because we haue na lesse sollicitude in preserving our children fra certaine deidlie enemies, than had sometime thy noble fader, we are constrained to seeke support at vncowth princes hands. Howbeit, the inuasion of enemies is sa great, that small defense occures against yame without they by preferred by amitie of nobill men. For the world is sa full of peruerse malice, that na crueltie nor offense may be deuist in erd, bot the samme may be brought motion of gold or siluer. Heirfore, because we know thy hynesse full of monie, noble vertues, with like puissance and riches, that na prince in our daies may be compared thairto: we desire thy

B b.

huma-

The earle of Douglas in-
formet in
battell.
his surname
Tinneman.

The earle of
Northumber-
land & into
Scotland.

The death of
the duke of
Rothsaie com-
meth to the
knowledge of
his father.

The duke of
Albanie excu-
sith himselfe.

The king
commeth to
Edinburgh.

Guiltie per-
sons condemn-
ed.

The suspici-
on of the king
towards the
duke of Alba-
nie.

The king sen-
deth away his
sonne the
prince.

humanitie and support at this time.

The traist it is not unknowne to thy maiestie, how our eldest sonne David is slaine miserablie in prisoun be our brother the duke of Albanie, quhome we chesit to be governour (quan we were fallen in decrepit age) to our subdittes and realme, besekand thy hienes thairfore to be so fauorable, that this bearer James our second and allanerlie sonne may haue targe to lise vnder thy faith, and iustice, to be some memorie of our posteritie, knawand the vnstable condition of mans life so sodanie altered: now flourishand, and suddenly falling to vtter consumption. For this beliese well; quhan kings and princes hes na other beild bot in thair abin folks, thair empire is caduke and fragill. For the minds of common people ar eur flow and mair inconstant than wind. Sit quen princes ar roborat be amitie of othir vncouth kings thair brethir and nighbouris, na aduersitie may occurre to elect thaim fra thair dignitie riall. For this gif thy hienes thinke nocht expedient (as God forbeid) to obtemper to thir owr desires; sit we request ane thing quhill was ratifit in our last trefwes a condition of peace, that the supplicatioun made be ony of the two kings of Ingland and Scotland fall stand in manner of sauconduict to the bearer. And thus we desire to be obseruat to this our allanerlie sonne, and the gratiuous God conserue the maist noble prince.

After that king Henrie had caused these letters to be opened and read, he aduised himselfe thereon with great deliberation; but in the end, he determined to stae this James prince of Scotland as his lawfull prisoner, for that he was thus taken in time of warres, and that moreover, there were diuers rebels of England succored within the bounds of his fathers dominion, to the high displeasure of the said king Henrie. But such was the fauour shewed to his bringing vp, that his captiuitie turned more to his honoz, profit, and commoditie, than anie other wofull hap that might by anie means haue otherwise chanced vnto him. He had such perfect instructors to teach him, as well the vnderstanding of tonges as the sciences, that he became right expert and cunning in euerie of them. He was taught also to ride, to run at the tilt, and handle all kind of weapons conuenientlie to be used of such a personage, where vnto he was so apt and readie, that few in anie point of activitie might ouermatch him. He had good knowledge in musike, and could plaie on sundrie instruments right perfectlie. To be brieft, it appeared in all his behaviour and maners, in what companie so euer he came, that his bringing vp had bene according to his nature, neither of them differing from his birth, and the qualitie of a noble and most vertuous prince.

After it was signified vnto his father king Robert, as he sat at supper, that his sonne was thus arrested in England, he made full great and dolorous mone, for lamenting that euer he matched himselfe in mariage with a woman of so meane degree (to the disparagement of his blood) as was quene Annabell, on whome he begat his sonnes, which (as he toke it) was the onelie cause why as well foraine princes as his owne subiects had him thus in con-

tempt. He toke this matter so sore to hart, that within three daies after the newes came vnto him, he departed this world through force of sicknesse, now increased by melancholie, at which had bereft him a long time before. He died at Rothsay in the sixteenth yere of his reigne complet, and from the incarnation 1408. His bodie was buried at Passie, with his wife quene Annabell before rehearsed. He was a man of a mightie stature, verie librell and gentle, so that if he had not bene maimed with a horse, and thereby grew lame, that he might trauell about the affaires of the realme himselfe, it was thought the common-wealth should haue prospered vnder his gouernement, as much as euer it did vnder anie of his predecessors.

The gouernour Robert duke of Albanie, after the deceasse of his brother king Robert, was by new election chosen, or rather confirmed in his office of gouernour, which he exercised more vprightly, with better iustice now after his brothers death, than before. [For (as faith Buchanan) take away from him, that he was ouermuch blinded with desire to gouerne (wherevnto he cared not by anie means to aspire) there were in him manie other good parts working to haue such gouernement: for he was valiant in battell, wise in counsell, he did decide matters of controuersie with great equitie, he wan the nobilitie with his liberalitie, and did not lucke the commons by exactions.] In the meane time, the castle of Jedburgh (which the Englishmen had held ever since the battell of Durham) was taken by the uidalemen, and rased downe to the earth. Archibald earle of Dowglass, as yet remaining captiue in England, after he had knowledge of king Roberts death, made shift to agree for his ransome, and so being set at libertie, returned with all speed now at length into Scotland.

Shortlie after, there was a counsell called, where in was a motion made for the restoring of George earle of March to his countrie, lands, and blood. After long debating of the matter, and hard hold to and fro both with him and against him, it was in the end concluded, that he should returne into Scotland, and be receiued as a true Scottishman; but vnder this condition, that he should forgo his lands of Aimerpale, and Lochmaben, which should for ever remaine to the Dowglass, and to his heires. All his other lands and possessions, it was accorded, that he should inioy as in his former right estate. And thus was the earle of March pardoned of all passed offences committed against the crowne of Scotland, and returned home, to the great comfort of his friends.

* Persie that before was fled into Scotland to the erle of March his old friend, was courteously receiued, interteined, and nourished according to his estate, by the said earle of March: during which time, he solicited his friends in England to find means for returne into his countrie. And amongst other of his friends, with whom he dealt by secret messengers; he directed letters concerning the same, to an old (and as he deemed a most faithfull) friend of his, called Rafe Roksbie, declaring vnto him that he should not want friends, both Scottish & English (through whose helpe he did not despaire to recouer his patri-monie) if he might haue his aid also therein, for this Rafe was shritte of Yorkshire. This man, after he had intised Persie (vnder the assurance of false hope and trust in him) to come into England, he opened the conspiracie to the king, and secretlie laid wait to intercept the said earle, by which meanes, (getting him into his possession) he cut off his head, and sent it to the king to London. At which time also, there was an Englishman in Scotland, which called himselfe Richard the second: but falslie (as I suppose

The death of king Robert the third.

1406, Buch. 1408. His buriall.

His stature and qualities.

The duke of Albanie confirmed gouernour of the realme.

Fr. Thin.

Jedburgh castle taken.

The earle of Dowglass is released and returneth into Scotland.

A motion made for the restoring of the earle of March to his countrie.

The earle of March restored home.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan. 1409.

Rebellion moved by Dowglass of the Jug.

Donald subdued Ross. Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 7. cap. 268.

The earlhome of Ross transferred from the line of water Ross to the Stewards.

The earle of Mar.

The battell of Harlow.

Doubtfull butorie.

The number slaine.

James the prince of Scotland dated as prisoner in England. His bringing vp.

An happy captiuitie. His instructors in the tonges.

His training in warlike exercises.

His knowledge in musike.

The griefe of his father king Robert.

the chiefe was the abbat of Pontineac) and the other was from Peter de Luna, who did stike teteine and defend the papasie, whereof he had once gotten possession, which Peter by the trauell and perswasion of Henrie Hardine (an English man, and a Franciscane frier) had dravone the gouernour of Scotland to follow his faction, which yet succeeded to none effect: because the vniuersall companie of the cleargie stiffele labored against it, and did subscribe to the deposition of Peter, and to the counsell of Constance for the election of Martine the first to the papasie.

Such what about the same time, John Drummond due Patrike Graham earle of Stratherne, by traitorous meanes, and thereupon fled into Ireland: but as he was about to haue passed from thence ouer into England, the bestell therein he sailed, was drinen on the coast of Scotland, where hee was taken, and afterwards lost his head for the said offense. Shortlie after also, there rose great warres betwixt England and France, as in the histories of those realmes may more plainlie appeare. There was also a great rebellion raised in Wales, against Henrie the first king of England, which was the son of Henrie the fourth latelie deceased. We find in the Scottish chronicles, that this Henrie the first, at his returning forth of France, after his first iourne thither (hauing in the same woone the towne of Hardest, & discomfited the whole power of France at Agincourt) was constrained to go against the Welshmen, and encountering with the prince of Wales, was discomfited, and lost ten thousand of his men: but after this, he reinforced his power, and came againe into Wales, not ceassing till he had brought the Welshmen subiect at his pleasure: but the English writers make no mention of anie such matter.

Whil实现 things passed thus in England, William Haliburton wan the castell of Marke, and due all such as he found within it, howbeit small while indured the top of this fortunate successe to the Scots: for sundrie Englishmen that knew all the secrets of the house, found means to enter through a gutter, that serued in maner of a sinke, to auoid all the filth of the kitchen into the riuer of Tweed, breaking downe a pane of an old wall, and so made entrie for the residue of their fellows; by reason whereof they easilie reconered the castell, and in reuenge of them that were slaine there when the Scots wan it, they likewise due all those which were then within it, without anie respect of one or other. After this, in the yere 1419, the third day of September, Robert duke of Albanye, that had bene gouernour of Scotland for the space of fiftene yeres, after the death of king Robert the third, departed out of this life, hauing bozne himselfe in all his time as a right valiant and noble prince. [This doth Buchanan attribute to the yere 1420, being the fiftieth yere after the death of Robert the third.]

A little before his decessie, there came from Charles the French king, the earle of Wandosme, and chancelor of France, both to renewe the ancient league betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France, & also to get some power of Scots to passe into France, to support the said Charles against the Englishmen, which as then fore invaded his realme. Whereupon shortlie after by decre of counsell, it was ordeined, that John Stewart earle of Buchquhane, second sonne to duke Robert, and Archibald Dotoglas earle of Wigton, should passe into France with seven thousand armed men. The king of England informed hereof, to cause the Scots to keepe their men at home, menaced to invade Scotland with a puissant armie, & that in all hast. Which rumour being spred ouer all the boundes of his realme,

caused the Scots for doubt thereof to lie all the next summer on the borders: but in the meane time, king Henrie passed into Normandie, to pursue his wars against France with all diligence.

At length, through the procurement of the duke of Burgonie, vnder certeine conditions and covenants of agrément, king Henrie toke to wife the ladie Katharine daughter to the French king. And among other articles of the same agrément, it was concluded, that after the decessie of Charles the French king, the crowne of France should immediately descend vnto king Henrie, as lawfull inheritor vnto that realme, without all contradiction, by reason whereof, Charles the Dolphin, and sonne to the said king Charles, was clearelie excluded from all claime to the same: but this notwithstanding, the Dolphin did not onelie refuse to surrender his title, but also fought to mainteine the war against king Henrie as his aduersarie, and open enimie to the realme. In the meane while also, the earles of Buchquhane and Wigton, with Alexander Lindseie brother to the earle of Crawford, and Thomas Swinton knights, accompanied with seven thousand well armed men, arrived in France, to the great reioicing of the Dolphin, as he well declared in the thankfull recetiting, and most heartie welcomming of them. Finallie, the towne and castell of Chatelon in Touraine was deliuered to them, that they might haue a place at all times to resort vnto, at their owne will and pleasure.

Shortlie after they were imployed in the battell of Baugé. For the duke of Clarence brother to the king of England (in whose place he was deputie and generall of the armies in France) after that he had spoiled and ouerrun the countrie of Anjou which hitherto had remained most stedfast in the obedience of the French) was comming (as it was supposed) to the towne of Baugé, about two daies before Easter: for which cause the Scots (thinking that the duke in that holie feast would, as the maner was, cease from all violence of warre, and attend the church ceremonies appointed for those times; or else as some write, by reason of the truce which was taken for eight daies) did more negligentlie looke vnto their estate than wisdom would they shuld haue done. The which when Clarence understood (either by Andrew Fregote an Italian, or by the Scottish foragers intercepted by his hoisemen) he reioiced that he had so good occasion offered worthilie to performe something. Wherefore rising forthwith from dinner, he commanded his hoisemen to arme themselves, with whome he went besides towards his enimies, at what time he was (besides the beantie of his other furniture) richlie adorned with goodlie diamonds of gold (set with manie pretious stones) and placed vpon a chaplet of iron. At whose sudden approach, those few French which were nere vnto them in a village called little Baugé (amongst whom was John de la Croix) being feared, made their defense in flight; and for safegard entered the steeple of the next church adjoining, in the which they were hardlie after besieged.

Whil实现 these were thus inuironed, the clamor and cries which was now come to the next armie (where in the Scots were assembled) suddenlie caused them with great feare to flee to their weapons. At that time the erle of Buchquhane (whil实现 the others prepared themselves) sent thirtie archers to possesse the bridge, vnder which the next riuer had his course, and through which they might passe over, where (encountering with the English enimie) Hugh Kennedie came vnto them out of the next church (in which he sojourned) with a hundred of his companie halfe armed, as it often falleth out in such sudden exploits. These

The king of England married the daughter of the French king. The articles of agrément.

The Dolphin of France mainteined warre against the Englishmen. Scottish soldiers arrived in France.

Chatelon in Touraine deliuered to the Scottishmen.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 10. 1420. Buc. 1421. N.G.

The battell of Baugé.

Hector Boet.

Buchan. lib. 10.

Nic. Gil.

Dissoners taken.

The earle of Buchquhane is created countable of France. Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 10.

The earle of Stratherne slaine.

Warres betwixt England and France. Rebellion in Wales.

Henrie the first discomfited by the welshmen. He subdueth them.

The castell of Marke wonne.

It is againe reconered.

1419.

The decessie of Robert duke of Albanye. Fr. Thin.

Ambassadors from the French king.

An armie of Scots sent into France.

The king of England menaceth the Scots.

with their arrowes so frechtlie kept this frecht, that the horsemen could not haue anie passage there, for which cause the duke of Clarence did first forsake horse (as the rest of the companie did after him) began the battell on foot, and with a strong assault made way for his men, beating from them the Scots, who were for the most part unarmed, and the others not verie well armed.

After this, in the meane time whilste Clarence taketh his horse againe, and some of the rest scatter-
ringlie do passe the bridge, the earle of Buchquhane
sommet upon them, & forthwith (desirous to make
triall of his people egerlie seeking after it) there
was a bitter battell committed, with like minds of
hatred the one against the other: for the Scots did
reioise, that they had now obtained cause, time, and
place, where they might (after their first arrivall in
France) shew some token of their valure, and refuse
those taunts which the Frenchmen laid upon them,
objecting that the greedinesse of wine & vittels had
brought them over into that countrie. With which re-
proch the Frenchmen are wont to upbraid the Eng-
lish, the Spaniard the French, and the African the
Spaniard. But as the Scots were eger in a strange
countrie to win honoꝝ, so was the English no lesse
desirous of conquest, greatlie disdainning both at
home and abroad, to be so infested with that impla-
cable nature of the Scots. In which battell none did
fight more valiantlie or egerlie than did the duke of
Clarence himselfe. Against whome (so noted for the
richnesse of his armor) came John Swinton, which
greuoullie wounded him in the face, and whome the
earle of Buchquhane (striking on the head with his
mace) quite overthrow to the ground. Which done,
the English fled, and were greuoullie slaine, because
the same continued till the night ended the quarrell;
which battell was fought on Easter eue, a little after
the equinoctiall spring. In this battell were slaine of
the English about 20000, amongst whome were 26
of noble calling, whereof were the duke before said,
the earle of Riddeldale, otherwise called the earle of
Angus, & the lord Greie were part: but of the Scots
and Frenchmen, there were few missing, and they of
the meane sort. All which, as we haue here set it
downe, is the common report of the death of the duke
of Clarence. But the booke of Plucart reporteth, that
the duke was slaine by Alexander Macell, a
knight of Lenor, which toke from him the coronet
(whereof we spake before) and sold the same to John
Steward of Wernill, for a thousand angels, which
he after laied to payne to Robert Hutton, to whom
he ought five thousand angels; & this saith that booke
was the most common report at those daies. The
chiefe praise of which victorie remained with the
Scots, even by the testimonie of the envious aduer-
saries, as the writer of this storie saith upon his cre-
dit. At this battell also were a great companie of pri-
soners taken, amongst whome (as principall) were
these, the earle of Huntington, & the earle of Sum-
merfet, with his brother, both of them being brethren
to the ladie Jane, that was after married to king
James the first, king of Scotland. For the high vali-
ancie of the Scottishmen shewed in this battell, the
Dolphin created the earle of Buchquhane high con-
stable of France, and gave him sundrie townes, ca-
stels, and lands, therewith the better to mainteine
his estate.

King Henrie hearing of the death of his bro-
ther the duke of Clarence, did substitute for his depu-
tie his other brother the duke of Bedford, promising
that he would shortly after come thither himselfe
with an armie of foure thousand horse, and a thou-
sand footmen (which he performed accordingly.) For
with all speed he after came into France with a

mightie host, and had with him James the Scottish
king, or rather prince of Scotland, for all this while
the Scots reputed him not as king, for that he was
not as yet crowned: nor set at libertie out of the
Englishmens hands, into the which (as before we
haue heard) he chanced to fall by his fathers life
time.

The cause why king Henrie did take this James
over with him at that present into France, was, for
that he hoped by his meanes to procure all the Sco-
tishmen that were in seruice with the Dolphin to for-
sake him, and to returne home into their owne coun-
trie: but when he had broken this matter vnto the
said James, and promised, that if he could bring it to
passe, he would not onelie remit his rancome, but al-
so send him into Scotland highlie rewarded with
great riches: James answered herevnto, that he
maruelled much, why he did not consider how he had
no authoritie over the Scots so long as he was hol-
den in captiuitie, and as yet had not receiued the
crowne, but (saith he) if it were so that I might be set
at libertie, and had receiued the crowne according to
the accustomed manner, together with the othes and
homages of my subiects, I could then in this matter
do as should be thought to stand with reason; but in
the meane time I shall desire your grace to hold me
excused, and not to will me to do that which I may
in no wise performe.

King Henrie maruelling at the high wisdome
which appeared to be planted in the head of that young
prince, left off to trauell with him anie further in this
matter. In the meane time, the warres continuing
betwixt the king of England and the Dolphin of
France, manie townes were besieged, wone, and
sacked, and sundrie light bickerings and skirmishes
chanced betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. But
the Englishmen shewed themselves to beare such
hatted toward the Scots, that so manie as fell into
their hands neuer needed to streine their friends for
their ransomes, which crueltie they put not in prac-
tise against their enemies, being of an other nation.
[For king Henrie, when he had taken the towne of
Meldens, hanged twentie Scots which he found
therein, laing to their charge that they had fought
against their owne king.] At length, king Henrie
fell into a greuous disease, which in short time made
an end of his life, notwithstanding all the helpe that
either by physicks or other waies might be ministered
vnto him. The same yeere, that is to say, 1422, the
French king Charles, the first of that name, decessed;
after whome succeeded his sonne Charles the se-
uenth, before named the Dolphin, as the custome
there is. By the death of these kings, the wars were
not altogether so earnestlie followed as before, wher-
upon the earles of Buchquhane and Wigtoun re-
turned into Scotland, and shortly after was an ar-
mie lent, and siege laied both to Rockburgh, and
to Berwik, but for that they lay long abroad and did
no good, returning home without gaine, this iourne
in derision was called The durtie rode, or (as the
Scots terme it) The durtin raid.

But now to speake somewhat concerning the or-
der of the common-wealth in Scotland, we shall bre-
uer stand, that after the death of Robert duke of Al-
banie, his sonne Mordo Steward earle of Fife and
Penteth was made gouernour, continuing in that
office for the space of foure yeeres, though (to confesse
the truth) he was farre vnnmet thereto, differing
much from the wisdome and manhood of his father,
for in him remained sundrie vices, greatlie variable
and contrarie one to another. In time of anie aduer-
sitie, he shewed himselfe as a man despairing of all
comfort or helpe: in prosperitie so list vp in carelesse
insolencie, that he had no staie of himselfe, by reason
whereof

The king of
England re-
beth the prince
of Scotland
ouer which him
into France.

The answer
of James the
king, or rather
prince of
Scotland,

King Henrie
toke it for a
sufficient an-
swer.

The cruell
dealing of the
Englishmen
towards the
Scots.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 10.

The death of
Henrie king
of England.

1422.
The death of
Charles the
French king.

Rockburgh
and Berwik
besieged.

The durtin
raid.

Mordo Ste-
ward earle of
Fife created
gouernour of
Scotland.
The re-
nant vices
reigning in
Mordo Ste-
ward.

the king of
England
rich the
ughter of
ench king.
he articles
agreement,

the Dolphin
France
intemeth
re against
English-
ish sol-
s arrived
France.

atelon in
uraine de-
rd to the
otishmen.

Thin.
man, li. 10.
o. Buc.
r. N.G.

battell
auge.

Hector Boet.

Buchan. lib. 10.

Prisoners ta-
ken.

The earle of
Buchquhane
is created con-
stable of
France.
Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 10.

whereof, sometimes he suffered heinous offenders through dread of their puissant friends (a thing not to be suffered in Scotland) to escape unpunished; and at other times againe, he shewed himselfe more severe & cruell in executing of iustice, than the matter required.

Thus was he still in extremitie, keeping no temperance nor laudable meane in anie of his doings. Hereto was he so negligent in chastising his sons Walter, James, & Alexander (whether through softnesse & lacke of wit, or by reason he bare such a fond & tender fatherlie love toward them) that they having him in small regard, played manie outrageous parts, to the soze offending of a number. At length, one of them taking displeasure with his father, for that he would not giue him a falcon, the which he had long before greatlie desired, stepped to him, and plucking hir beside his fist, wounding hir necke from hir bodie even presentlie before his face. Whereupon the father somewhat kindeled with this presumptuous deed of the sonne: Walter (said he, for so was his name that had thus misused him) sith it is so that thou and thy brother will not be ruled by my soft and gentle gouernement, I shall bring him home yer if he long; that shall chastise both you and me after an other manner. And after this, he rested not to trauell still for the redẽming of James the first out of captiuitie, till at length he brought him home in deed, to the great wealth, ioy, and good hap of all the Scottish nation. For calling together a parlement (of the nobilitie) at Perth, they consulted of receiuing home their James imprisoned in England, and at length willinglie agreed (either for fauour they bare to the lawfull heire, or being wearied with the losshomes of the present gouernement) to send an ambassage to the king of England, to demand the restitution of king James. Whereupon they dispatched into England (to execute their deuise) Henrie Lichon bishop of Aberdeen, Archembald Dowglas (the third earle of that name, and fist of that familie) the sonne of Archembald Dowglas, duke of Touraine, William Heie constable of Scotland, Richard Cornall archdeacon of Londane, and Alexander Jarraine a Drum, knight.)

In the meane time, the French king, Charles the seuenth, being soze vered with wars by the Englishmen, sent to the earle of Buchquhane his constable, requirung him to returne againe with all speed into France, and to bring so manie Scottishmen with him, as he conuenientlie might. This earle therefore found meanes to persuaide Archembald earle of Dowglas, father to the foresaid earle of Wigtoun, to passe with him into France, which two earles with an armie of fve thousand men, or (after some writers) ten thousand, toke the seas, and arrived with prosperous wind and weather at Rochell, and coming to the French king, were receiued of him with all ioy and gladnes. With this companie also was sent ambassadoz, Gilbert Grenlaw bishop of Aberdeen, a man of great authoritie amongst the nobilitie of Scotland, for his singular wisdom, and such a person as with great desertitie executed the office of the chancelorship of the realme. The effect of whose message was, to comfort Charles the seuenth, then king of France, and to asseretine him, that not onelie they which were now allanded in France, but also all the inhabitants of Scotland would remaine so firme in his faith & friendship, that they would spend both liues and goods in the defense of the crowne of France, as the following experience should well trie. Whereupon the earle of Dowglas was by the king for his further advancement, honored with the title of the dukedome of Touraine. But that glorie of the Scots was some diminished (as saith Lesleus)

by the infortunat successe which they had through the English at the battell of Verneile. In which (besides all the hired or common souldiers which were also most slaine at that time) there perished of the nobilitie, the two brethren of the gouernour, the earle of Buchquhane constable of France, Archembald Dowglas duke of Touraine, with James his sonne and heire, Alexander Lindsay, Thomas Swinton, Robert Stewart, and manie other, as in the French and English histories more largelie may appere.

And here a little step out of the way, because in this place Buchanan girdeth at the English (as he doth in all the parts of his booke, with most bitter taunts) I will a little shew that he hath forgotten himselfe in the same: as well against vs generallie (as appereth in manie places) as against Grafton, Humfrie Lhoid, and Hall, especiallie in manie other places thereof. And therefore (readers) giue me leaue in milder sort to speake of him (being dead) than he doth of others. For although (against all humanitie) he do most bitterlie with words of heat inflame his pen against Humfrie Lhoid, departed the world manie yeeres (as it appereth) before he toke the later penne in hand (after the ouerlæing of his old fragments) as himselfe in his epistle confesseth, to write an historie: yet I will spare him in better sort. And therefore I much muse, that he a man so learned and graue, would now in his later age, when reason should most rule him, so dip his pen in gall, as forgetting himselfe, he should be of these rough conditions (contrarie to all learning, which *Emollit mores, nec finit esse ferus*) he would call men impudent, immodest, vnlearned, liars, vnbrideled, malicious, backbiters, euill tonged; and that he can rather proue the Britains to be made of dogs and brute beasts, better than to be descended of Brutus. All which speeches are to be found in his booke: for (if there were a fault in Lhoid) as there was none, because it seemes he did not well conceiue his mind: could not he either reprehend error, or disproue men, but with such bitter taunts, when they but onelie shew their opinion, dissenting in orderlie sort from others, as it is lawfull for all learned men to do? Where learned he that rhetorike, to reiect the opinion of men with dogs eloquence, and sooner to deduce that creature (formed to the image of God, and lord of all beasts) to be rather made of dogs than of men, and for one or two priuat persons to inuete against a whole state?

But Humfrie Lhoid imputeth a note of infamie to his nation (as he supposed) in disprouing Hector Boetius, who arrogantlie (beside all truth) hath transferred to his Scots, both places, persons, and deeds, which neuer belonged to them. And is this so great a fault in Lhoid, when himselfe and Lesleus bishop of Kille (secretlie misliking Boetius) haue in silence passed ouer a great manie imperfections in the historie of Boetius, and placed manie other things after an other sort, referring them to other times than Boetius doth? And why should he maligne Lhoid for reprehending him, whom himselfe condemneth, & of whom he saith that *In descriptione Scotie quedam parum verè prodidit, & alios in errorem induxit*, and whom for manie faults (by Boetius escaped) he further saith in the later end of his second booke, that he will not defend him in such errors, as no reason there is why he should? But if from the abundance of the hart the tong and hand do speake and write, I can not be but that by his dissemperat speeches, I must condemne him of secret grudge, not so much to the person of Lhoid, as to the whole nation, against which the chiefest part of his booke seemeth to be a stomaching inuective. And yet such as it is, they must of necessitie follow that intreat of the historie of his nation, or else he will exclaim against them (as he doth in this place

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 270.
1424 N.G.

A digression
against Buchanan.

His negligence in chastising his sonnes.

An insolent part of one of his sonnes.

The words of duke Moris to his son.

Duke Moris transeleth for the redẽming of James the first.
Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 10.

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 272.

The earle of Buchquhane returneth into France.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 270.

The earle of Dowglas made duke of Touraine.

Enrie and disord.

Robert Dallocke called Le petit roy de Galcoigne.
Fr. Thin.

Robert Dallocke called Le petit roy de Galcoigne.
Fr. Thin.

place of the battell of Veruiole) that they maliciouslie obscure the glorie of the Scots, following the authoritie of the aduersarie, and not the truth of the historie written by him, or the French nation.

And in this place of his booke, rather than he will want occasion to talout and disgrace us by his cholericke pen, he will seke a knot in a rush, and make a mountaine of a molehill, in so belement inuading against the English, that say that the Scots were not able to mainteine such titles of honor as were given them by the French: a simple matter to make such discourse vpon, and to step so much awrie out of the course of the storie. But thinke you Buchanan hath committed no such (nay greater) faults against us: Des trulie, and that I suppose will be well proued at an other time, in an other treatise vpon his booke now iustlie forbidden in England; and (as I heare) more iustlie in Scotland. And here remember I praise thee gentle reader, that in one place of his booke he saith that he ment to haue obserued this counse from the beginning, that he would not seke to digresse by hypaths out of the course of the historie. And hath he so soone forgotten that in the first forehead of his booke, almost three leaues together, & also in manie other parts of the same (as well as in this place of the battell of Veruiole) he hath lept manie miles out of the way, with bitter words to talout Humfrie Lhoid, Grafton, Hall, & all the English histories, and by manie whole pages (in manie parts of his worke) with much speice of powder and shot, to batter the credit of the English writers. These trulie were not parts of such a person, as the place (which he had about the prince whilst he liued) required. But inough of this by me (who am not *Honorarius arbiters*, and will be no seuerer censurer of other mens writings at this time (whereunto I was occasioned by Buchanans digression in this place) since the same will be more substantiallie touched by others in other works (whereunto I refer my selfe) and so returns to the order of the historie.)

The Scottish chronicles declare, that the losse of this field chanced speciallie through enuie and discord, which reigned amongst the chieftains. For the duke of Alancon cruieng that the Scots should daillie rise in honor within France, kept himselfe backe, till time the Scots were ouerthrowen and brought to vtter destruction. Againe, euen vpon the ioining, there rose great strife and contention betwixt the constable & the duke of Touraine, who should haue the supreme rule of the Scottish legher, the one disdainning to giue place to the other. Thus ye may perceine, how the Scots with losse of manie of their liues, and much bloodshed, supported the side of Charles king of France, against the Englishmen. And though there came daillie netwes of diuerse great ouerthrowes giuen by the Englishmen to such Scottishmen and other, as serued the said king Charles, yet did not the Scots therefore staie at home, but at sundrie times, and vnder sundrie capteins repaired into France: as amongst other, one Robert Dattillocke of Dundee with a new power of Scots went ouer to king Charles the seuenth aforesaid, shewing such proufe of his singular manhood and valiance in those wars, as in recouerte of the realme of France out of the Englishmens hands, his seruice stood king Charles in notable need. Chieflie his diligence and prowesse well appered, in reducing the parties of Gascoigne vnto the French subiection, which had remained a great number of yeeres vnder the dominion of the English kings. And here vpon was he called by the inhabitants euer after, *Le petit roy de Gascoigne*.

But to returne to the businesse of Scotland and of the Scots, as they passed in the meane time. We

say, that the French reioicing of this conquest of Gascoigne, would not seme to be vnthankfull to the Scots therefore: for which cause they erected a statue or image of this Dattillocke, in the hall of the king of France, as a perpetuall memorie of this conquest, and as a singular testimonie of their good will towards the Scots, which they placed there to remaine a monument to all posteritie. Beside which, he confirmed and increased the number of the gard of Scottish archers (which they were wont to vse in peace and warre) first instituted by Charles the king of France, ouer all which he made this Dattillocke chiefe capteine, which office the Scots did then and since so well discharge, that the same continueth yet in our memorie. Besides which (a litle before this) Charles the first appointed an other companie of Scottish horsemen to be in wages with him, being commonlie called the trope of the Scottishmen at armes. Of whom the chiefe gouernour was Robert Steward (borne of the familie of the earle of Veruiole) who was honored by the king with the title of the lord de Aubignie, with other lands and great possessions bestowed vpon him. All which (being of long time possessed of the Scots of the same surname, by continuall order of blood & descent, that is, by Edward the famous capteine of warre, then by Robert, and to conclude, by John Steward, brother of the earle of Lennox) is at this day also in possession of the worthy young gentleman (the sonne of the said John) who giueth forth a rare hope that he will not degenerate from the nobilitie of his ancestors. The ambassadors sent (as before is shewed) into England for R. James, behaued themselves so sagelie therein, that in the end, they brought it to good conclusion: as thus. First it was agreed, that king James should be set at libertie, and also pay for his ransom the sum of 100000 marks sterling, the one halfe to be paid in hand, and for the other halfe to leaue sufficient pledges behind him, till it were paid. Albeit some writers alledge, that leauing pledges for the payment of the one halfe, he was discharged of the other, in consideration that he toke to wife the ladie Jane, daughter to the earle of Summerset. The said earle and the cardinall of England his brother, conueied him with his quene their neece, vnto the borders of both the realmes. And at their taking leaue each of other, there was presented vnto king James and to the quene his wife, besides a cupbord of masse plate, sundrie faire cloths of rich and costlie arras by his wiues friends, with manie other iewels and things of great price & value.

King James then departed on this wise from his wiues brethren, and other such his dere friends, as his vertue and princelie behauiour had procured him during his abode here by the space of sixteen or eightene yeares in England, entered into Scotland, and came to Edinburgh on Care sundate, or therwise called Daffon Sunday in Lent, where he was receiued with all honor, ioy, and triumph that might be deuised. At what time as the nobles came to giue him their dutifull welcome into his native soile and inheritance, there began to be manie complaints by them, who since the death of their last king (partlie by negligence, and partlie by the default of the gouernors) had bene molested with diuers kinds of iniuries; wherevpon, Walter the son of Morzac, Malcolme Fleming, and Thomas Woid being grauenlie accused, were (to pacifie the exclamation of the common people) committed to diuers prisons till the next parlement, which was appointed the first kalends of June following, where is more intreated of this matter, as after shall appere, Buchanan hauing thus placed it before the kings

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 271.

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 271.

*Pag. 260. col.
1. numb. 30, 40.

The ransom
of R. James.

Jane daughter
to the earle
of Summerset
married to
king James
the first.

Gifts giuen
to R. James
by his wiues
friends.

King James
commeth to
Edenburgh.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan;
lib. 10.

Enuie and
discord.

Robert Dattillocke cap-
tured of a pow-
er of Scottish-
men sent into
France.

Robert Dattillocke called
Le petit roy de
Gascoigne.
Fr. Thin.

James.

He is crowned at Scone together with his wife.

1423, Buch.
1424, Lell.

Andrew
Graie.

The surname
of the Graies
in Scotland.

King James
keepeth an au-
dit.

A parliament
at Eden-
burgh.

A tax levied.

The com-
mons grudge
at payments.

Bills of com-
plaint exhibi-
ted against
the sonnes of
duke Morzdo.

Walter Ste-
ward put in
prison.

The oath of
James.

kings coronation.]

And after that, as soone as the solemnitie of the feast of Easter was finished, he came to Perth, and shortly after to Scone, where he was crowned king, and his wife quene, by duke Morzdo the gouernor, and Henrie bishop of saint Andrews, the one and twentieth day of Maie, after the incarnation 1424. There came forth of England with this James the first, diuerse English gentlemen, which remaining euery after in seruice with him, were advanced to certaine lands, possessions, and linings in Scotland. Amongest whome (as one of the chiefest) was Andrew Graie, who afterwards by the kings aid and good furtherance, got in marriage the daughter and heire of Henrie Portimer of Foulis, named Helen, and by that means came the lordship of Foulis unto the hands of the Graies, whose surname and posteritie continueth yet in Scotland, inuested with great lands and dignities, both in Cotwrie and Angus.

King James after his coronation returned from Scone to Edinburgh, where he called before him all those that bare anie authoritie in the administration of the common-wealth, during the time of the gouernors duke Robert and duke Morzdo, namely the chancellor, the treasurer, the clerks of the register, the controller, the auditors, and receivers, with all other that had bozne offices, or had anie thing to do concerning the kings rents. At length, when he perceived by their accounts made, that the most part of all the lands, rents, and reuenues pertaining unto the crowne, were wasted, bestowed, alienated, and transported by the two foresaid gouernors, unto their friends and fauours, contrarie to all right or good consideration (the customs of burrowes and god townes onlie excepted) he was not well content herewith, though for the time he passed ouer his displeasure, in shewing outwardlie no semblance, but as if he had liked all things well.

In the meane time, he aduisedlie perused all endences, rolls, and charters pertaining to the crowne, and shortly thereafter called a parliament at Edinburgh, in the which, by aduise of the three estates, a generall tax was ordeined and granted, to be raised through the whole realme; as twelue pence of the pound to be paid of all lands within Scotland, both spirituall and temporall; and foure pence for euery colv, ore, and horse, to be paid for the space of two yeares together. This payment was levied the first yeare without anie trouble, but the second yeare there rose such murmur and grudging amongst the poore commons about the payment thereof, that he remitted the residue that was behind, & toke neuer anie tax after of his subiects, vntill he married his daughter with the Dolphin of France. Amongst other bills put vp in this parliament, there was diuerse complaints exhibited by the people, for sundrie oppressions vsed and done by the sons of duke Morzdo, and other great peeres of the realme, before the kings returne into Scotland.

Whereupon Walter Stewart, one of the sons of the said duke Morzdo, was arrested, and sent to a castell situated vpon a rocke within the sea called the Bass, there to remaine in safe keeping. Also Malcolm Fleming of Cumernald, and Thomas Boid of Kilmarnoke, were committed to ward in Dalkeith, but these two at the intercession of diuerse noble men were pardoned and forgiven of all offences for an easie fine, with condition, that they should satisfie all such persons as they had in anie wise wronged. In the foresaid parliament also, James toke a solemne oath, to defend as well the liberties of his realme, as of the church, during the course of his naturall life. The like oath by his example did

all the residue of the barons take at the same present time. Not long after, an other parliament was called and holden at Perth, in the which duke Morzdo, with his sonne Alexander, were arrested and committed to ward. So was also Archembald earle of Dornoglaske, with his brother William earle of Angus, George earle of March, Adam Hepburne of Hales, and manie other great barons of Scotland, euery of them being put in sundrie castels and strengths, to remaine there in safe keeping. Duke Morzdo was sent to Carlarocke, and his duchesse was put in Temptalloun.

In the yeare following, on the Holie rood daie, called the Invention of the crosse, James Stewart the third sonne of duke Morzdo moved with great ire, for that his father and brethren were holden in prison, came with a great power to the towne of Dunbretton, and burnt it, after he had slaine John Stewart of Dononald, and two and thirtie other persons, which were found in the same towne: but the king kindled in great displeasure for this attempt, pursued this James so fiercelie, that he was faine to flee into Ireland, where he afterwards deceased. [And Finelaw (which was sometime one of the order of the frier Dominicks) which fled with him into Ireland, & was author that the said James committed all these outrages, died there also.] Besides which, there fled into Ireland the wife of Walter, hir two sonnes, Andrew and Alexander, with Arthure the bassard: who (in the end) returning home, was after by James the third advanced to great honors.] In the next yeare ensuing, James called a parliament at Sterling, in the which he sitting with scepter, sword, and crowne in place of iudgement, Walter Stewart with his brother Alexander were condemned, and incontinentlie were lead forth to a place before the castell, and there beheaded.

On the morrow after, duke Morzdo himselfe, and Duncan Stewart earle of Lennox were conuicted of high treason, and beheaded before the castell in semblable manner. [It is a constant fame (saith Buchanan) though I find it not written in any place, that the king sent the heads of the father, husband, & children, to Isabell the wife of his cosine germane, to trie whether she being a fierce woman, would (as it usually happened) by dissemperance of griefe discover the secrets of hir mind. But she (notwithstanding all which grievous and unlooked for spectacles) did not inordinatlie burst out into anie bitter words, but onlie said; If the faults be true which are laid against them, the king hath done but right and iustice vnto them.] Thus by the attainder of duke Morzdo and his sonnes, the earldome of Fife, Pennteth, and Lennox came into the kings hands. The residue of the lords and barons remaining as then in prison, and abiding the kings pleasure, were sore afraid, when they heard what rigorous iustice had bene executed on duke Morzdo and his sonnes: notwithstanding, within 12 moneths after they were all set at libertie, and receiued into the kings fauor, on promise of their loiall demerit; & dutifull obedience euery after to be shewed, during their naturall liues.

The parliament being ended, John Spountgomerie, & Humfreie Cunningham were sent by the king to the castell of Louchleuline, which was kept against him by the runagat James Stewart, whom in short time they forced to surrender the said castell. Not long after, John Stewart of Dornie (who was master of the Scottish garrison of horsemen in France, the rest of the former captiues being consumed) came into Scotland with the bishop of Reims, as ambassado; in the name of Charles, to re-

A parliament
holden at
Perth.
Duke Mor-
zdo with his
sonne Alexan-
der, and di-
uerse other
peeres of the
realme arre-
sted.

1425.

The towne of
Dunbretton
burnt.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan,
lib. 10.

A parliament
holden at
Sterling.

1426.
Walter and
Alexander the
sonnes of
duke Morzdo
beheaded.
Duke Morzdo
and Duncan
Stewart
earle of Len-
nox beheaded.
Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan,
lib. 10.

Alexander of
the Fife com-
meth to the
king and af-
terly pardon.

1426.

1428.

new
to col
of the
daugh
which
the (a
land
due 1
begn
uerne
bozdo
he ca
on m
priefe
of all
as be
wom
tribu
mon
terer
two t
rall t
reast
scare
they
com
den
befor
threa
to ser
know
them
ture;
(for
belon
(bein
sed in
erect
part
thus
the in
desist
them
to en
certe
nocer
to dow
and ri
eram
them
I
incari
arrest
cused
bers
in tim
nozs,
sued
vpō h
scapet
uerne
foctin
was
ward
incon
ledge
wait
the kin
the
Casse
he fell
him of
death
At

ne to the old league betwene the two nationis, and to conclude matrimonie betwene the sonne of the said Charles the seuerth, and Margaret the daughter of B. James, both being yet little young. Which thing so dispatched, in the next yeare being the 1426, he determined (having pacified all Scotland betwene the mounteins of Graemeber to subdue the further parts beyond it also. Wherefore to begin the same, he commanded the castell of Inverness (set in a convenient place in the furthest borders of Murray) to be repaired. Which when he came two yeares after, to sit in judgement upon misdoers of the inhabitants, and to suppress their robberies, he called before him the chief of all the families of that countrie, especiallie such as being accompanied with great retinues, were wont to fetch prey from their next borders, did set tribute on the quieter sort, and did compeell the common people to minister sustenance to those idle loiterers; of which capitains, some had a thousand, some two thousand, and some far more redie at their call to obey their commandement. With which they ceased not to keepe the good in danger unto them for feare of hurt, and made the civil (and gentle) people they were assured of refuge & defense) the bold to commit all kind of wickednesse. Which persons when the king had gotten in, and drawn to court before him, partly by flatteries, and partly by threats, he committed about forty of their leaders to severall prisons: whose evill being throughlie known, he hanged two notable fellows amongst them, called Alexander Macro and John Macarture, at what time also he beheaded James Campbell (for the murder of John of the Isles) a man & relative beloved of his people. The rest which remained (being of the common sort) they likewise dispersed into divers prisons, wherof some were after executed, and some were permitted free to depart to their owne. The capitains of the factions thus slain (or for the most part restrained in prison) the inferiour sort durst not attempt anie thing, being destitute of leaders. Whereupon the king calling them before him, did give them a loving admonition to embrace iustice, because there was no surer or certeine hope of safetie in anie thing, than in the innocencie of life, the which if they would determine to do, they should alwaies find him readie to honor and reward them; if not, they might learne by the examples of others what they should hope to receive themselves.)

In the yeare next following, which was after the incarnation 1427, Alexander lord of the Isles was arrested by the king at Inverness, for that he was accused to be a succorer & maintainer of thieves & robbers in the countrie: but forsomuch as he promised in time coming to reforme his former misdoings, he was pardoned and set at libertie: wherof ensued great trouble immediatlie after. For hostile by his delivrance, he gathered a power of wicked scapethifts, and with the same coming into Inverness, burnt the towne, and besieged the castell, forcing with all diligence to win the same, till he was advertised that the king was coming towards him with a great power, whereupon he fled incontinently to the Isles. Finally having knowledge that a great number of people lay daily in wait to take him, that they might present him to the king's hands, he came disguised in poor arate to the holie rood house, and there finding the king on Calver daie devoutlie in the church at his prayers, he fell downe on his knees before him, and besought him of grace, for his sake that rose as that day from death unto life.

At request of the queene, the king pardoned him

of life; but he appointed William Douglas earle of Angus to have the custodie of him, and that with in the castell of Temptation, that no trouble should rise by his meanes there after. His mother Cusenie daughter to Walter sometime earle of Ross, was also committed to ward in saint Colmes inch; because it was knowne that she solicited her sonne to rebel (in manner as is before said) against the king. Not long after, Donald Balloch, brother to the said lord Alexander of the Isles came with a great power of men into Lochmaber. The earles of Mar and Cathnes came with such number of their people as they could raise, to defend the countrie against the invasion of those Islanders, and fought with the said Donald at Inverloch, where the erle of Cathnes was slain, and the earle of Mar discomfited. Here with this Douglas returned with victorie, and a great preie of goods and riches into the Isles. The king being moved with the newes herof, came with a great armie unto Dunstaffage, disposing with all speed to passe into the Isles. The clans and other chiefe men of the said Isles advertised herof, came to Dunstaffage, and submitted themselves unto the king, craving their off-shie, for that (as they alleged) the said Donald had constrained them against their willes, to passe with him in the last tyme. All those clans upon this their excuse, were admitted to the kings favour, and sworne to pursue the said Donald unto death.

Hostile hereupon, this Donald fled into Ireland, where he is slain, and his head sent by one Odo a great lord of Ireland (in whose countrie he lurked) as a present to the king that laie as then at Berling. There were also three hundred of his adherents taken, and by the kings commandement hanged for their offenses within three weekes space, after his first fleeing into Ireland. This trouble being thus quieted, king James passed through all the bounds of his realme, to punish all offenders and misdeed persons, which in anie wise wronged and oppressed the poore people. He allowed no pardon granted afore by the governor, alleging the same to be expired by his death. For he thought indeed it stood neither with the pleasure of God, nor wealth of the realme, that so manie slaughters, reises, and oppressions, as had bene done afore in the countrie, should remaine unpunished through fault of iustice. It is said that within the first two yeares of his reigne, there were three thousand persons executed by death, for sundrie old crimes and offenses.

And though such extreme iustice might have bene thought sufficient to give example to other to reforme their naughtie vices, yet one Angus Duffe of Strathern nothing afraid thereof, came with a companie of thieves and robbers, and took a great preie of goods out of the countrie of Murray and Cathnes: for recoverie wherof, one Angus Murray followed with a great power, and overtaking the said Angus Duffe nere to Strathern, fiercely assailed him. Who with like manhood made stout resistance, by reason wherof there ensued such a cruell fight betwixt the parties, that there remained in the end but onelie twelve persons alive, & those so wounded, that they were scarce able to returne home to their houses, and lived but a few daies after. About the same tyme, there was also another notable thefe named Makdonald Ross, which grew with spoiles and robberies to great riches. This wicked oppressor had a woman with her shoes, because she said she would go to the king, and reucale his wicked doings. As soon as she was whole, and recovered of her wounds, she went unto the king, and declared the cruelties done unto hir by that ungracious person Makdonald. The king (who before had heard the same

Donald Balloch invaded Lochmaber.

The earle of Cathnes slain Donald Balloch returned with victory & spoils into the Isles.

The clans of the Isles submitted themselves to the king.

Donald fled into Ireland. His head is sent as a present to the king. Three hundred of Donalds complices hanged.

Pardons granted by the governor are void.

Three thousand offenders put to death within two yeares space.

Angus Duffe

A cruell fight.

Makdonald Ross a notable robber.

He had a woman.

Fr. Thin.

Parlement holden at Perth. Duke of Albany with his sonne Alexander, and divers other barons of the realme arrested.

1425.

The towne of Dunbarton burnt.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, 10.

Parlement holden at Berling. 1426.

Walter and Alexander the sonnes of Duke of Albany beheaded. Duke of Albany and Duncan Steward earle of Lennox beheaded. Fr. Thin.

1427. Alexander lord of the Isles arrested.

He is set at libertie.

He rebelleth.

The towne of Inverness burnt.

Alexander of the Isles committed to the king and afterwards pardon.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, 20.

Buchanan.

Lelcus.

1430.

The quene
delivered of
two sonnes
at one birth.Fiftie
knights
dubbed.Archibald
earle of Dow-
glas arrested
and put in
prison.

Fr.Thin.

King James
desirous to
purge his
realme of vni-
uerſitie perſons.Fr. Thin.
Buchan. li. 10.An ordinance
for measures.Castles re-
paired and
munited.

ſamte of others, and had gotten Spaldonald in pri-
ſon, determining to ſee due puniſhment for that wic-
ked fact) comforted the ſilke woman, promiſing hir
ſhortlie to behold a iuſt reuenge thereof. Whereupon
Spaldonald being brought out of priſon with
twelue of his companions, the king commanded
that they (by the talion law of ſpoſes that yeldeth
an eie for an eie, and a tooth for a tooth, and by the ex-
ample of Phalaris, who burnt him firſt in the bull
that was the author thereof for others) ſhould like-
wiſe be ſhod with iron ſhoſſes, in that ſort as
they before had ſerued the woman, and then to be
carried three daies together about the citie for a ſpec-
tacle to the people, to ſeare to attempt ſuch extraor-
dinarie wickedneſſe; making proclamation that eu-
erie one might ſee this new kind of puniſhment.
After which, at length (doubting if he liued he would
not ceaſe to commit the like, or elſe reuenge the
ſame) he chopped off Spaldonalds head, & cauſed his
twelue fellows and partakers to be hanged in the
high waies.)

In the third yere after, which was from the in-
carnation 1430, on the eleuenth daie of October,
Jane the quene of Scots was deliuered of two
ſonnes at one birth, Alexander and James. The firſt
deceaſed in his infancie. The other ſucceeded after
his fathers deceaſe in the kingdome, & was named
James the ſecond. At the baptiſme of theſe two in-
fants, there were fiftie knights made. Amongſt the
which, and firſt of all other, was William the ſonne
of Archibald Douglas, that ſucceeded his father
in the earledome of Douglas. His father the ſaid
Archibald Douglas, ſomewhat before this time,
or (as other authors ſay) in the yere next inſuing,
was arreſted by the kings commandement, and put
in ward, remaining ſo a long time, till at length by
ſupplication of the quene, and other peres of the
realme, the king pardoned him (with John Benne-
die) of all offences, and ſet both them And Alexander
earle of Roſſe at libertie. King James in this
ſort did what in him lay to bring the realme of Scot-
land in ſuch quiet tranquillitie, that (in purging the
ſame of all offendours, and ſuch as liued by reiffe and
robbing) paſſengers by the high waies might trauell
without dread of anie euill diſpoſed perſons to moleſt
them.

Having thus with diligence ſuppreſſed the rob-
beries (practiſed through all parts of his realme) he
forgot not to looke into ſmall offences which were ſe-
cretlie done, and of leſſe danger; determining to
take awaie all euill cuſtomes which had continued
in the realme. For cuſtome, being an other nature
doth bring to paſſe, that a common error (by manie
ages continued) maketh a perfect law, and therefore
(& becauſe the inferior iudges would the better admi-
niſter iuſtice, if they had perſons of high authoritie
that might puniſh their falſe ſentences) he choſe forth
ſpeciall perſons of the better ſort (commended for
their wiſedome, grauitie, and holineſſe of life) and
made them iuſtices, whome he ſent ouer all the
realme giuing them full authoritie to heare and de-
termine all quarels and ſutes (if anie were brought
vnto them) wherof the ordinarie iudges either (for
feare) durſt not, or (for hatred or fauor) would not, or
(for ſtrength of others) could not giue anie perfect
iudgement.)

He cauſed alſo the bailiffes and prouoſts of good
townes, to ſee that iuſt meaſures were vſed by all
manner of buiers and ſellers, and none to be occu-
pied, but ſuch as were ſigned with the note & marke
of the ſaid bailiffes or prouoſts. Moreover, he repa-
red and fortified the caſtles and fortrefſes of his
realme, and ſtaffed them with ſuch ordinance and
munition as was thought expedient. He granted al-

ſo ſundrie priuileges and great liberties to the vni-
uerſitie of ſaint Andrews, to the high aduancement
thereof, and was oftentimes himſelfe preſent at
their diſputations, taking great pleaſure therein.
Such as were knowne to be learned men, and were
preſented to him by the vniuerſitie, he preferred to
great benefices and other eccleſiaſticall livings, ſtill
as the ſame chanced to be vacant. [Having for that
cauſe made a law in the ſaid vniuerſitie, that none
10 ſhould introp the roome of a canon in anie cathedra-
church, vnles he were a batcheller of diuinitie, or at
leaſt of the canon law.] By which meanes all maner
of vertue and good learning increaſed daile through
the realme during his time, and namelie muſike
was had in great price, which he appointed to be vſed
in churches with organs, the which before his time
were not much knowne amongſt the Scottiſhmen.

Such what about the ſame time, there was a par-
lement holden at Perth, in the which Henrie Ward-
law biſhop of ſt. Andrews, in name of all the three
eſtates there aſſembled, made a long and right piſchie
oration to this effect; that Where by the high poliſie
and prudent diligence of the kings maielte there
preſent, iuſtice, and all due adminiſtration of lawes
and good ordinances were ſo reuiued, that nothing
ſeemed to be ouerpaiſed, that might aduance to the
profit and commoditie of the common-wealth; yet
was there one wicked vſage crept in of late, increa-
ſing ſo faſt, that if ſpeedie remedie were not had in
time, all thoſe commoditties brought into the realme
30 by his comming, ſhould be of ſinall auaile, and that
was, ſuch ſuperfluous riot in banketting chere, and
numbers of coſtly diſhes, as were then taken by
and vſed after the Engliſh faſhion, both to the great
hinderance of mans health, and alſo to the unpoſ-
ſible waſting of their goods and ſubſtance. If the
laudable temperance vſed amongſt the Scottiſh
men in old time were well conſidered, nothing
might appeare more contrarie and repugnant there-
40 to, than that new kind of gluttonie then vſed, by re-
ceiuing more exceſſe of meats and drinks than ſuffi-
ceth to the nourishment of nature, through prouoca-
tion of ſuch deintie and delicate diſhes, confeſſioned
ſauces, and deuſſed potions, as were now brought
in amongſt them. As for ſuch gentlemen as the king
had brought with him forth of England, they were
worthe in deed to be cheriſhed and had in high fa-
uour; neither was this abuſe to be ſo greatlie impu-
ted vnto them, conſidering it was appropriate to
50 their nation. But the Scottiſhmen themſelues were
chiefly to be blamed, that had ſo quicklie yelded to
ſo great an inconuenience, the encommite thereof
appeared by the ſundrie vices that followed of the
ſame, as exceſſe, ſenſuall luſt, ſlouth, reiffe, and wa-
ſting of goods. For if temperance be the nourisher
of all vertue, then muſt the contrarie, that is to ſay,
intemperance, be the bringer forth and prouoker of
all vice. If it might therefore pleaſe the kings high-
neſſe, to ſhew his accuſtomed wiſedome and prou-
60 dence in reſſing this abuſe of coſtly fare, ſo much
damagable to his people, he ſhould doe the thing that
was meritorious before God, and no leſſe profitable
and neceſſarie for the publike weale of all his ſub-
iects.

By theſe and manie other the like perſuaſions,
biſhop Wardlaw vſed to diſſuade the king and his
people from all ſuperfluous courſes of delicate diſ-
hes and ſurſetting bankets. Inſomuch that euen
then there was order taken, that ſeluer diſhes and
more ſpate diet ſhould be vſed through the realme,
licencing gentlemen onelie, and that on feſtiuall
daies, to be ſerued with pies, the vſe of them not be-
ing knowne in Scotland till that ſeaſon. After the-
leſſe, ſuch intemperance is riſen in proceſſe of time
following,

Priuileges
granted to the
vniuerſitie of
ſt. Andrews.Fr. Thin.
Lelcus lib. 7.
pag. 274.Organs
brought into
Scotland.A parliament
at Perth.Biſhop Ward-
law inuiceth
againſt ſuper-
fluous fare.The great
appetite of
gluttons ne-
uer ſatiſfied.A terrible
ſiege.Bergh
ſieged.A huge
armie.Men of occu-
pation brought
into Scotland
to inſtruct the
Scottiſhmen
therin.Toleneſſe the
rot of all
miſchiefe.Danie Crow
burnt.

John Fogo.

Fr. Thin.
Lelcus lib. 7.
pag. 275.The abbete of
Chartreux
monks built
belies Perth
by ſt. James.The lord
Scrope am-
baſſador into
Scotland.The offer of
the Engliſh
men to haue
the Scots to
come with
them in leage.

following
this age m-
till their b-
mandiſe,
which their
ſundrie ſtr-
ing offen-
thing you
peareth.

In the
was a ter-
clocke at a
head for the
though it
led the bla-
railed an
beſieging
gither. W-
number o
carriage n-
yet notwo-
waſted hi-
could do a
ſtrained t
Engliſh
James p
crafts an
Scotland
the daies
nanceme
iects mig
nelle (the
number o
France, &
their arts

Not
bozne, w
and lettin
Whelchiff
ped chieſ
great and
of Melro
gan to fal
ſundrie ti
of others
ged apar
with who
thereby le

and ſo vni-
uerneſe
time was
ded beſid
and magr

Allo the
came in
England
the ancie
men diſſ
Scotland
with the
ſtall of W
Twed a
be deliue
James h
perceiued
league be
once clear
occaſion
foze being
cluded, th
Frenchm
thereupon
ched with

In the

following, that the greedy appetite of gluttons in this age may be satisfied with no competent feeding, till their bellies be so stuffed with immoderate gourmandise, that they maie scarce fetch breath, through which their noisome surfetting, they fall daillie into sundrie strange and lothsome kinds of diseases, being oftentimes killed by the same in their flourishing youth, as by daillie experience plainlie appeareth.

In the same yere the seuenteenth day of June, 10 was a terrible eclipse of the sunne, at thre of the clocke at after none, the day being darkened ouer head for the space of one halfe houre together, as though it had bene night, and thereupon it was called the blacke houre. At the next Lammass, the king raised an armie, & came with the same to Forburgh, besieging the castell for the space of fiftene daies together. He had in this armie (as the report went) the number of two hundred thousand men, accounting cartage men & all other such as followed the campe: yet notwithstanding all this huge multitude, hauing wasted his powder and other munition, before he could doe anie great hurt to his enemies, he was constrained to raise his field, and leaue the castell in the Englishmens hands as he found it. After this king James perceiuing how the knowledge of handicrafts and manuell occupations was decayed in Scotland, through continuall exercise of wars, since the daies of Alexander the third, to the further advancement of the common-wealth, and that his subjects might haue occasion to auoid slouth and idleness (the root of all mischief) he brought a great number of cunning craftsmen out of Germanie, France, and other parties, to instruct his people in their arts and faculties.

Not long after, one Paule Crato a Bohemian bozne, was burnt at saint Andrews, for preaching and setting forth the doctrine of John Hus, & John Wicliffe. John Fogo being one of them that helped cheslie to condemne him, was made (for his great and earnest diligence therein shewed) abbat of Melrose. [After which, the said king James began to take vpon him the person of a private man, sundrie times associating himselfe to the companie of others (but especiallie of the merchants) in changed apparell, according to the state of such persons with whom he would companie, to the end he might thereby learne what men did say and iudge of him, and so vnderstand what was to be corrected in the gouernement of the common-wealth.] About the same time was the abbete of Charturax monks builded besides Perth by James.

Also the lord Scrope and other associats with him, came in ambassage from Henrie the first, king of England. The effect of whose message was, to haue the ancient league betwixt the Scots and Frenchmen dissolved, promising that if the counsell of Scotland would consent thereto, and ioine in league with the Englishmen; that both the towne and castell of Berwike, with all the lands lieng betwixt Twed and the Merse (as the Scots write) should be deliuered into the Scottishmens hands. King James hauing small credit in such faire promises, perceiued the same to tend onlie to this end, that the league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots might be once clearelie broken, and then to vse the matter as occasion should serue their turne. This matter therefore being proposed before the counsell, it was concluded, that in no wise the said league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots should be dissolved, and so thereupon the English ambassadors were dispatched without moze talkie concerning that matter.

In the same yere, that is to say, 1433, the king

caused George Dunbar erle of March, sonne to that earle which rebelled against his father king Robert the third, to be arrested and put in safe keeping within the castell of Edinburgh. He sent also the earle of Angus with his chancelor William Creighton, and Adam Hepburne of Hales to the castell of Dunbar, deliuering them letters signed with his hand, and directed to the keepers of the said castell, that they should deliuer by the house immediatlie vpon sight of those letters vnto the byngers of the same. The keepers durst not disobey his commandement, but suffered them to enter according to their commission. Within twelue moneths after, a parlement was held at Perth, where the foresaid George earle of March was disherited of all his lands and liuings for his fathers offense committed against king Robert the third. Thus the house of the Dunbars lost the earldome of March, wherein the same had flourished so manie yeres together, to the great defense and safeguard of the realme of Scotland on that side, against both ciuill and fozeine enemies.

The king yet moued with some pitie toward so noble a linage, within short time after gaue the earldome of Buchquhan to the said George; and after the kings deceasse, the lords of the counsell thinking the same too little, assigned forth to him and his son Patrike, the summe of foure hundred marks yerele, to be receiued out of a parcell of his owne ancient inheritance of the earle dome of March, to inioy the same till James the second came to full age. In the yere 1435, Alexander Steward earle of March departed out of this life. This Alexander was a barbar sonne of the earle of Buchquhan, that was one of the sonnes of king Robert the second. He was a man of right singular prowesse, and in his youth following the warres, was with Philip duke of Burgonie at the siege of Liege, or Luike, where he bare himselfe so manfullie, that few wan the like honor at that iournie. Not long after, to his high advancement, he got in marriage the ladie Jacoba countesse of Holland: notwithstanding, he continued but a while with hir, being forced to forgo hir companie, either for that she had another husband, or else for that the inhabitants would not suffer a stranger to reigne ouer them.

After his returne into Scotland, he sent messengers into Holland, requiring to haue the issues and profits of such lands as were due vnto him in right of the said countesse his wife; but receiuing nought saue a froward answer, hee provided him of ships, and made soe warres on the Hollanders by sea: first being put to the worse; but at length he tooke a number of their ships laden with merchandize, as they were returning homewards from Dantzicke. The mariners were drowned, and the ships burnt. Through which losse the Hollanders being soe abashed, fell to a composition with him, and tooke truce with the Scots for an hundred yeres. This earle of March so long as he liued had the gouernance of the north parts of Scotland vnder king James the first, for he was a right prudent person, as well in warlike enterprises, as in ciuill administration. Hee brought forth of Hungarie sundrie great horses and mares for generation, that by such meanes the countrie might be provided of great horses of their owne race, where till that time there was none bred within Scotland, but small nags, moze meet to serue for iournieng hacknies, than for anie seruice in the warres.

Not long before this time, there came an ambassage from the king of Denmarke to king James, requiring him to make paiement of such yerele tribute as was due to the said king of Denmarke, being also king of Norway for the westerne Isles, according

George erle of March arrested and put in ward.

A parlement at Perth.

The earle of March disherited,

The earldome of Buchquhan given to George Dunbar.

1435. The death of Alexander Steward erle of March.

Leodium.

warres betwixt the earle of March & the Hollanders.

Truce twixt the Scots & Hollanders for terme of 100 yeres.

Good mares brought out of Hungarie into Scotland for breed.

Ambassadors out of Denmarke. Their request

according to the promise and agreement made by Alexander sometime king of Scotland; the third of that name, unto his predecessor Magnus, at that time king of Norway. The ambassadors that came with this message were honorably received, and in like sort intertained by king James, who at their departure gave to them sundrie rich gifts; and appointed Sir William Creighton to go with them into Denmark, ambassador to him, to the king there, who used himselfe so sagetie in this businesse which he thus went about, that renewing the old league betwixt the two realmes of Denmark and Scotland, freed fast peace and assured amitie without anie more ado therof issued. Much about the same time, there came ambassadors from the French king, Charles the seventh, not onelie desiring to haue the old league betwixt France and Scotland to be ratified at that present by a new confirmation, but also to confirme the same with better assurance. Margaret eldest daughter to king James, at request of the said king Charles, was given in marriage unto Lewis the Dolphin, and eldest sonne to the said king Charles.

Manie great lordes of Scotland were appointed to haue the conueiance of hir into France; and great provision of ships made for that voyage, because the king was advertised that the Englishmen had a fleet abroad on the seas, to take hir if they might meet with hir by the waie. But as the hap fell, it chanced the same time, as the Scottish ships should passe, there appeared on the coast of England, a great fleet of Spaniards, which the Englishmen supposing to be the Scots, they came vpon them with foure score vessels of one and other, thinking verelie to haue had their wished preie, even according to their expectation: but being received with as hot a storme as they brought, they quicklie understood how they were in a wrong bor, and so theye wolde amazed (as Hector Boetius saith) they sustained great losse both in men and ships, and in the meane time the Scottish nauie passed by quietlie without damage, encountering not one ship by the waie that fought to impeach their passage. There went 140 ladies and gentlewomen forth of Scotland, to attend this ladie Margaret into France, amongst which number there were five of hir owne sisters.

In the meane time, whilst such things were a doing, Henrie Percie of Northumberland invaded Scotland with foure thousand men, not being known whether he had commission so to doe from the king of England, or that he made that enterprise of himselfe. William Douglas earle of Angus, to resist this invasion, gathered a power of chosen men, amongst whome were Adam Hepborne of Hales, Alexander Ramsie of Dalehouse, and Alexander Elphinston, with others. The earle of Angus being thus associat, met the Percie at Piperden, where a sore battell was foughten betwixt them, with great slaughter on both sides; but at length the victorie fell to the Scots, though there were slaine together with Alexander Elphinston, two hundred gentlemen and commons of Scotland: and of the English part there died Henrie of Cliddesdale, John Ogill, and Richard Percie, with fiftene hundred other of gentle men and commons, of the which gentlemen, fortie were knights. There were taken also and brought home by the Scots as prisoners, to the number of foure hundred.

Shortlie herevpon, king James raised a mightie armie, and besieged the castell of Rocksburch, but when he had almost brought his purpose so nere to passe, that those within began to fall to communication, for the rendering of the place, the quene came to the campe in great haste vnto him, signifieng that there was a conspiracie begun against him, so that

if he tooking the better heed, he was in great danger to fall into the hands of those that sought his life. The king doubting the matter, raised his siege and returned home to provide the better for his owne safety, but that preuailed little: for Walter Stewart earle of Atholl, and head of the whole conspiracie, pretending ever a right to the crowne, by reason that he was pooreat by king Robert the second on his first wife, procured his nephue Robert Stewart, and his cosine Robert Graham, to sea the king by one meane or other, which finally they accomplished in this wise. The Robert Graham, for diuerse wicked acts before committed, contrarie to the lawes and ordinances of the realme, was giuen to an outlawrie, so that if he were taken, he looked for nothing but present death, and therefore hated the king most deadlie. And though by the quenes diligence both his and other of the conspirators purposes were now disappointed, hauing contriued to dispatch the king at the siege of Rocksburch; yet forsomuch as their names were not knowne, they hoped still to find occasion to atchieue their detestable intention, with they were no more mistrusted than the others.

Herevpon the said Stewart and Graham came one evening to the blacke friers of Perth, where the king as then was lodged, and by licence of the porters comming into the house, entered by into the gallerie before the kings chamber doore, minding to haue staied there till one of the kings seruants that was priue to their diuelish purpose should come, by whose helpe they were promised to haue entrie into the chamber. But before the comming of this Judaslike traitor, an other of the kings seruants named Walter Straiton came forth of the chamber doore to haue fetched wine for the king: but being aduised of these two traitors standing there at the doore, either of them hauing a long sword girded to him, he slept backe, and cried, Treason: but per he could get within the doore to haue made it fast, they leapt vnto him, and slue him there outright.

Whilst this was a doing, not without great noise & rumbling, a young virgin named Katharine Douglas (that was after married to Alexander Louell of Bolumnie) got to the doore, and shut it: but because the barre was atwaie that should haue made it fast, she thrust hir arme in the place where the bar should haue passed: she was but young, and hir bones not strong, but rather tender as a gristle, and therefore hir arme was sone crast in sunder, and the doore broken by by force. Herevith entering the chamber, they slue such of the seruants as made defense, and then the king himselfe with manie cruell and deadlie wounds [at 28 seuerall blowes.] The quene was also hurt as she was about to saue hir husband. Patrick Dunbar, brother to George sometime earle of March, was left for dead on the flore, by reason of such wounds as he received in the kings defense, doing most manfullie his vttermost deuoure to haue preserved him from the murderers hands. Thus was James the first murdered the 21 day of Februarye, the 44 yere of his age, the 13 of his reigne, and from the incarnation of Christ 1436. His bodie was buried in the house of the Chartarars at Perth which he founded in his life time, but had not as yet thoroughlie finished.

As of this James I find written in his singular commendation, that he was for proportion of bodie of the middle stature, with broad shoulders, hauing the other parts also answering therevnto, as they neither seemed monstrous big to be wondered at, nor extreme small to be scoffed at; but caried the maiestie of a person, whome Aeneas Syluius (expressing the most excellent conformitie of members in this our king) doth terme to be squared or of euen proportion

The king formed of a conspiracie made against him, raising his siege.

Robert Graham.

Robert Stewart and Robert Graham murderers of the king.

Walter Straiton is slaine.

Katharine Douglas.

The murderers enter the kings chamber, and slay the king.

The quene is hurt. Patrick Dunbar wounded and left for dead in the kings defense.

James the first murdered.

1437. Buch.

1447. I. Ma.

1226. Lelle.

His stature and forme of bodie.

Fr. Thin.

Lesleus lib. 7. cap. 27.

tion, as answer framed ther for, did man seuerel called (of the c measure said (w ted the ses. A (han of all thin respect a suffic sweet that di mong same a wisedd did to tions b he obt greater he pun that t the ki there i scienc gence iudge he hat lent i to, fi which he se by na diuer him (is tho and u At gence pond firm well pziat prebe he ex nie : comm thew with ledg nical frae follo king serio to be nati by th the i that mil fore whic tuff bele noz po will

Sir William Creighton sent into Denmark.

Peace and amitie betwixt Scotland and Denmark.

Ambassadors forth of France.

The old league renewed betwixt France and Scotland.

The Dolphin married Margaret daughter to king James.

Englishmen lie in wait for the Scottish fleet.

The Englishmen encounter a fleet of Spaniards.

The arrivall of the ladie Margaret of Scotland in France.

Henrie Percie invadeth Scotland.

The battell of Piperden fought betwixt Henrie Percie and the earle of Angus.

The Scots get the victorie.

The number of Englishmen slaine.

Prisoners taken.

Rocksburch besieged.

Buchan, also saith he wrote Latine verses with such good grace, as the rudenesse of that age permitted.

The murderers enter the kings chamber, and slay the king.

The quene is hurt.

Patrick Dunbar wounded and left for dead in the kings defense.

James the first murdered.

1437. Buch.

1447. I. Ma.

1226. Lelle.

His stature and forme of bodie.

Fr. Thin.

Lesleus lib. 7. cap. 27.

tion, as the parts of a quadrangle or iust square doe answer ech other, so that nature seemeth not to haue framed a creature more apt or excellent than he, either for shape of bodie, or for kinglie maiestie. He did manie times embrace iustice more streialie and seuerelie, than well became a king, which ought to be called (and so in truth to be) the father and nourisher of the common wealth. For he seemed so exactlie to measure all things by the rule of iustice, that he is said (within the space of three yeeres) to haue executed three thousand persons for their committed offenses. Although this may rather seeme to be a slander (than otherwise) grounded vpon no foundation, since all things seemed to haue bene performed by him in respect of sincere zeale of iustice, whereof this may be a sufficient argument, that he was of so mild and sweet nature, that we read not of anie of our princes that did more reuerentlie embrace peace at home amongst his subiects, or more willingle conclude the same abroad with strangers. What shall I say of his wisdom, which in manie and the greatest affaires did so manifestlie appere, that the kings of other nations did ioine in league and friendship with him: Of which wisdom, and of other his vertues (although he obtained part by the benefit of nature) he got the greatest summe by the learning & instruction which he purchased in England, when he was prisoner: at what time he was by the commandement of Henrie the king most diligentlie instructed. For he was there by the kings beneuolence so well trained in all sciences and gentlemanlie actiuitie, with the diligence of good scholemasters, that it is not easie to iudge what science he best understood: for beside that he had skill in all kinds of musike (but most excellent in plaing on the harpe) he was so good an orator, that nothing might be more artificiall than that which he spake: againe, he was a rare poet, in which he seemed not so much cunning by art, as furthered by nature, which is sufficientlie proued by verses of diuerse kinds (at this day remaining) composed by him (in Scottis meter) with that singular art, as he is thought fullie to equall the sharpenesse, grauntie, and wisdom of the ancient poets.

Duchan, also
saith he wrote
Latine verses
with such good
grace, as the
rudenesse of
that age per-
mitted.

It is strange that I saie, and far beyond the diligence of the princes of our time, yea and almost beyond the opinion of men: but yet most true and confirmed by the testimonie of them which knew him well: and therefore to be written to his perpetuall praise. He did so exactlie in mind and memorie comprehend the depth of diuinitie and law, that therein he excelled manie, & in his time gaue not place to anie: to conclude, there was nothing wherein the commendation of wit consisted, or wherein anie shew of the liberall arts appeared, that he would not with great diligence applie his indoeur for the knowledge thereof, yea and that sometime to all mechanicall or handie-craft labors which were meet for a free man, which he is said most studiously to haue followed. But in the end, iudging it ouer base for kinglie maiestie to be exercised in these meane & inferior knowledges, he caused artificers of all sorts to be brought out of England, Flanders, and other nations, which should instruct our people therein; for by that means he persuaded himselfe he should in the end cunne the rough manners of his nation, and that with these mild arts they would also receiue a mild and sweet condition of life & manners. Wherefore I may well say, A most happie common-wealth which was gouerned by so worthy a prince: & may iustlie exclaime; O you most fierce and wicked rebels, that would by murder take away such an honest, beauntie, and pillar of the common-wealth. Now, besides manie other things by him done, I will here (being better late than neuer) set downe

this (not touched before) which is, that he was not onlie a beauntie to his countrie, in prouiding for his people to liue at quiet within doores; but he also fought for the defense of his realme against his enemies without doores: by artillerie, and other necessities required for the warres. For the inuention of gunis hapning about his time, or not much before; he caused certeine peeces of artillerie to be made beyond the seas in Flanders, of which, there was one most especiall and great peece called the Lion, on the circumference whereof were these verses ingrauen, testifieng the antiquitie in like maner of the same:

*Illustri Iacobo Scotorum principi digno,
Regi magnifico, dum fulmine castra reduce,
Factus sum subito, nuncipor ergo Leo.*

John Maior
lib. 6. cap. 13.

The nobles and peeres of the realme right sorrowfull for the death of this James, assembled together, and made such earnest & diligent search for the traitors before mentioned, that at the length they were apprehended and brought to Edinburgh, where they were executed on this maner. The earle of Atholl, which was not onelie principall in practise of this treason concerning the kings death, but also in times past was chiefe of counsell with Robert duke of Albanie, in making away of Dauid the kings eldest brother, and after the kings returne forth of England did most earnestlie solicit him to put duke Porbo to death, with all other of his linage, trusting that when they were dispatched, he should find means to rid the king also, and his children out of the way, & so at length attaine to the crowne without anie obstacle. This earle (I say) was first stripped of all his clothes, saue onelie his shirt; and then was an instrument of wood, made like to the drawer of a well, set fast in a cart with a frame: at the end of which instrument, was the earle fastened and bound, and so caried about the towne, sometime hoisted on high, that the people might see him aloft in the aire, and sometime let fall againe with a swate downe vpon the pavement.

The search
made for the
traitors.

The execu-
tion of the
erie of Atholl.

After this, being brought to an open place, where most resort of people was, they crowned him with an hot iron, for that (as was said) a witch had told him, that before his death he should be crowned openlike in sight of the people. Although whose illusion being deceived, he liued vnder vaine hope to attaine the crowne, directing all his imaginations to compass the means thereto. Thus was he serued on the first day. On the second day, he was drawn with his complices laid on hurdels, round about the towne at an horse taile. The third day, his bellie was ript, and his bowels were taken forth, and throwne into the fire sickerling before his eyes, & then was his heart pulled forth of his bodie, and throwne likewise into the fire: and last of all, his head was cut off, and his bodie diuided into foure quarters.

The prophetic
of a witch.

His nephew Robert Steward was not althogether so cruellie executed. But Robert Graham, for that it was knowne that he liue the king with his owne hands, was put into a cart, the band that did the deed being fastened to a paire of gallows, which were raised by in the said cart; and then were three persons appointed to thrust him through in all parts of his bodie with hot irons, beginning first in those places where it was thought no halfe death would thereof insue, as in the legs, armes, thighes, & shoulders. And thus was he caried through euerie street of the towne, and tormented in most miserable wise, and at length had his bellie ript, and was bowelled and quartered as the other were before. Christoper Clawon also, and other that were of counsell in the conspiracie, were put to most shameful kindes of deaths, as they had iustlie deserued, few or none lamenting their case. [Touching whose death, and the

Robert Ste-
ward executed

The ordering
of Robert
Grahams
execution.

Christopher
Clawon.

Fr. Thin

C. li.

the

The king
formed of a
conspiracie
made against
him, raised
his siege.
The earle of
Atholl heard
of the conspir-
acie.

Robert Gra-
ham.

Robert Ste-
ward and Ro-
bert Graham
murderers of
the king.

Walter Strat-
ton is slain.

Katharine
Dowglas.

The marthe-
rers enter the
kings cham-
ber, and slaue
the king.
The quene is
hurt.

Matthe Dun-
bar wounded
and left for
dead in the
kings defense.
James the
first martyre-
red.

1437. Buch.

1447. l. Ma.

1326. L. Cl.

This stature
and forme of
bodie.
Fr. Thin.
Lectus lib. 7.
cap. 271.

Lellus lib. 7.
pag. 279.

Strange
lights.
Pigs with
heads like to
Dogs,
A calfe with
a head like a
colt.
A blasing star.
A great frost.
Ale and wine
sold by the
pound weight
A sword sene
in the aire.

James the
second.
1436

Buchan, 103.

The daugh-
ter of the duke
of Gelderland
married to
James the
second.

Sir Alexan-
der Leuing-
ston governour.
Sir William
Creighton L.
chancelloz.

Disobedience
in the Dow-
glas.

1437.

A policie
brought by
the queene.

the reuenge there of, it is reported, that Acneas Syk-
uius (being then ambassadoz in Scotland for pope
Eugenius the fourth to the said king James, con-
sidering the cruellness of such a wicked fact, with the
spedie reuenge, therefore executed by the nobilitie)
should say, that he much doubted, whether he ought
with greater praise to commend them which reuen-
ged the kings death, than by Harper sentence pun-
nith those that had committed such parricide.] In
the daies of king James the first, sundrie strange
and monstrous things chanced in Scotland. At
Perth there was a sow that brought forth a litter
of pigs with heads like unto dogs. A colt also
brought forth a calfe, hauing a head like a colt. In
the haruest before the kings death, a blasing star
was sene with long streaming beames. And in the
winter following, the frost was so vehement, that
ale and wine were sold by pound weight, and then
melted against the fire. A sword was sene gliding
vp and downe in the aire, to the no lesse dread than
wonder of the people.

James the first made away through the traitorous
practise of the earle of Atholl (as before is spec-
fied) his eldest sonne James the second of that name
being as then but six yeares of age succeeded to the
crown, as lawfull heire to the same, and by his mo-
ther and the nobilitie of the realme was brought to
Scone, where, by the vniuersall consent of the three
estates he was crowned king of Scotland, being
the 102 king of that realme from Fergus the first.
He was surnamed James with the fierie face, by
reason of a broad red spot which he had in one of his
cheekes. This James at his coming to mans state
proued a stout prince, and married the daughter of
the duke of Gelderland, as after shall appeare. In
the beginning he had some trouble and businesse, by
reason of the great authoritie and rule which the high
barons of the realme sought to beare & mainteine,
as the Dowglas, and other, but in the end he sub-
dued them all.

Shortlie after his coronation, because he was not
of himselfe able to gouerne, by reason of his tender
age; the nobles and estates of the realme chose sir
Alexander Leuingston of Calender knight, gover-
nour of the king and realme, and sir William Creigh-
ton knight was confirmed in his office to inioy the
same as he before had done, the king being committed
to his keeping, together with the castell of Eden-
burgh. Archembald earle of Dowglas remained in
his countie of Dowglas & Annardale, and would
neither obeye governour nor chancelloz, whereby great
trouble was raised within the realme. Within a
short time also, the governour and chancelloz were di-
uided. The governour with the queene remained at
Striueling, but the chancelloz had the king still with
him in the castell of Edinburgh; and what the one
commanded to be done, the other forbade; whereby
neither of them was obeyed, nor anie execution of
iustice put in practise, so that through all the countie,
reiffe, spoiles, and oppression were exercised with-
out feare of punishment. The queene perceiuing
such mischiefe to reigne throughout all parts of the
realme, deuised a meane to aduance the gouernours
side, and hereupon with a small companie repa-
red to Edinburgh, where she to bring hir purpose to
passe, did so much by great dissimulation, that she
persuaded the chancelloz to suffer hir to enter the ca-
stell, and to remaine with the king; but within three
daies after, she feigned one morning to go on pil-
grimage vnto the White kirke, and caused the king
hir sonne to be handsomlie couched in a trunk, as
if he had bene some fardell of his apparell, and so
packed vp, sent him by one of hir trustie seruants
laid vpon a sumpter horse vnto Leth, from whence

he was conueied by bote vnto Striueling, where, of
the gouernour he was iustlie receiued, commen-
ding the queene highlie for hir politike working, in
deceiuing so wise a man as the chancelloz was. Then
raised he a great powder of his friends and well-wil-
lers, and besieged the chancelloz in the castell of E-
denburgh.

The bishop perceiuing in what danger he stood
through the womans deceit, sent to the earle of
Dowglas, desiring his assistance against the queene
and gouernour. But the earle refusing either to helpe
the one or the other, alledging that they were both
ouer ambitious in seeking to haue the whole govern-
ment of the realme in their hands. The chancelloz
then perceiuing himselfe destitute of all helpe, made
agreement with the gouernour, vnder certeine condi-
tions, that he should reteine still the castell of Eden-
burgh vnder his possession, and likewise continue
still in his office of chancelloz. Shortlie after the earle
of Dowglas deceased at Lestelricke, in the yeare
1439, against whome aswell the gouernour as chan-
celloz had conceiued great hatred. He left behind
him a sonne (begot of the earle of Crawford's daugh-
ter) named William, a child of fourtene yeares of
age, who succeeded his father in the earldome of
Dowglas, appearing at the first to be well inclined
of nature, but afterwards by euill companie he
waxed wild and insolent.

About this season, James Stewart sonne to the
lord of Lozing, married the queene Dowager, and fa-
uored the earle Dowglas in his vnrulie demean-
our: whereupon, both the said James and his bro-
ther William, with the queene, were committed to
pison in the castell of Striueling by the gouernours
appointment; but shortlie after they were released
by the sute of the lord chancelloz, sir William Cre-
ighton, and Alexander Seton of Gordon, who be-
came suerties for their god abearing, vnder great
forfeiture of sufficient band. About the same time,
or rather somewhat before, Alane Stewart lord of
Dernie was slaine at Palmis thorne, by sir Tho-
mas Boid. And in the yeare following, the same sir
Thomas was slaine by Alexander Stewart of
Bolniet and his sonnes; where through there rose
great troubles in the west part of Scotland. Wil-
liam earle of Dowglas sent Malcolm Fleming
of Cumerald, and Alane of Lowder, vnto Charles
the seuerth, king of France, to obtaine of him the
duchie of Lotzaine, which was giuen to Archem-
bald Dowglas at the battell of Wernoill in Perth;
and the last earle, father to this earle William, had
inioied the same all his life time, whereupon that
sute was the sooner obtained: which made the young
earle more insolent than before.

He kept such a port, and vsed to haue such a traine
attending vpon him, speciallie when he came to the
court, that it should seme he had the king in small
regard; for he thought himselfe safe inough in main-
teining the like state and port, or rather greater than
cuer his father at anie time had mainteined before
him: insomuch as he would ride with two thousand
horse, of the which number there were diuerse errant
thieues and robbers, that were borne out in their
vnlawfull and wicked practises by the same earle.
Certeine capteins of the Isles, as Lachlane, Bate-
laine, and Murdac Gipsion, with a wicked number
of the inhabitants of the same Isles, haried, spoiled,
and burnt the countie of Lenox, and slue John Col-
quhoun lord of Lute vnder assurance. They also
slue women and childzen, without respect to age or
sex. In this yeare chanced a great dearth in Scot-
land, the like was neuer heard of before, and such a
death by pestilence, that few escaped that were ta-
ken therewith, and so the realme was plagued with
reiffe,

The king
conueied vnto
Striueling.

An agreement
made.

The earle of
Dowglas
departeth this
life at Lestel-
ricke.

1439.

The queene
imprisoned.

Alane Ste-
ward is slain.

The great
port of the earl
of Dowglas.

Lenox is har-
ried.
John Colqu-
houn, or
Cognhain
slaine.

A dearth.

Pestilence.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 11.

The king
went with
the chancelloz
to Eden-
burgh.

The gouernour
and chancel-
loz are made
friends.

Fr. Thin.
Lellus lib. 8.
pag. 294.
Buchan. lib. 11.

Lenox is har-
ried.
John Colqu-
houn, or
Cognhain
slaine.

reife oppression, dearth, and death of people. This reare also the gouernor: take the whole administrati-
on upon him, wherewith the chancelor was displac-
ed, and leauing the king and him in Striueling, re-
paired to Edenburgh, where he deuised the way how
to recover the king from the gouernor; and so on a
morning took foure and twentie men with him and
rode to the park of Striueling where the king was
then hunting. And the gouernor absent at Perth.

At that time the chancelor with great courtlie 10
drawing towards the king, did salute him, being in
some feare to see such compaignie come vnto him, ha-
uing so few in his traine. Which when the chancelor
perceiued, he paired the king to be of good comfort,
and in few words fit for that time, exhorted him that
he should looke to himselfe and the kingdome, and de-
liuer himselfe from the imprisonment of Alexander
the gouernor, liuing free lie from henceforth after a
single manner; that he should not accussome him-
selfe to obey the pleasure and courtousnes of others, 20
that he should vse to command his subjects in all iust
and lawfull causes; and that he should deliuer his
people from these euils which increased vpon them,
which he could not now well remedie or resist, except
the king would take on him the gouernement, the
which to do, he had without all danger or trouble
prouided a meane. For he had in a readinesse
sufficient number therefore, which should attend
vpon the king where so euer he would go, or to vse
anie other matter as need should require. Which 30
the king taking with a pleasant countenance, either
because the matter liked him well, or to dissemble
the feare he had of the chancelor, did fullie approue,
and went with his small unarmed compaignie and
the chancelor toward Edenburgh.)

The chancelor (as Hector Boetius saith) had cau-
sed the number of foure thousand horsemen of his
seruants, tenants, and friends, secretlie to be readie
that morning about the towne of Striueling, to resist 40
his aduersaries if they should haue used anie force
against him: and now vnderstanding of the kings
going thus with the chancelor, they came to him on
the way, and attending him, brought him safelie
and without further trouble vnto Edenburgh, where
he was iustlie receiued. The gouernor when he
was aduertised hereof, was grieuoullie displeased;
but because he knew not how to remedie the mat-
ter, he went to Edenburgh, and there got John
Jones bishop of Murray, and Henrie Lichon bi-
shop of Aberdene, to labo: some agreement betwixt 50
him and the chancelor: which they did in this wise:
the king to remaine in the keeping of the chancel-
lor, and the gouernor to continue his office. And so
by this accord they were made friends.

During which turmoiles, William Dowlaglas 60
(that with a certeine pride of mind had highlie bo:ne
himselfe, disobeying the rule of the gouernor, & dis-
daining to ioyne in societie of the chancelor) did vnto
the dedlie hatred of them both against him; for which
cause they seek by all means vtterlie to take him
awate. For the doing whercof (to the end it might
be performed without anie tumult) they appoint a
parlement to be holden at Edenburgh; whither came
not a few (as at other times in such assemblies it al-
waies hapneth) but almost the whole countie came
flocking thither, to complaine of the iniuries which
they had receiued: of which sort, there was such a mi-
serable shew, that men could not behold the same
without great motion of a pitifull mind: when eue-
rie one for himselfe, the father for the children, the
children for the fathers, and the widows for their
husbands, did complaine that they were by the rob-
bers spoiled of all their substance. Wherevpon (as

it happeneth alwaies through pietie of gentle hearts,
to rue the afflicted) there arose great enuie against
the captiues and leaders of the wicked doers of such
spore, whose euils were now growne to such excell-
as by no means they might be suffered; whole facti-
ons were so largelie spread ouer the realme, that
none could defend their life or kithred: but such as
did yield themselves to their actions, and whose vi-
ces were so increased, as the weake could not well
find anie helpe (in the authoritie of the magistrate)
against their violence.

Wherevpon it liked the wisest sort (since their force
seemed not almost able to be broken, or their parts
to be scuered) to stie to pollicie and beate strength,
not daring openlie to call the earle Dowlaglas by
that name of captiue of them, although they well
knew him to be the chiefe author and fautor of those
people. Therefore the gouernor and the chancelor
(for a time dissembling the hatred which they harbou-
red against Dowlaglas) perswaded the whole parle-
ment, that it were more conuenient with faire
speeches to pacifie Dowlaglas, than with the of
suspicious and euill words to stirre him to further
heat: especiallie considering that he was of that
great wealth and power, that he alone, if he stood a-
gainst them, might binder all the decrees of the par-
lement: but if he ioyned with the nobilitie, there
might be easie remedie found to salue all these pre-
sent euils. Through which wise and subtil persua-
son of Alexander the gouernour, it was decreed a-
mongst them, that there should be honourable let-
ters directed to him in the common & speciall name
of all the nobilitie, which should admonish him, that
being mindfull of the honorable place which he pos-
sessed (and of his worthie ancestors, by whome the
common-wealth of Scotland had receiued manie
singular benefits) he should repaire to the parle-
ment, which well could not, and willinglie would
not, either keepe or determine any thing in the same
without his presence. In which assemble, if he
would complaine of anie wrongs or griefes offer-
red vnto him, he should be satisfied so fullie as they
might lawfullie.

And if he or anie of his friends or familie had
committed anie disordered part, the nobilitie there
met would fullie remit the same, as well for the no-
bilitie of his, and the worthie memorie of the deeds
done by his ancestors; as for that they rather attri-
buted such actions to the iniurie of the times, and
the frailtie of his age, and the persuation of others,
than vnto him, of whome there was conceiued a
singular hope of great towardnesse, for the aduance-
ment of his name and benefit of his countie. Ther-
fore if he would come and ioyne with them, he should
receiue in gouernement what part, place, and office
of the common-wealth pleaseth him, to the end
that as in times past, their countie had bene ma-
nie waies deliuered out of most heauie dangers by
the hand of the Dowlaglasses, so at this present, the
same might also by his presence and furtherance, be
againe aduanced and strengthened from and against
those intestine euils wherewithall it now fainted.
The young man (by nature and age gracie of glorie)
being moued with these flatteries, and the other
persuations of his friends (whercof euerie one was
blinded with a certeine hope of good to happen to
himselfe) they now deemed it best (forgetting all for-
mer dangers) to thinke vpon their priuate commo-
dities, and with that resolution took their iournie to
come to the parlement.

The chancelor when he vnderstood they were on
there way, rode south of Edenburgh manie miles
to meet the Dowlaglas, and courtouslie invited
the earle to his castell of Cretchton, which laie in his
C. liij. waies

The king
came with
the chancelor
to Eden-
burgh.

The gouernor
and chancel-
lor were made
friends.

William
Dowlaglas
was made
friend.

waie as he should ride, 'at which place he was most honourable intertained by the chancelloz. Where, when they had remained two daies, the chancelloz (after hee had shewed manie tokens of a friendlie mind vnto him) because he would vtterlie banish from the earle all suspicion of him, that he had anie mislike in the said earle) began familiarlie to persuade him, that (remembzng the kings dignitie, and the office of him whome the lot of inheritance, their countrie lawes, and the consent of the parliament had aduanced to the gouernement and administration of all things) he should in all humilitie acknowledge him for his chiefe lord and king; that he would permit the large patrimonie obtained by the blood of his ancestors to descend to posteritie by lineall inheritance as he himselfe receiued it; that he would clearelie deliuer the name and familie of the Dowglasses (no lesse famous for their dutie, than their deeds) not onelie from the filthie spot of treason, but also from all note of suspicion thereof; that he would refrain himselfe and his from offering iniuries to the weake and common people; that he would remoue from him all such as were giuen to robberie and spoile; that he would from henceforth applie himselfe to the defense of iustice, to the end that his former offenses (if there were anie) might rather be attributed to euill counsell of the wicked, than to the naturall disposition of himselfe: for so the repentance of his yong yeres might be taken for pzoofe of his innocencie in such euils. With these and such like speeches, declaring the faith of a well-willing mind, he allured the earle to come to Edinburgh with Dauid his brother partaker of all his counsels and actions.

This faire tale of the chancelloz, more than in times past or then besmeared the place which he possessed, with the manie messengers sent to him from Alexander the gouernoz (to meet him on the way) almost euerie houre, draue a deepe suspicion in the heads of the earles companie riding with him to Edinburgh, of some trecherie to be ment towards him. Whereupon the same began to be blundered from one to another of the traine, and came so fast to the friends of Dowglasse, that some of them did boldlie and liberaltie admonish him, that he should remaine in that purpose (which once he did) to stae, to returne, and not to go forward with the chancelloz: and at the least (if he would aduenture himselfe) to send home his brother Dauid, to the end that hee might not hazard the whole familie vnder the fortune of one stroke, as his father had before admonished him when he died. Whereat the vnadvised youth of this man, being moued to anger against his friends, did by the voices of some of his men (as it were by one that should make proclamation thereof) pacifie the secret murmurings that were amongst the companie; and answered such of his friends as found fault therewith, that he sufficientlie knew, that it was the common plague of all great families, alwaies to haue such men about them, as being impatient of quiet and ease, respect not the danger and miserie of their patrons, so it maie be commoditie vnto them: who because (they would not be restrained within the bounds of peacefull lawes) are authors of sedition, in which (when all things are in turmoile) they may the better wander abroad to satisfie their euill humoz: whose speeches hee regarded not, since hee rather respected and trusted the approved wisdom of the chancelloz and the gouernoz, than the slouthfull & rash minds of such seditious persons.

After which (to cut awaie occasion from the rest to answer) he set spurres to his horse, and hastned his iourneie more than he did before, with his bro-

ther and a few of his other friends, taking his right course into the castell, and (as it were by a certeine destinie) casting himselfe he long into the snares of his enemies. At such time as he came to the castell, the gouernoz (according to his promise) was readie there to meet him, to the end the matter might seeme to be wrought by common consent, and the weight of so great enuie might not light vpon the head of one man. Dowglasse being honorable and friendlie by the gouernoz receiued into the castell, was for dinner placed at the kings table. But in the midst of this sweet meat (sooner satce being prepared) there was a bulles head set before him, which in those daies was a signe of death. Wherewith the yong man amazed (and greatlie troubled in his mind, inwardlie repenting that he followed not the aduice of his followers) was about to rise from the table: but being apprehended by armed men (appointed to that function) he was caried into the court next to the castell, and was there (in reuenge and punishment of his vnbrideled youth) beheaded, with his brother Dauid, and Malcolme Fleming, who (next vnto his brother) was in greatest credit with him. Whose death the king now entring into his adolescencie or yers (as we tearme it) of discretion, is said heauilie with teares to lament, which the chancelloz (griening to see) did greatlie rebuke in the king such vntimelie and inordinate mourning, for the death of his and the common-wealths enemy, whose life (said hee) would haue taken awaie all peace and tranquillitie in the realme.)

After the death of the said earle, the state of the realme became more quiet: for his vncle James Dowglasse baron of Abircorne that succeeded him, being a man of great stature, and verie fat, gaue himselfe to quietnesse, and liued but thre yeres after. The foresaid William had but one sister, that was called the faire maiden of Galloway, and was married to one William Dowglasse, sonne to this earle James before his deceasse, that the heritage should not be diuided: because the earledome of Dowglasse was intailed vpon the bestes male, and the lands of Wigton, Balwanie, Annardale, and Dumont remained to hir as heire generall. This earle William, after the deceasse of his father earle James, began to war vnrulie, and to follow the vntoward manners of the other William Dowglasse latelie beheaded (as before ye haue heard) so that by support manie disobedient persons would not obeie the gouernoz and chancelloz, wher vpon sundrie great slaughters and oppressions were committed.

* Again (by the marriage of this earle William with his rich kinswoman) he did (besides his vnrulie behaviour) aduance himselfe in pride, whereof grew secret enuie, and of that rose open malice: but he in countering sufficientlie with them, partlie by force, & partlie by subtiltie, mainteined his people in those oppressions and robberies, in despite of the proudest: which occasioned the nobilitie to iudge, that the said earle was proude of their misdemeanors. Amongest which euill disposed companie, there was one John Gozmacke of Atholl, who (when he had infected all the countrie about him with this miserable plague of robberie) did set vpon William Rutuene (shiriffe of Perth, and had almost killed him) because he had led a thafe of Atholl to execution. But at the length (true men being alwaies better than theues) the shiriffe recovered the battell, and killed the capitaine Gozmacke, with thirtie of his companie, and put the rest to flight into the mounteins.

In the yere 1443, not manie daies after, the castell of Dunbreton (which is not by strength to be subdued) was thusse taken within a few daies: for Robert Semplier that was captaine of the inferior castell,

1444.
The king fort
rule himselfe.

1445. Lesle.

Fr. This

Buchanan,
lib. 11.

1442.

stell, and Patrike Galbrith capteine of the higher castell, did so diuide their gouernement of the said castell (being a thing of great circuit) that euerie one had a peccular and seuered entrance into his owne part without offense of the other. But yet these two (as most part of the realme of Scotland then was, and as it alwaies, or most commonlie happeneth in the minoritie of the prince, when euerie one will be a king) wanted not their factions, whome they did follow: for Patrike was secretlie thought to fauour Dowglas, for which cause Semplier, or (as some haue Simplicie) the other capteine perceiuing the part of the castell wherein Patrike ruled to be more negligentlie kept, than due to the state of the time required, found opportunitie to erpell Patrike from thence, and to cause all his furniture to be caried out of the same, conuerting the said castell to his owne vse. In the end (the next day after) Patrike vnderstanding thereof, and comming with foure vnarmed persons (to fetch awaie his furniture and household stuffe) entered into the castell, and first finding the porter alone, turned him awaie, then taking armes, expelled the others out of the higher castell: after which, calling aid out of the towne next adioining, he shut them also out of the inferior castell, and got possession of the whole castell to himselfe.)

1444.
The king tooke
his himselfe.

The king, after he came to the age of sonnetene yeres, would not anie longer be vnder the gouernement of others, but toke the rule vpon himselfe. The earle of Dowglas informed thereof, came to him at Striceling, and put himselfe and all he had to remaine at his pleasure: whereupon the king receiued him, pardoned all his passed misdemeanors, and admitted him to be one of his speciall friends and priue counsellors in all his affaires. By his perswasion shortly after, sir Alexander Levingston, & William Creighton being discharged of their offices, were also put off from the counsell, and all their friends banished the court, and they themselves were summoned to appeare before the king: which because they refused to do, they were proclaimed rebels, and put to the horne. The earle Dowglas then for the old grudge he bare them, raised an armie, and harried their lands. In reuenge whereof, sir William Creighton spoiled the earle of Dowglas his lands, so that great trouble was raised through the whole countrie, and the lands of Strabroke, Abircoyne, & the towne of Blackneith were burnt and destroyed.

1445. Lesle.

The earle of Dowglas ruled wholie about the king, & made Archembald his brother earle of Murray, by ioining him in mariage with a ladie of the house of Dunbar inheretrix therof. Moreover, Hugh Dowglas was made earle of Dumont. Thus the earle of Dowglas aduanced his name, and ioined in friendship with the earle of Crawford, with Donald earle of the Isles, and with the earle of Ross, to the end that ech of them should be assistant to others. In this meane time, the earle of Crawford at the request of the earle of Dowglas, toke a great preie of goods out of the bishop of S. Andrews lands in Fife, which bishop was called James Benedie, sisters son to king James the first: where through the earle of Crawford on the one part, and the earle of Huntlie with the Ogilues on the other, met at Arbuth in set battell, where the earle of Crawford was slaine, and diuerse barons on his side, although the victorie and field remained with his sonne, the maister of Crawford, who succeeded his father, and was called earle Beirrie. On the earle of Huntlies side were slaine, John Forbes of Pettoche, Alexander Berkleie of Gartchie, Robert Spawwell of Teline, William Curdun of Burrowfield, sir John Oliphant of Aberdacie, and five hundred more on their side, and one hundred of the victors were also slaine, as Hector

Boetius saith.

The same writer reporteth that the occasion of this battell did chance, through the variance that fell out betwixt the earle of Crawford eldest sonne Alexander Lindsay, and Alexander Ogilvie or Ogilvie (as some write him) about the office of the bailiffetwaik of Arbuth, the which the maister of Crawford inioyning, was displaced and put out by the said Ogilvie. Whereupon the maister of Crawford, to recouer his right (as he toke it) got a power together with helpe of the Hamiltons, and with the same seized vpon the abbacie, and Ogilvie with helpe of the earle of Huntlie, came thither with an armie to recouer the place againe out of his aduersaries hands, and so vpon knowledge hereof giuen vnto the earle of Crawford, he himselfe comming from Dundee vnto Arbuth, at the verie instant when the battels were ready to ioine, caused first his sonne to staie; and after calling forth sir Alexander Ogilvie to talke with him, in purpose to haue made peace betwixt him and his sonne, was thrust into the mouth with a speare, by a common souldier that knew nothing what his demand ment, so that he fell downe therewith, and presentlie died in the place: whereupon together the parties went incontinentlie without more protracting of time, and so fought with such successe, as he fore ye haue heard. The earle of Huntlie escaped by flight: but Alexander Ogilvie being taken and sore wounded, was led to the castell of Fineluin, where shortly after he died of his hurts. This battell was fought the 24 of Januarie, in the yere of our Lord

1445.

* The king thus ruled by the trope of the Dowglas, the earle Dowglas sent to sir William Creighton knight, to deliuer by the castell of Edinburgh. But Creighton (saing that the castell was committed to his gouernement by the whole realme, and that the king had not anie thing to do therewith vntill he came to his full age) had all his goods forthwith confiscat to the kings vse, with his castell of Creighton, which the kings people entered into and possessed. But least they should seeme to offer anie manifest wrong to the said Creighton, they gaue out the same edict (as a beile of their malice and enuie) which Creighton had before caused to be established and proclaimed. For he first of all others made a law, that whosoever did denie or resist the king, demanding the deliuerie of anie castell, should be in danger of treason; the breach and execution of which law did first come and fall by and vpon him, by whome that might be worthilie said (which is vsed to be spoken in common prouerbe) He is fallen into the snare which he prepared for others. Whereupon the Dowglas (since the castell would not otherwise be deliuered) sharpelie besieged the same by the space of nine moneths, which in the end Creighton surrendered into his hands, on certeine conditions to be performed. At which time also the said Creighton was reinstalled with the honor of the chancellorschip, although he neuer after intangled himselfe with affaires of the kingdome, hoping that in time to come (when the darke clouds of the wicked men, which had now ouerspread all things, were ouerblown) a better forme of gouernement would be brought in, as a certeine light to giue shine to the common-wealth.

James Stewart a worthie knight (not he that was surnamed The blacke) was slaine at Birkepartrie, two miles from Dunbarton, by Alexander Leslie, and Robert Boyd, whose crueltie not being satisfied with his blood, they laboured to bring his wife (great with child, & vpon point of deliuerance) with in their danger. For the performance whereof, they sent a priest vnto hir, that (in haste and as it were troubled) should tell hir in what distresse she now re-

Fr. Thin.

1445. I. Ma.
1446. Lesle.
Buchanan.
lib. 11.
Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 279.

1446. Lesle.

Buchan. lib. 11.

fled, and that there was no meanes to relieue himselfe by anie waie (since euery place was beset with horse and footmen) unless he escaped by wote to Robert Woid at Dunbretton, who further vpon oth promised him, that he would safelie bring him backe to his owne house.

The woman being credulous (and ignorant that Robert Woid was present at the death of his husband) and caried out of Cardrosse into the Dunbretton castell, might easilie perceiue his selfe hardlie beset on euery side by the deceipt of his traitors, who (being so deceiued and overcome with feare & griefe) was deliuered of child before his time, and (together with his sonne) died there within few houres after. **Almoſt** at the same time, Patrike Hepburne (gouernour of Hales) held the castell of Dunbar, where he had Jane Seimer the queene with him, to whom he fled for succour in the times of these tumults. Archibald Dunbar (supposing this to be a iust cause of anger) in the night did set vpon Hales the castell of Hepburne, which he toke at the first assault, by sleaing of the watch, who being stricken with a great feare for the same, did (in few daies after) restore the same to earle Dowglaste, with couenant that all they which were within, should depart in safetie without anie danger.

Sir James Steward furnished the Blache knight, husband to the queene the kings mother, was banished the realme for speaking words against the misgouernment of the king and realme, wherewith he offended the earle of Dowglaste. As he passed the seas towards Flanders, he was taken by the Flemings, & shortly after departed this life. The queene his wife being aduertised of his death, died also within a while after, and was buried in the Charterhouse of Perth the fifteenth of Iulie, in the yeere 1446. Her name was Jane Summerſet, daughter to the earle of Summerſet. James the first married her (as before ye may read) in England. She had by him eight children, two sonnes, and six daughters, which were all honorable married: the first named Margaret, to the Dolphin of France: the second Cleane, to the duke of Britaine: the third, to the lord of Tereuer in Zealand: the fourth, to the duke of Austriach: the fifth, to the earle of Huntleie: and the sixth, to the earle of Moray. And by James Steward his second husband, he had three sonnes: John earle of Atholl, James earle of Buchquhane, and Andrew bishop of Murray.

After the death of the queene, Hepburne deliuered the castell of Dunbar (to the king) being empty, and without companie. In August, Alexander earle of Crawford did put to death at Loathene John Leinton, as an ingratefull person to him, since by his fathers helpe he had bene aduanced to great riches, and to the kings affinitie and kinred. Some after, Sir William Creighton, with the bishop of Dunkeld, and Nicholas Oterburne a canon of Glasgowe, were sent in ambassage vnto the duke of Gelderland, for his daughter called Marie, to be ioined in marriage with king James. Their sute was obtained, and the ladie sent into Scotland noble accompanied with diuerſe lords both spirituall and temporall. At his arriual he was receiued by the king with great triumph, and the marriage solemnized by the assistance of all the nobles of Scotland, with great banquetting, iollfull mirth, and all pleasant interteinement of those strangers that might be.

In the yeere 1447, there was a parlement holden at Edinburgh, in the which Sir Alexander Levingston of Balenbar late gouernour, James Dundas and Robert Dundas knights, at the persute of the earle of Dowglaste were forsaken and condemned to perpetuall prison in Dunbretton, and James Levingston his eldest sonne, Robert Levingston trea-

surer, and David Levingston knight, lost their heads. James before his execution made a true iuste declaration to the standers by, declaring the instabilitie of fortune, and change of court; exhorting all persons to beware thereof; with enuie ever followed high estate, and wicked malice neuer suffered good men to gouerne long. In the same parlement, Sir William Creighton was also forsaken for diuerſe causes, but principallie for that his seruants would not deliuer the house of Creighton to the kings heralds, who charged them so to do. This forsalture was concluded in parlement by vertue of an act which the said William (when he was chancelor) caused to be made, and so being the first inuentor, was also the first against whome it was practised.

The yere next ensuing were sundrie incursions made betwixt Scots and Englishmen on the borders, Dunferme was burnt, and likewise Antwoike in England: but shortly after a truce was concluded for seven yeres, great offers of friendship made by the Englishmen for to haue the wars cease on that side, because the warre betwixt them and France was verie hotlie pursued, and ciuill dissention disquieted the state of England, which was raised betwixt the two houses of Lancaster & Yorke. This yere there were manie meetings or parlements of the nobilitie, in which were lawes established for biding the wicked facts of such as applied themselves to spoiling of other men; wher vpon a long peace followed in Scotland: beside which, there were other lawes made for auoiding of treasons, and chieflie of such as touched the kinglie maiestie. This lawe of treason was afterward executed first vpon Dowglaste, which was author thereof. In this parlement were manie earles and lords created, wherof the chiefe were Alexander Seton baron of Gordon, who was made earle of Huntleie, and George Leslie baron was made earle of Rothſaie, both men singularlie famed for their wisdom and valure.

The English borderers of the west marches fetched a great boote of cattell out of Scotland, notwithstanding the truce, in reuenge wherof the Scots invading England, wasted the countrie, burnt towne and villages, slew the people, & with a great preie of prisoners, goods, and cattell, returned home into Scotland. Wherewith followed daile rodes and forraies made on both sides betwixt the Scots and Englishmen; and that with such rage and crueltie, that a great part of Cumberland was in manner laied wast: for on that side the Scots chieflie made their incursions; because that from thence the first occasion of all this mischiefe might seme to haue had the beginning. When such things were certified to the king of Englands counsell, an armie was appointed forthwith to invade Scotland, vnder the leading of the earle of Northumberland, and of one Magnus furnished Redberd, a capteine of great experience, as he that had bene trained by from his youth in the warres of France. The Scots, because of his long red berd, called him in scoone and derision, Magnus with the red mane.

The Scots hearing of the approach of this armie towards their borders, lent a power: George, or rather Hugh Dowglaste earle of Dumont by the kings commission, hauing the conduction thereof, who vnderstanding that the enemies would enter into Annardale, drew thither with the said armie to resist their attempts. The Englishmen passing over the riuer of Sulweie and Annand, came to another riuer called Sarr, there pitched downe their tents. And on the next day they began to rob and spoile the countrie on ech side: but aduertised that the Scots were at hand with an armie, they that were thus gone forth, were with all speed called backe to the campe

James Levingston made an oration.

Sir John Pennington.

W. Creighton condemned.

Wallace of Craggie.

Incursions made. 1448.

The earle of Dumont exhorteth his armie.

Fr. Thin. Lessius lib. 8. pag. 300.

The battell is begun.

1446.

Englishmen fetch booties out of Scotland. 1450.

The Scots invade England.

Magnus is slain.

A knight named Magnus

The English men put to flight.

The earle of Dumont generall of the Scottish armie

The number slain.

The English armie invaded Scotland.

Prisoners taken.

Buchan, lib. II.

James Steward is banished the realme.

He died. The queene died. 1446.

Fr. Thin.

1448. Less.

King James married a daughter of the duke of Gelderland.

1447. 1448. Less.

campe by sound of trumpet, and forthwith their armie was brought into order of battell. Magnus with the red mane was appointed to lead the right wing, and sir John Penneinton a verie skilfull warriour governed the left wing, in the which the Welshmen were placed. The battell of middle ward the earle of Northumberland himself ruled.

The earle of Dumont on the other side ordered his battelle in this wise. He appointed a verie valiant knight called Wallace of Craggie, with an hardie number of souldiers to encounter with Magnus. And against the Welshmen he placed the lord Harwell, and lord Johnstoun, with a chosen compaignie of lustie Scottishmen, and commanding himselfe in the battell of middle ward, had scarce set his people in array, when the trumpets in the English armie began to sound to the battell. He therefore exhorting his men to do valiantlie, put them in remembrance that they had put on armes, being thereto provoked by iniurie which their enemies had first offered them, whereupon they might conceiue good hope of victorie by the fauour of the righteous God, who giueth the upper hand for the most part to that side that hath iust cause to make warre. He willed them then to put all feare out of their hearts; and as they had force enough to vanquish their enemies that came thus to brag and threaten them with bitter destruction: so he be sought them to shew no lesse manlike stomachs to deliver their countrie by hardie fight from iniurie of the same enemies.

He had no sooner made an end of his speech, but that the arrows came so thicke from the English archers, that the Scots began to looke about them, as it were to see which waie they might best escape by flight. But Wallace perceiving their faintnesse of courage, with loud voice rejoyced their cowardise, and with most pittie words exhorted them to remember their duties, and to follow the example of him their leader, whom they should percieve to have follied vowed to spend his life in defense of his countrie. The Scots herewith seemed to be so encouraged, that they rushed forward with great egerneesse upon the right wing of the Englishmen where Magnus stood, and so laied about them with speares, axes, and such like hand weapons, that with great slaughter they drewe the Englishmen to breake braie and to flee: Magnus herewith being more chased than astray, as should appere, pressed forward upon Wallace with great violence, and seeking to approach unto him that he might haue woken his griefe upon him, was inclosed among the Scottish troopes, and slaine with a fele other of his friends and seruants that followed him.

The slaughter of this man, in whom consisted no small hope of victorie on the English part, put the residue of their armie in such feare, that they were not able longer to resist the Scottishmen's violent impression, but turning their backs fled amaine, whom the Scots pursued in chase verie fiercely, so that manie of the Englishmen died in the battell, but more now in the chase: for the tide being come in, staid manie of them that made their course to haue escaped thorough the riuer, whereby diuerse that ventured into the water were drowned: & other that durst not take the water, were oppressed by the Scots that followed them. There died in this battell of Englishmen, to the number nere hand of thre thousand, and amongst other, Magnus (as before ye haue heard) with eleyen other knights of no small account and estimation. Of Scots were lost somewhat above six hundred. There were taken prisoners of Englishmen sir John Penneinton, and sir Robert Harington knights, and the lord Percie, sonne to the earle of Northumberland, who holpe his father to go backe,

whereby he escaped by flight: & beside these, a great number of other were by the Scots taken prisoners, whom the sword and water had spared.

The earle of Dumont hauing got this honorable victorie, conueied the chiefest of the prisoners to the castle of Lochmaben, and after repaired to the court, where he was of the king ioyfullie received. honorable feasted, and highlie rewarded. After this, the Scots that dwelled upon the borders, liued for a season in better quiet: for though the Englishmen wished to haue bene reuenged for this losse and ouerthrow of their people, yet by reason of ciuill wars that shortly after followed, they were constrained to forbear to make anie further wars against the Scots, till better occasion might serue. And for the avoiding of danger that might insue in time of this intestine trouble by forein enemies, they sued to haue a truce with the Scots, which for the terme of thre yeares was granted. In this yeare, William earle of Douglas, with a great compaignie of nobles and gentlemen, as the lords Hamilton, Craie, Salton, Seaton, and Elphant; also, Calder, Arghart, Cambell, Fraser, and Lander, knights, went into Italie, and was at Rome in time of the Iubile which was kept there that yeare. He left behind him to gouerne his lands in Scotland, Hugh earle of Dumont that was his brother: but in his absence (by counsell of such as were about him) the king summoned the erle to appeare before him within 40 daies; & because he came not within that set time, he was put to the horne, & his lands invaded & spoiled.

Whereupon the king sent William Seneclare earle of Orades at that time chancelor, first into Gallotway, and then into Douglas, where he appointed collectors to take vp (to the kings vse) the reuenues of the Douglas. But when Seneclare was not of sufficient strength to performe what he would, because some & the most part created (though others intreated) him, he returned home without doing anie thing. Wherewith the king greatlie moued (because he saw his authoritie contemned) called all the Douglases into law, and declared them publicke enemies and detractors of his gouernment. And thereupon (providing an armie against them) he goeth into Gallotway: where, at their first coming (since their captiues were all in prison) a small part of the armie (seeing the enemies dispersed into rougher parts of the countrie to hide the misdeeds) turned backe to the king without anie thing done. Whereat the king highlie offended (in that such wandering theues should so lightlie dare to contemne his power) followed them into their starting holes and caues, and with no great labor toke the castle of Lochmaben, reducing the countrie of Douglas (with extreme labor of his souldiers) to his subiection, at that time he leuelled the castle thereof equall with the ground.)

The earle aduertised hereof, with all speed returned home through England; and sent his brother James unto the king, to know his pleasure: who commanding the earle to see his countries (namely Annandale) purged of theues and robbers, pardoned him of all offenses, and receiued him into fauor againe, so that he was also efformes proclaimed the kings sientenant; but shortly after going into England without the kings licence, to common with the king of England about the recouerie of losses suffered by the Englishmen by certeine inrodes (as he alleged) the king toke the matter in verie euill part, for that he should seeme so to be had in contempt of the earle: and withall he mistrusted also, least there were some secret practises in hand to the preiudice of him and his realme: so that he skyped not a little towards the earle. Who being thereof aduertised, came

The earle of Northumberland escapeth by flight.

1448. Buch. 1450. Lell. A truce for thre yeares betwene England and Scotland.

The earle of Douglas goeth into Italie.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan.

The earle of Douglas goeth into England without licence of the king of Scots.

The earle of Dowglasle sueth for pardon.

came in humble wise to the king, & besought him of pardon, if he had in anie wise offended him, assuring him that from thenceforth, he would neuer commit anie act that might tend to his maiesties displeasure.

The enuie that bare rule about the king.

The seeketh to destrone the L. chancellor.

The Dowglasle constrained to flee out of Edinburgh. He maketh a part.

The earle of Dowglasle presumed to assistance at the hands of his friends. The Lord Herres his lands spoiled.

The Lord Herres hanged.

The confederacie misruled.

The king sendeth for the earle of Dowglasle.

Herewith the quene also and other noble men made sute to the king for the earles pardon, so that in the end he was receiued againe into fauor, but yet discharged of bearing anie publike office, which pinched him so sore (namelie for that his aduerfaries William Cheynton lord chancellor, and the earle of Dkneie seemed to beare all the rule about the king) that he fought to dispatch the chancellor, procuring certeine of his seruants and friends to assault him on a morning as he was comming forth of Edinburgh, but yet he escaped to his castell of Cheynton, although wounded in deed right sore, and within few daies after, gathering a power of his kinsmen, friends, & allies, he returned againe to Edinburgh, and had destroyed (as was thought) the earle of Dowglasle at that present, if he had not shifted away the more speedlie, who being thus to his great griefe, and no small dishonor chased out of Edinburgh, deuised which way he might best be reuenged; and for the more easie accomplishment of his purpose, he procured the earles of Crawford and Kossle to ioint with him in that quarrell against Cheynton and other his complices, by force of which confederacie they covenanted to assist one another against the malice of the said Cheynton, and all other their aduerfaries.

The earle of Dowglasle hauing concluded this bond of confederacie, bare himselfe verie high, in presuming further thereof than shod with reason: and this was one great cause of the kings displeasure now passinglie increased against the said earle. An other cause was this: a sort of thienes and robbers brake into the lands of the lord John Herres, a noble man, and one that had continued euer faithfull to the king, taking with them out of the same lands a great botie of cattell. And whereas the said lord Herres complained unto the earle of Dowglasle of that wrong, because the offenders were inhabiting within his countie, and yet could haue no redresse; he attempted to fetch out of Annardale some preie, wherewith to satisfie in part the wrong which had bene offered him by those linniers and robbers. But such was his euill hap, that taken he was with his retinue, and committed to prison, and shortly after by commandement of the earle of Dowglasle he was hanged as a felon, notwithstanding that the king by an herald commanded the contrarie.

The king being sore offended herewith (as he had no lesse cause) passed ouer his displeasure with silence, till he saw time and opportunitie to reuenge the same: but in the meane season manie an honest man bought the bargaine right deerie; being spoiled of that he had, and otherwise euill intreated, and yet durst not the meaner sort once complaine for feare of further mischief: where the higher powers also lamented the great disorders daily increasing, and yet were not able in anie wise to reforme the same, insomuch as it was greatly doubted, least the earles of Dowglasle, Crawford, Kossle, Murray, and other of that faction ment to put the king beside his seat. Which doubt being put into the kings head, brought him into no small perplexitie, wherupon by courteous messages he sent for the earle of Dowglasle, willing him to repaire to his presence, so iourning then in Striueling castell, which he refused to doe, till he had assurance vnder the kings great seale for his safe comming and going (as some haue said). And then about Shrovetide in the yeare 1451, he came to the court at Striueling; where the king

tooke him aside, & in secret talke moued and requested him to forsake the league and bond of friendship betwixt him and the earle of Crawford, and other such his confederats.

There was a secret murmuring amongst a number, that this earle of Dowglasle purposed to make a pzofo on a day to get the garland beside the kings head. In deed by reason of his kinsmen and allies, he was of more puissance in the realme, than (as it was thought) shod with the suertie of the kings state, vnlesse he were the more faithfull. He had at the same time two brethren that were also earles, as Archembald earle of Murray, and Hugh, or (as other haue) George earle of Dumont, beside the earle of Angus, and the earle of Morvoun, that were of his surname and bloud, with a great number of other lords, knights, and men of great possessions and liuings, all of the same surname, and linked in friendship and aliance with other the chiefest lineages of all the realme. Hereto (by reason there had bene so manie vallant men and worthy capteins of the Dowglasles one after another, as it had bene by succession) the people and commons of Scotland bare such good will and fauour towards that name, that they were readie to ride and go with them, they cared not whither, nor against whome. It is said, that the earles of Dowglasles might haue raised thirtie or fortie thousand warlike persons readie at their commandement, whensoever it had pleased them to call. In deed the Dowglasles had euer the gouernement of all matters pertaining vnto the defense of the realme, so that the men of war had them still in all the estimation and honor that might be.

But now to the purpose, touching the conference had betwixt king James the second, and the earle of Dowglasle: it chanced in the end (vpon what occasion I know not) that the earle answered the king somewhat ouerthwartlie, wherewith the king toke such indignation, that the earle hereupon was slaine by him, and such other as were there about him, on Shrovetide. Then after the earle was thus made a waite, his brethren made open warre against the king, and slue all such of his friends and seruants, as they might incounter with: insomuch that those which travelled by the high waies, were in doubt to confesse whether they belonged to the king, or to the Dowglasles. The Lord of Cadzow being in the towne of Striueling, with a great companie of the earle of Dowglasles friends, in reuenge of his death incontinentlie burnt that towne, and did manie other great displeasures to the king and his subjects, setting forth proclamations against the king and his counsell, for the violating of the assurance granted (as before is said) to the earle of Dowglasle.

And that, with such despite, as in the 6 kalends of Aprill, binding a wooden truncheon to an horse talle, they fasteneth the safe conduct of the king and the nobles, which they forbore not to traile by and dole the streets (not sparing to reuile the king) with bitter and heauie words of contumelie and exclamation. With which not satisfied, when they were come into the market place, they did with the noise of five hundred shornes, and by the mouth of a crier, proclame the king and all such as were about him, faithlesse, perjured, and such persons as were to be denounced enemies of all goodnesse and godmen. And yet supposing this not a sufficient reuenge to quench the furie of their rebellious minds, they run with like rage, and with like order doe spoile the countie of possessions of all such as took part with the king, and did likewise in the execution of their obedientie. For they besieged the castell of Dalketh, binding themselves (as constrained and perjured enemies of all vertue) not to depart from thence,

Earles of the surname of the Dowglasles.

The lineage and great alliance of the Dowglasles.

The lone that the people bare toward the name of the Dowglasles.

The earle of Dowglasle answered the king ouerthwartlie, and is slaine.

1442. Buch. His brethren make warre against the king.

Striueling is burnt.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. 11.

thence being that pl had the D mity that the term sea int of ita had: of which red an other a assen thure sage, and that u more, fords: John Crav battle in the host the on and fo the hi there of Hu lesse a manie fought day, I M battel those s belles uerle them of the zenot bald Strat haried erle of ried al mean the cau all his kings Lord t mont, faction herald the lau of this seruand under upon t seale i neither Beside king t murthe

Callace of Sannawain betrath the role of Crawford.

The earle of Huntlye dicover.

1452.

Lands giuen to the earle of Huntlie.

The earle of Murray.

The earle of Crawford possided.

Lords cited to appeare.

Writings set by in contempt of the king.

thence being that pl had the D mity that the term sea int of ita had: of which red an other a assen thure sage, and that u more, fords: John Crav battle in the host the on and fo the hi there of Hu lesse a manie fought day, I M battel those s belles uerle them of the zenot bald Strat haried erle of ried al mean the cau all his kings Lord t mont, faction herald the lau of this seruand under upon t seale i neither Beside king t murthe

theire before they had taken and spoiled the same being grievously offended with John the lord of that place, because that he with the earle of Angus had secured themselves from the opinion & faction of the Dowglasles, whose furie (growing still to extremitie) soand such support (by the inclining multitudes) that the king was put to his shifts) that he was determined to have left the realme, and to have fled by sea into France, had not James the erle the bishop of saint Andrews caused him to stae, on the hope he had of assistance onelie by the earle of Huntley; which earle hearing that the Dowglasles had gathered an armie in the south against the king; raised an other armie in the north to aid the king.

On the other side the earle of Crawford, having assembled a great power, incountered him at Breithume, in purpose to stop the earle of Huntleys passage, where betwixt them was fought a fore battell; and the earle of Crawford chased into Fintwin, for that manie noble men, gentlemen, and commons were slaine, and amongest other the earle of Crawford's brother was one, Hector Boetius wrieth, that John Colclach of Bannamwin, whome the earle of Crawford had appointed to lead them that bare the battell ares, or (as I maie terme them) the blismen, in the last twing of his armie, fled of purpose in the hottest of the fight, so left the middle ward naked on the one side of the chiefest aid that the said earle had, and so the victorie by that meane onelie inclined to the kings standard, which the earle of Huntley had there with him. But howsoever it was, the said erle of Huntley had the honor of the field, who neuertheless lost diuerse of his men also, though nothing so manie as his aduersaries did. This battell was fought the eighteenth of Maie, being the Ascension day, 1452.

The earle of Huntley the same day before the battells ioined, gaue lands to the principall men of those surnames that were with him, as to the Foybesses, Lellies, Jounings, Wyllies, Grants, and diuerse other. Which bountifullnesse of the earle made them to fight more ballantie. In recompense wherof the king gaue to the said earle the lands of Badzenot & Lochquhaber. In the meane time, Archembald Dowglas earle of Murray burnt the peill of Straboggie, pertaining to the erle of Huntley, and haried the lands thereabouts. In reuenge wherof, the erle of Huntley at his returning backe, burnt & haried all the lands of the earldome of Murray. In the meane time, at a parlement holden at Edinburgh, the earle of Crawford was denounced a traitor, and all his lands and goods deemed to be forfeited into the kings hands. James earle of Dowglas, James Lord Hammliton, the earles of Murray, and Archembald, the lord of Baluay, and manie other of that faction, were by publike proclamation made by an herald, commanded to appeare by a day to vnderlie the law. But in the next night that followed the day of this proclamation, certeine of the Dowglasles seruants that were sent priuile to Edinburgh, to vnderstand what was done there, fastened writings vpon the church doores, sealed with the Dowglasles seale in this forme. The earle from henceforth will neither obeie citation, nor other commandement. Beside this, in the same writings, they charged the king with manie heinous crimes, calling him a murder, perjured, false, and a bloudsucker.

The king therefore assembled an armie, and went south against them: but because the time of the yere was contrarie to his purpose, he could do no great hurt to his enemies, although he burnt vp their corne, and dyone atwaie their cattell. But the Dowglas seemed to passe little for the kings malice, and the erle himselfe married his brothers wife the coun-

tesse Beatrice, & sent to Rome for a licence to haue that marriage made lawfull: but by the kings agents in that court, the earles suite might not be obtained. Archembald, he kept his still in place of his wife, and continuing in rebellion against the king, the next spring, and for the most part of the teache of two yeres next ensuing, he haried and spoiled the kings possessions; and the king on the other part sold the Archaibalds; and all other the lands and possessions that belonged to the said earle of Dowglas or his friends: but shortly after, as the king passed through Angus, to go into the north parts of the realme, the earle of Crawford came and submitted himselfe vnto him, craving mercie in most humble and lamentable wise, and obtained the kings pardon thorough mediation of James Benedic bishop of saint Andrews, and sir William Creighton; but the said earle liued not past six moneths after, departing this life by force of an hot ague in the yere 1454.

The same yere, the king called a parlement at Edinburgh, in the which James earle of Dowglas, and his brothers wife the countesse Beatrice (whome he had taken to him by waie of a pretended & felth marriage) Archembald Dowglas earle of Murray, George Dowglas earle of Ardmont, and John Dowglas baron of Baluay, were forfeited & condemned of treason. The earldome of Murray was giuen to sir James Creighton, or rather restored to him from whome it had bene wrongfullie taken by the vniuersall sentence of William earle of Dowglas, who had procured it to be assigned vnto his brother the forsaide Archembald, though the right remained in the said sir James Creighton. But yet when the said sir James Creighton could not keepe that earldome without enuie of diuerse and sundrie persons, he handled the matter so, that shortly after it returned againe to the kings hands. Moreover at this parlement, George Creighton was created erle of Cathness, & William Haye constable of Scotland was made earle of Erroll. There were also diuerse created lords of the parlement, whose titles were as folow: Dairie, Halls, Wood, Lile, and Leane. After the breaking vp of the parlement, the king made a iourne against his aduersaries into Galloway, and with small adu brought all the castles of that countrie into his possession, and then turning into Dowglasdale, because the inhabitants thereof would not obeie him, he abandoned the spoile thereof vnto his souldiours, who practised no small crueltie against the inhabitants.

Here vpon the Dowglasles being diuene to their shifts, the lord James Hammliton of Cadzow was sent from thence into England to sue for aid, but in vaine, for none there would be granted: wherevpon returning to his friends, he counselled the earle of Dowglas to trust to his owne forces; and sith the same were farre superio in number of men to the kings power, he gaue likewise counsell without delay, to set vpon the king, that the matter might be tried by chance of battell, the onelie meane to assure them of their liues and estates, for otherwise he saw not how anie vnfeined agreement might be concluded, the matter being now passed so farre south to an extremitie. But the earle of Dowglas vnderlie (as some wriite) refused to fight against his soueraigne and true liege lord, if any other meane might be found. Wherevpon diuerse great lords which were with him there on his side, being men of great wit, and no lesse experience, aduised him yet to keepe together his host, till by their trauell and assistance a peace were concluded, and pardon obtained for all parts: for if the armie were once broken vp, all hope was then past (as they alledged) for anie indifferent conditions

The earle of Dowglas haried his brothers possessions.

The earle of Crawford submitted himselfe to the king, and is pardoned. He departed this life. 1455. Buch.

1454. A parlement.

The Dowglasles forfeited, or (as I may say) attainted.

Creations of noble men.

Dowglasdale giuen in spoile to the men of warre.

The counsell of the lord Hammliton.

Io. Maior.

The lord
Hamilton
departeth
from the
Dowglas.

conditions of peace to be obtained.

Herewith also, the lord Hamilton being wiser than the residue, had the Dowglas farewell, and so departed, concluding that he should never see so faire a day againe, wherein he might haue cast the dice for the whole kingdome. And being thus departed from the Dowglas, he repaired to the king as then lieng at the siege of Abircorne, who sent him to the castell of Rosseine, there to remaine vnder safe keeping with the earle of Arkenie, to whom the said castell belonged: but at length, the king did not onlie pardon the lord Hamilton of all passed offenses, but also receiued him into such fauor, that he gaue him his eldest daughter in marriage, as after shall appeare. But now vpon the withdrawing thus of the said lord Hamilton from the Dowglas, because the king had set forth an open proclamation of pardon to all those that would forsake the earle of Dowglas, the most part of the same earles companie departed from him, by reason whereof he fled into England, together with his brethren. The king lieng at the siege of Abircorne, lost diuerse of his men, besides manie that were wounded; but yet taking first a strong tower, being one of the chiefest limmes of that fortreffe, shortly after hee wan the rest.

The earle of
Dowglas his
companie
shrinketh
from him.

The withdrawing
eth into Eng-
land.

He innueth
Scotland.

The earle of
Dowglas dis-
comfited.
Archembald
Dowglas
earle of Mur-
rey slaine.
Earle of Ar-
mont taken.
Donald earle
of Rosse.

The earle of Dowglas being withdrawing (as ye haue heard) into England, within a while after got together certeine companies of men, and with the same returned againe into Scotland by the west borders, in hope to find friends in those parties; but such as the king had appointed there to defend the countrie, assembling themselves together, and setting vpon him, discomfited his people, slue his brother Archembald, and toke the erle of Armont prisoner, being first sore wounded. The baron of Baluay escaped into a wood, and so got away. The earle himselfe also (as Hector Boetius saith) escaped by flight, and got vnto Dunstaffage, where finding Donald earle of Rosse and lord of the Isles, he procured him (being of nature inclined and readie inough to follow such counsell) to make warre in his fauor against the king. And after he had once set him on worke, he got him backe againe into England. Donald wasted not onelie the kings possessions that lay nere to Dunstaffage, but also passing through Argile, did much hurt in all places where he came. He innuaded also the Ile of Arrane, and chased the bishop of Arismore, confreining him to take sanctuary. This done, he entered into Lochquahar, & so into Murray land, where he burnt the towne of Inuer nes, and wan the castell by a guilefull traine.

The earle of
Armont be-
headed.

The countess
of Dowglas
Beatrice sub-
mitteth hir
selfe to the k.
The countess
of Ros.

In the meane time, the earle of Armont after he was recovered of his hurts (as the said Boetius writeth) was presented to the king, and after he had remained in prison a certeine time, he was at length beheaded. Moreover the countesse Beatrice, after she saw no hope left that the earle of Dowglas should recover his former estate, came to the king, and submitted herselfe, laing all the blame in the earle, who had procured hir vnto such vnlawfull marriage with him, being hir former husbands brother. The king receiued hir right courteously, and gaue to hir the baronie of Baluay, to mainteine therewith hir estate. Shortly after also the countesse of Rosse fled from hir husband, & came to the king for feare of hir husbands crueltie, wherof partlie she had already tasted. The king because he had made the marriage betwixt hir and hir husband, assigned hir sozth sufficient reuerens also for the maintenance of hir estate. About the same time Patrike Thornton one of the kings seruants, but a fauourer of the Dowglas, slue John Sandlands of Calder the kings cousin, and Alane Stewart at Dunbreton, for that

Patrice
Thornton.

they fauored the contrarie faction: but the king getting the offenders into his hands, caused him and his complices to die for their wicked offense committed. The vniuersitie of Glasgowe was founded about this time by one Turnbull, bishop of that see. In the yeere following, died William Hare earle of Erroll, and constable of Scotland: also George Creighton earle of Catnes, and William Creighton chiefe of that familie.

The vniuersi-
tie of Glasgowe
founded.

1455.
Death of no-
ble men.

In this meane while, the earle of Dowglas remaining in England, procured the Englishmen diuers times to make rodes into Scotland, wherby he lost (as the Scottish writers affirme) the loue of his owne countymen, when they saw him thus ioine with the Englishmen, to the damage of his native land. At one time, Henrie earle of Northumberland, and the said earle of Dowglas innuaded the Welsh, but taking little heed to themselves, and suffering their people to ride abroad to harie the countrie without order; Dowglas earle of Angus with a mightie armie of Scottishmen set vpon them, and put them to flight, slaying diuers, and taking to the number of seuen hundred prisoners. Thus (as should appeare) the earle of Dowglas in vaine sought to disquiet his countrie, for all his friends in Scotland continued faithfull to the king, who had granted peace to all other of the Dowglases and their complices: for it was Gods will the matter should be taken vpon without more bloudshed, that the right line of the Scottish kings might be preserved. [For (as it appeareth) he was amongst the English innuading Scotland, subdued and taken by the barons Johnston and Cockpall, who presented him vnto the king, wherupon the king after a sozt banished him into the monasterie of Lendore, where he was bound fullie and honorablie receiued (according to his nobilitie) of the religious persons, in which place he liued manie yeeres, and then died.]

Fr.Thin.
1454.
Lefleus lib.8.
pag.305.

1455
A parliament
holden.

The fles &
high land
quietlie go-
urned.

And though the almightie God might haue brought that to passe by other meanes, according as it should haue pleased his good will and omnipotent power; yet he chose this way, whereby the effusion of much blood might be auoided, which by ciuill battell had bene spilled, if the parties hauing their hearts filled with rancor & ire, had buckled together in battell. But the k. vsing the aduise of his kinsman James Benedie archbishop of S. Andrews, compassed his purpose in the end, dispatching out of the way such as he anie waies sozth mistrusted, of which number namely were the Dowglases, whose puillance and authoritie not without cause he euermore suspected. Many haue reported (as before is said) that in the beginning king James the second, through feare of the great power of these Dowglases, was in mind to haue fled the realme, but being recomfited by the counsell and authoritie of the said bishop James Benedie, he aduanced his studie to matters of greater importance.

James Benedie
archbith. of
S. Andrews,
chefe chan-
celor to the
king.

Donald earle
of Rosse, and
lord of the
Isles.

Fr.Thin.
Buchanan,
lib.11.

The said Benedie turned the earle of Angus, being of the surname of the Dowglases, and brother to him by his mother, to take part with the king. He procured also diuers other of the same blood and surname, to renolt from the other confederats, and to submit themselves vpon promise of pardon vnto the kings mercie; and so infeebling the forces of such as were aduersaries to the king, in the end he had them all at his pleasure. It was thought, that so much as the Dowglases had their lands lieng so vpon the west and middle marches of the realme, (that no man might beare anie role in those parts, but onelie they themselves) if they had happilie ioined with the Englishmen, considering the great intelligence beside, which they had in all other parts of the realme, that by kinned and aliance, the realme might

The practise
of bishop
Benedie.

Great power
cause of suspi-
cion.

might have fallen into great perill: for trulie it is a dangerous thing (as lo. Maior saith) for the estate of a realme to have men of great power and authoritie inhabiting on the borders and uttermost parts thereof. For if they chance (upon anie occasion giuen) to renounce their obedience to their naturall prince & supreme gouernor, the prejudice may be great and irrecoverable, that oftentimes thereof insueth; as well appeareth in the earles of March, and other before mentioned in this historie: and likewise in France by the duke of Burgognie, Britaine, and Normandie: for till those countries were incorporated and annexed unto the crowne of France, the kings of that realme were oftentimes put to great hinderance through rebellion by them, whome they accounted for their subiects.

But now to returne where I left. After the Doto-glassees were once dispatched, and things quieted, King James the second began then to reigne and rule reallie, not doubting the controlment of anie other person. For then he ordeined lawes for his people as seemed best to his liking, commanding the same to be kept vnder great penalties and forfeitures. And being counselled chieftie by the bishop of saint Andrews, James Benetie that was his uncle, and the earle of Orknie, he passed through all the parts of his realme, granting a generall pardon of all offences passed. And so he ruled and gouerned his subiects in great quietnesse, and caused iustice to dwelle to be ministered on all sides, that it was said in his daies, how he caused the rath bul to keepe the cow. In the yere 1455, the king held a parliament, in which were made many good lawes made and established for the weale of all the realme, as in the booke of the acts of parliament is contained. He vied the matter also in such wise with the principall capteins of the Isles, and of the hie lands, that the same were as quietlie gouerned, as anie part of the lowe lands, shewing all obedience as well in paying such duties as they owed to the king for their lands, as also in readinesse to serue in the warres with great companies of men, as became them to do: speciallie Donald lord of the Isles and earle of Ross, who had before joined himselfe in confederacie with the earles of Douglas and Crawford against the king, and had taken into his hands the kings house, and castell of Inuerness (as before ye haue heard) naming himselfe king of the Isles.

Heuerthelesse, he was now at length reconciled to the king, and gaue pledges for his good demeanour, and afterwards brought to the king three thousand men in aid at the siege of Roxburgh, & whose reconciliation was after this maner. When this Donald perceived aduerser fortune to besiege him on euerie side, he sent messengers to the king, craving peace and pardon for himselfe and for his offences. Who comming before the king (and with manie humble speeches, remembryng the manie parts of clemencie which the king had vied to the earle of Crawford, and such as followed his faction) they did so purge the fault of Donald (by transferring the same to the fatal rage and iniurie of the present times, and by promising in his behalfe that hereafter he should line most quietlie in dutifull obedience) that they moued the kings mind to haue compassion vpon him.

But yet the king answered in a meane sort betwene both, not utterly pardoning, nor flatlie reiecting him: for (saith he) there be yet manie shewes extant of his wickednesse, and he hath not giuen forth anie one token of a changed mind. Wherefore, to the end that we may beleue the same to be true (which you haue promised in his behalfe) hereafter to become a dutifull subiect and lo-

uing neighbour to us, and to those which are about him, he must with repentance (proceeding from an unfeigned long) craue pardon from vs whome he hath grievously offended, and (with sufficient restitution) recompense those whome (by spoiling) he had iniured: besides which also, he must with some worthy exploit wipe away the memoire and blot of all his former committed wickednes. And although I well know that no vertue doth more beset a kinglie maiestie than clemencie, yet we ought so to provide, that (measuring all things by the line of reason) the wicked war not so proud and rebellious (by ouer-much lenitie and loose gouernement) as the god may be excited to the honest performance of their dutie by fauour and iustice. Wherefore I will inioine a time to Donald, and the rest of his associates, wherein they may openlie shew some deeds of an altered disposition, and from hence forth we will so account of him, as his works and not his words shall iustifie him to be. But in the meane time, I will him to rest in quiet, leaving it in the power of him and his, whether he, and they, will hereafter be accounted (by due deserts) happie or miserable. Which said, the messengers departed, and Donald rested satisfied.)

In the meane while great dissention rose in England betwene the two houses of Lancaster & York; the king being principall of the house of Lancaster, was taken himselfe at the battell of saint Albons. But the queene with hir sonne the prince, and Henrie the yong duke of Summer set, with diuers other fled into the north parts of England, and sent to the king of Scotland to desire him of aid, who vpon good aduise taken with his counsell, for that king Henrie had euer kept well the peace with the realme of Scotland, and also for reuenge of his uncle the duke of Summer set his death, prepared an armie of twentie thousand men to passe into England: and in the meane time all the north parts of England, hearing that king James was ready to support the queene of England, joined with hir, and past forward into the south parts, constraining the duke of York to flee the realme, and so king Henrie inioined the gouernement of his realme againe, and for that time concluded an agreement with the duke of York his aduersarie, which lasted not long.

The duke of York remembryng how ready king James was to prepare an armie in support of his aduersarie king Henrie, procured the borderers to make incursions vpon the Scottish subiects, & would suffer no redresse to be had, nor daies of truce to be kept on the borders, as in time of peace the custome was. Wherevpon king James raised a power, and in person entered with the same into England, doing great hurt by destroyeng diuers towne, castles and pelles in Northumberland, the bishoppske and other parts, till at length vpon faire promises made by the Englishmen, he returned into his owne countrie. [At this time, the art of printing was first inuented in the citie of Mentz in Germanie, but whether to great commoditie or discommoditie of learning, I leaue to the iudgement of others, saith Lefleus.]

After this, king Henrie of England, perceiuing that the duke of York by the counsell of the earle of Warwick, ceased not to practise conspiracies against him, sent estates to king James, requiring him of aid against them, and promised therefore to restore vnto the king of Scotland the lands in Northumberland, Cumberland, the bishoppske of Durham, and such like, which the kings of Scotland had held before. This offer was accepted, and by treaties and contracts accorded, sealed, and interchanged betwixt the two princes (as the Scottishmen alledge.) The yere next following, at the queene of Englands desire

Dissention in England.

King James inuadeth England.

Fr. Thim Lefleus lib. 8. pag. 308. The art of printing first inuented.

1458.

1459.

D. J.

desire

The printer of Glasgow printed. 1455. Death of noble men.

James 2nd of Scotland.

3 general pardon granted.

r. Thim. 1454. Lefleus lib. 8. pag. 305.

1455 Parliament held.

The Isles & high land quietlie gouerned.

Donald earle of Ross, and lord of the Isles.

James Benetie archbishop of D. Andrews, & his chancellor to the king.

Fr. Thim Buchanan. lib. 11.

The practice of bishop Benetie.

Great power of suspicion.

desire to support hir against the house of Porke, king James with a great armie entered England, but after that the queene in the meane time had slaine the duke of Porke, & got the upper hand of hir enemies, at the same queenes request, he retired into Scotland againe. Neuerthelesse shortly after, when the earles of March and Warwicke fought still to mainteine their quarrell against the queene of England, he was constrained to withdraw into the north parts, and to desire king James to approach eassones with his armie unto the borders: which he did, meaning to win the castles of Roxburgh and Warke, which were amongst other things promised to be deliuered unto him by king Henrie, and so comming to Roxburgh, laied his armie round about that castle, and planted his siege in full warlike manner.

Where the king hauing great experience in knowledge of shooting great artillerie, departed from his campe, accompanied with the earle of Angus, and others, and came to the trenches where the great ordnance was planted, which he caused to be shot off. And here by great misfortune, this worthy prince James the second, was slaine by the slice of a great peece of artillerie, which by ouercharging chanced to breake, and slue not onlie the king standing somewhat nere it, but also hurt the earle of Angus, with other: being a notable president from henceforth, how such great princes approach so nere within danger of such peeces of ordnance, when they are shot off. He was thus killed the third day of August, in the yere of his life 29, of his reigne 24, and after the incarnation 1460. His bodie was buried with all funerall obsequies according to his estate, within the monasterie of Holie rood house at Edinburgh, the people generallie lamenting his death with no lesse sorow and dolefull moene, than as is seene in a priuat house for the decesse of the welbeloued master and owner thereof.

In time of warre, amongst his subiects in the campe, he behaued himselfe so gentle towards all men, that they seemed not to feare him as their king, but to reuerence & loue him like a father. He would ride by and doleure amongst them, and eat & drinke with them, euen as he had bene fellowlike with the meanest. He had issue by his wife queene Marie three sonnes, and two daughters. His eldest sonne named James, succeeded him in the kingdome; the second named Alexander, was created duke of Albanie; and his third sonne called John, was made earle of Mar. The eldest of his daughters the Hammilton had in marriage (as before is said) and also after shall be mentioned.

* All the time of the reigne of this king, christian religion did greatlie flourish amongst the Scots: for there were amongst them twelue notable and famous bishops, whereof the chieffest were James Kennedy bishop of saint Andrewes, Turnebull bishop of Glasgou, Thomas Spenser bishop of Aberdeen, and Henrie Lychton bishop of Murray. At what time likewise there were manie religious abbats that kept such great houses, as both the nobilitie and communalitie traouelling through out the kingdome, did neuer almost lodge in anye publicke hosterie, but in the monasteries: which were neuer vered or spoiled, during the time of the ciuill warres of the kingdome. Beside these men of eminent learning, there flourished also Nicholas Weidone, and John Clomatre, singular diuines, with manie other doctors laudable seene in all kind of learning. In the reigne of which king also, Charles the 7, king of France, for singular seruice done unto him by the Scots, in the warres (betweene the English and the French) did honorable indow manie of the Scots (for recompense thereof) with manie rich possessions in

quitaine, who by that meanes (settling themselves in that countrie) were the originall of manie worthie families of that prouince, amongst which is that famous kindred of Caldebell de la Canipania in Colouise, at this time greatlie flourishing, which had his beginning from Caldebell a thane (or baron) being knight in the north parts of Scotland: for the grandfather of him which is now living, head of that house did inioy the place of magistrat or ruler of the Capitoline in that citie, hauing that title confirmed to his posteritie. This mans sonne Peter Caldebell being a senator in the high court of Colouise (commonlie called the parlement) was for his singular learning and wisdom had in great honor of all men during his life, which stretched to extream age. In whose place came John (the eldest sonne of the said Peter) who doth at this day possesse the roome of his father, as a senator of the said court of Colouise. And his other children with great honor are indued with other offices of gouernement in the said citie.)

Some strange sights there appeared before the death of this king James the second: for the day before he was slaine, a blazing star was plainlie seene, which signified (as was thought) the death of the said king. In the yere before the siege, there was in Dundee an hermaphrodite, that is, a person with both shapes, but esteemed for a woman onlie, till it was proued, that lieng with hir maisters daughter nightlie where she dwelt, she had got the yong damsell with child; for the which act, because she had counterfeited hir selfe a woman, and yet had wrought the part of a man, she was condemned to be buried quicke, and suffered according to that iudgement. At the same time, there was a certeine theefe, that with his familie liued apart from the companie of men, remaining secretlie within a den in Angus called Fenisden, who used to kill yong persons, and to feed on their flesh, for the which abominable offense, being apprehended with his wife and all his familie, they were burnt to death. One of his daughters that was scarce twelue moneths of age, onlie excepted, the which being preferred and brought vp in Dundee, before she came to the age of twelue yeres, she was taken in the like crime for the which hir father died, whereupon she was iudged to be buried quicke: and going to execution, when the people in great multitudes followed hir, in wondering at so horrible an offense committed by one of hir age and sexe, she turned to them that thus detested hir wicked doing, and with a countenance representing hir cruell inclination, said to them: What need you thus to raile vpon me, as if I had done an heinous act contrarie to the nature of man? I tell you, that if you knew how pleasant mans flesh is in taste, there would none of you all forbear to eat it. And thus with an impenitent and stubborne mind she suffered the appointed execution.

After the death of James the second, his sonne James the third a child of seuen yeres of age succeeded, and forthwith was sent for to the siege of Roxburgh, whither he was conueied by the queene, a woman of a stout stomach, representing the manlike race of hir countrie Selberland, of the which she was descended. For comming with hir sonne thus to the siege, she spent not time in lamenting and womanish bewailing the irrecoverable losse of hir husband, but rather in comforting the lords, whose part had bin to haue comforted hir: and aboue all things she exhorted them with all diligence to implete their whole indowes and forces to the winning of that castle. Whose words so encouraged the capitains and whole armie, that the siege was continued till the castle was woone, rased, and beaten downe flat to the ground: and the yong king was crowned at

1460.

King James the second is slaine.

Alias 17.
22. Buchan.
1460.
The buriall of James the second.
The lamentation of the people.

The amiable conditions of James the second.

The issue of James the second.
James the third king of Scotland.
Alexander duke of Albanie.
John earle of Mar.
Fr. Thin.
Lesseus lib. 8.
pag. 310.

Lesseus lib. 8.
pag. 300.

1461. I. M.
1460. Lesse.

warke besieged and taken.

Henrie gouernours chosen.

A blazing starre.

An hermaphrodite, that is, a person being both man and woman.

A wicked theefe that used to kill yong persons and to eat them.

This daughter falleth to the like practise.

His words going to execution.

James the third.

The stout stomach of the queene.

Roxburgh castle taken and broken downe.

Donald of the Isles effronies rebelling.

Donald became mad.

Hitherto hath Hector Boetius continued the Scottish historie.
He was killed 1461.
Henrie king of England by safe conduct commeth into Scotland.

Edwards his him

1461. I. M.
1460. L. c. l. c.marke besie-
ged and town.Shene go-
uernoys cho-
sen.A blasing
flarre.An hermo-
phrodite, that
is, a person
being both
man and wo-
man.A wicked
theefe that be-
sed to kill
young persons
and to eat
them.His daughter
faileth to the
like practise.His words
going to crea-
tion.

>>

>>

James the
third.The floutie
mach of the
quene.Forburgh
castell taken
and broken
downe.

at Kelso, with the vniuersall consent and great re-
toising of all the noble men, and other being there
present in the armie.

This done, they besieged the castell of Wark; which likewise they toke, and threw downe, and af-
terwards the king with the nobles of his realme
came to Edinburgh, to take order for the quiet go-
uernement of the realme. And because the king was
young, there were chosen seven regents to gouerne
both king & realme, as these, the quene his mother,
James Benedie bishop of S. Andrews, that was
sisters sonne to James the first, the bishop of Glas-
cote, the earles of Angus, Huntley, Argyle, and
Dhenele. These, so long as James Benedie liued,
agreed well together about the gouernement of the
realme; but within a while after his decesse, they
fell at square, or rather before, as appeareth by Hec-
tor Boetius, who saith, that in the second yere of
this kings reigne, there was discord in betwix
twixt the quene and the archbishop Benedie, who
perceiuing that the woman sought to vsterp wholie
the gouernement vnto hir selfe, withstod hir in that
behalf, in so much that it was doubted least the
matter would haue broken forth into some ciuill
warre, if the bishops of Glasgote, Dunkeld, and A-
berdeen, and certeine abbats had not taken in hand
to trauell betwixt the parties for an attonement, who
did so much in the matter, that they compounded the
variance in this wise.

The quene mother was appointed to haue the
charge of the kings person, and of his brethren, Alex-
ander duke of Albanie, and John earle of Mar, and
likewise of his two sisters; but as for the administra-
tion and gouernance of the realme, the should leaue
it vnto the peeres. There were therefore elected by
common consent as rulers, the bishops of Glasgote
and Dunkeld, the earle of Dhenele, the lord Gra-
ham, Thomas Boid, and the chancelor. About the
same time, one Alane Beir, in hope to get the heri-
tage of his brother, John lord of Lozne toke him,
and kept him in prison. But Colen Campbell earle
of Argyle, taking great indignation with so pre-
sumptuous a part, gathered a power, and comming
against Beir, toke him, and set his brother at liber-
tie, and brought the offendor vnto Edinburgh, where
he died in prison. Whereouer, shortly after Donald
lord of the Isles and earle of Koller, who had serued
obedientlie in the armie at Forburgh, and was (as
outwardlie appeared) well reconciled, began anew
to vse his old maners, spoiling & harrieng the whole
countrie of Atholl, and toke the earle thereof, and
the countesse his wife captiues with him into the
Isles.

To repress his insurrious attempts, the regents
together were preparing an armie; but therewith
came true aduertisements, that the said lord of the
Isles, and other the principall offendors of his com-
panie, were stricken through the hand of God with
a certeine frensie or madnesse, and had lost all their
ships and spoiles in the sea, so that the earle of Atholl
and his ladie were restored, and those frantike per-
sons were brought vnto saint Brides church in A-
tholl, for the reuerie of their health, but it would
not be. Donald himselfe was afterward slaine in
the castell of Inuernes by an Irishman that was a
minstrell. In the yere 1461, Henrie the first king
of England being banquished by his aduersarie
Edward the fourth, purchased of king James the
third a safe conduct for himselfe and a thousand horse
to enter into Scotland; and hereupon he came to
Edinburgh, and was lodged in the house of the fri-
ers preachers, with his wife quene Margaret, and
his sonne prince Edward. There was also with
him the duke of Excester, and the duke of Sum-

merfet, with manie other of the English nobilitie.

* And to the end this firme amitie thus begun,
might more increase, and be further strengthened:
the two quenes Margaret (of England) and Marie
(of Scotland) both French (by birth and nature) be-
gan to intreat of a mariage (hoping by amitie to
establissh that perfect amitie) to be solemnized be-
twene the daughter of James the second king of
Scots, and the sonne of Henrie (king of Eng-
land) being called prince of Wales, although none
of them as yet was aboue seven yeares old. Which
mariage, Philip duke of Burgonie (uncle to the
quene of Scots, and deadlie enimie to the quene
of England) labored by all means to hinder, by his
ambassador Cruthusius, a noble man and of great
iudgement; for this Philip did vse such bitter enimi-
tie against Reinold, grandfather to the son of king
Henrie by the mothers side, that he did deepele en-
uite anie good successe to happen to anie of that race,
whereby it might increase or flourish; and therefore
sought occasion by all deuise to hinder it: for whose
cause, and at whose request, the said mariage was at
that time rather deferred, than utterly broken off.
But the end thereof (which was greatlie feared by
this Philip to be the consummation of the mariage)
was by the aduerser fortune of king Henrie utterly
disappointed. For (as after shall appeare) this Hen-
rie being encouraged (by the beneuolence of the
Scots towards him) and thoroughlie confirmed (by
the letters of his friend sent vnto him) dispatched his
wife into France to Reinold his father, to procure
that aid he could of his friends beyond the seas, to
helpe to restore him to the kingdome: which iourne
succeeded not to hir in vaine, obtaining succor from
thence.)

The same time, king Henrie deliuered the towne
& castell of Berwik into the Scottismens hands,
whether by couenant thereby to haue the foresaid
safe conduct granted, or of his own voluntarie will,
to the end he might haue the more support and saue-
amongest them, it is uncerteine by the variable re-
port of writers. Neuerthelesse, shortly after a truce
was taken betwixt king James and king Edward,
for the tearme of fiftene yeares, vpon what condi-
tions or promises made on king Edwards part I
find not. This truce was concluded in the maner of
spate, in the yere 1462, at the citie of Poike,
whither had bin sent the bishop of Glasgote, the earle
of Argyle, keeper of the priue seale, the abbat of Ho-
lie rood house, sir Alexander Boid, and sir William
Crawston knights, ambassadors and commissio-
ners for king James.

All things in this season were ordered in Scot-
land by the aduise and counsell of James Benedie
bishop of saint Andrews, a man of great wisdom
and policie, as well appeared in his prudent & sage
gouernement of the realme, as well during the mi-
noritie of this James the third, as also in the daies of
his father king James the second. Pierre de Bre-
zele, otherwise called le Seigneur de la Marene,
great seneschall of Normandie, was sent by the
French king Lewes the eleuenth, with two thou-
sand fighting men, to aid the part of king Henrie a-
gainst king Edward. This Brezele was one most
in fauour with king Charles the seventh, father vnto
the said king Lewes, and therefore (as manie do
suppose) he was appointed by k. Lewes (who greatlie
loued him not) to be chiefe in this iourneie, to the
end his life might be put in hazard and aduenture;
notwithstanding, after some danger both of tempest
on the sea, and also of the enimies hands, he wan the
castles of Bamburgh and Dunbar, which he
cast to the ground, and after toke in hand to keepe
the castell of Antwike, and being besieged therein,
sent

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.The quene
went into
France for
aid.Berwik de-
liuered to the
Scottismen.A truce for
15 yeares.

1462.

James Bene-
die the arch-
shop gover-
neth the
realme.Monsieur de
la Marene
sent forth of
France to aid
the part of
Margaret
quene of
England.He keepeth
Antwike cas-
tell, and is
besieged.

Ed. ij.

He is relen-
ed by the earle
of Angus.

Alias 13000.

sent for aid to the Scots.

George Douglas earle of Angus as then war-
den of the marches, immediatlie raised a power of
23000, men, and comming with the same to the boy-
ders, chose forth of all his numbers five thousand of
the most able horsemen in all his armie, and com-
ming with them to the castell about the middelt of
the day, toke the Frenchmen away with him into
Scotland: the English armie that lay there at siege
beholding the maner, and not once making pposet
to fight with him. Some Englishmen there were,
that would faine haue fought with the Scots; but
other (whose counsell was followed) were otherwise
minded, alleging that better it were to let them passe
without encounter, sith they left the castell void, than
to leopord vpon the doubtfull chance of battell, for
though their number were not great, yet were they
picked and chosen men, able to atchieue a great enter-
prise.

After this, the firste of November, in the yeare
1463, the queene of Scots, mother to James the
third, died at Edinburgh, and was buried in the
college of the Trinitie, which she hir selfe had found-
ed. This woman, after the deceasse of hir husband
James the second, liued somewhat dissolutelie, pro-
curring Adam Hepborne of Wales a married man to
keepe hir such familiar companie, as founded great
lie to hir dishonour: for that she could not within the
whole realme find some single man amongst all the
nobilitie, with whom she might haue married, & in
some sort to haue auoided the greater open slander &
infamie. In the same yeare, Alexander duke of Al-
banie, and brother to the king, was taken on the
sea by the Englishmen in the moneth of June, as he
was returning from his grandfather the duke of
Gilder: but the bishop of saint Andrews James
Benedie, caused both the said duke and also the ship,
with all the goods there in being, at the time of the
taking of it, to be restored; for otherwise (as he flat-
lie protested) he would not keepe the truce anie lon-
ger concluded betwixt the two realmes.

The duke of Summerfet, in hope of great fauor
which he should find in England, perswaded king
Henrie to passe thither, and with a great companie
of Scottishmen he entered England, and manie
of the north parts resorted vnto him: but at length,
at his comming to Gram, the lord Montacute with
a great power was readie to giue him battell, and
there discomfited him and his whole armie. The duke
of Summerfet and the lords Hungerford and Rolle
were taken and put to death; the duke at Gram, and
the lords at Helncastell. King Henrie escaped verie
hardlie into Scotland againe, and there remained a
certeine space after, till at length he thought to re-
turne into England in such secret wise, as he should
not haue bene once knowen, till he might haue got
amongest his friends, which would haue supported
him: but such diligent watch was laid for him all
alongst the borders, that he was espied, taken, and
deliuered to king Edward his aduersarie, who shut
him vp in the tower of London till he was at length
there made away, as in the historie of England ye
may see moze at large.

In the yeare 1466, that famous bishop James
Benedie departed this life, and was buried in the
college of saint Saviour, founded by him within
the towne of saint Andrews in most sumptuous
wise. This prelat in prudent policie excelled all
other Scottish bishops, of whome anie writer maketh
mention. He kept the realme in good quiet, and ob-
serued the truce concluded with the Englishmen, to
the great weale and commoditie of the poore com-
mons. He was verie rich, as appeared by sundrie
buildings and works which he left behind him, as

a memorie of his name. [Whereof the three espe-
ciall things for rarenesse and magnificence, were his
college of saint Saviour (wherein youth might be
trained to learning and religion) the other his sepul-
chre, wherein he was buried (being a fratellie peere of
bishops of Scotland) & the third was a ship of won-
derfull burden: all which three, the common people
affirmed were of one price, and stood him in like
charge.] Besides his bishopricke, he held in his hands
the commandarie of the abbey of Pettinweme,
which was worth vnto him eight hundred crowns
by yeare. [Afterward, at the parlement holden in
October and Januarie, there were manie edicts
made for the benefit of the commonwealth, & chiefe-
lie for the estate of the merchants; at what time also
there was a proclamation made, that none of the
Englishmen should beare anie office, nor receiue anie
benefice or benefit in Scotland.]

In the yeare 1469, on the tenth day of Iulie,
king James the third, being as then about twentie
yeares of age, married in the abbey of Holle road
house nere Edinburgh, the ladie Margaret, daugh-
ter to the king of Denmarke and Porwaie, which
ladie was at the same time not past twelue yeares
of age, some saie sixtene. Hir father the king of
Denmarke and Porwaie, in name of hir dowry,
transported and resigned to h. James all his right,
title, and interest which he pretended to the out Isles.
The ambassadors that were sent into Denmarke
to conclude this marriage, and to conuene the bride
into Scotland, were these: Andzew Wuldeir bishop
of Glasco, the bishop of Dikne, the lord Auandale
chancellor of Scotland, and Thomas Woid earle of
Arrane, who had married the kings sister, and was
now in his absence run into the kings displeasure;
whereof his wife hauing intelligence, hearing of hir
husbands arrivall with the other in the forth, got
out of Edinburgh, & comming on shipboard to him,
gaue him to vnderstand what displeasure the king
had conceived against him: who perceiving him-
selfe in that danger he fled if he toke land, return-
ed backe into Denmarke, taking his wife with
him.

The king herewith was so offended, that he cau-
sed both the said earle and his father to be attainted
of high treason, and sent for his sister backe into
Scotland, causing a diuorse in absence of hir husband
to be sued & gotten forth against them, marieng hir
afterwards to James lord Hamilton, to whome he
gaue the earldome of Arrane, which hir former hus-
band had in gift before. Of this marriage, those of
the house of Hamiltons are descended, & are neerest
of blood to the crowne of Scotland, as they pretend.
[For as saith Lelcus, lib. 8, pag. 316] if the line of
the Stewards faile, the crowne is to come to them.]
But now to shew farther what we find written con-
cerning the maner and cause of the banishment of
the afore remembred Thomas Woid, Giouan Ferre-
rio, in his appendix of the Scottish historie annexed
vnto Hector Boetius lastlie printed at Paris in the
yeare 1574, agreeth not with that which ye haue read
before. For as he telleth the tale, the said lord Woid
being one of the gouernors of the realme, elected
thereto (as before ye haue heard) within short time
grew so far in fauor with the king, that he might do
all things with him at his pleasure, although his as-
sociats in authoritie did neuer so much go about to
hinder his deuises: by reason whereof, he seemed to
vsurpe the whole rule & administration of the realme
into his owne hands, soze to the griefe of those his
said associats being ioined with him in like office.

Whereof the state of the common-wealth through
the dissention thus bred among the gouernors, was
brought

Fr. Thin.
Lelcus lib. 8,
pag. 314.

1470. Buch.
1468. Lelcus.
1469.
Fr. Thin.
Lelcus lib. 8,
pag. 315.

1469.
The marriage
of James the
third.

The king of
Porwaie re-
signeth his
title to the out
Isles.

The earle of
Arrane in the
kings displea-
sure.

The lord Has-
milton mari-
eth the kings
sister.

Fr. Thin.
Giouan Ferre-
rio in his ap-
pendix of the
Scottish histo-
rie.

The lord
Woid beareth
all the rule a-
bout the king.

The lord
Woid beareth
all the rule a-
bout the king.

gouernors, &
will disposed
men war-
bold to worke
mischiefe.

They that be
in authoritie
be enen subiect
to the spitefull
blow of en-
uies dart.

The lord
Woid is accu-
sed.

He refuseth to
be tried by
law of arraim-
ment.

He fleeth into
England.

He passeth in-
to Denmarke.

His baile
hope to ob-
taine pardon.

He goeth into
Italie.
He is mar-
ried.

1468.
The a. naal.
ladys sent

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 8.
pag. 314.

governor, e.
will disposed
men war
bold to sworthe
multitude.

1470. Buch.
1468. Lefle.
1469.
Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 8.
pag. 315.

1469.
The marriage
of James the
third.

The king of
Norwiche re-
signeth his
title to the out-
rises.

The earle of
Frence in the
kings displea-
sure.

The lord Has-
silon mar-
ries the kings
sister.

Fr. Thin.

Jouan Ferre-
rio in his ap-
pendix of the
Scottish history.

The lord
Boid beareth
the rule a-
bout the king.

Through be-
haviour of agree-
ment in the

They that be
in authority
be ever subiect
to the spitefull
how of en-
mies dart.

The lord
Boid is accus-
ed.

He refuseth to
be tried by
day of arraignment.

He fleeth into
England.

He passeth in-
to Denmark.

His balne
hope to ob-
taine pardon.

He goeth into
Italy.
He is mur-
dered.

brought into a miserable plight; for justice in most places wanted hit due course, so as thieves and robbers taking boldnesse thereof, not onelie upon the borders, but also elsewhere, began to exercise great outrage, to the breach of publike peace, and namelie the inhabitants of the out. Fleg fell to their wanted trade of pilfering, so that passing over in their long boats or barges, and landing here & there on the shore, they took prizes of cattell and other goods, greatlie to their profit, and no lesse damage of the people that inhabited on the coasts over against them. In the north parts also, seditious tumults amongst the nobles, gentlemen, and people were raised, to the great disquieting of the whole countrie. Such disorders continued no small time, and because the said Thomas lord Boid bare greatest rule about the king, the blame (as it commonlie happeneth) was imputed to him.

At length, when the king was grown to ripe years, and able to see to the administration of the common-wealth himselfe, he was admonished by certaine graue personages to haue some regard, that such misorders as disquieted the whole state of the realme, might be reformed. Whereupon he called a parlement, in the which, whether through enuie that the lords had conceived against the lord Boid, or for that his doings no lesse deserved such complaint, was exhibited by generall voices of the states against him, that it was decreed by authoritie of the whole assemblee, that he should come to answer in iudgement such crimes wherewith he was charged; but when he refused so to do, and in contempt of the kings authoritie got together a power of armed men to defend him from iniurie; that might seeme (as he pretended) to be offered him: at length, the king was driven of necessity to make preparation for the lenieng of an armie to apprehend him by force. Whereof Boid being aduertised, fled into England, because he perceived himselfe not able to resist the kings power. The king assured that he was thus auoided out of his realme, banished him for euer, and seized upon his lands and goods as forfeited.

After this, when the said Boid saw no hope to returne againe into the kings fauor, and finding no great comfort among the Englishmen, he passed from thence into Denmark, where he remained till the marriage was concluded betwixt the king, and the ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of Denmark, as ye before haue heard: and then in hope by occasion of this marriage to obtaine pardon, returned now in companie of the bride, and of those ambassadoys that were sent to haue the conuenance of hir into Scotland: neuertheless, vnderstanding by his wife that came to him on shipboard before he set foot on land, that the kings displeasure continued still towards him so greatlie, that if he came on land, he should be sure to lose his head, he returned into Denmark, and took his wife with him; as before is mentioned. Finally he went into Italy, where at length he was murdered by one, whose wife he went about to allure for the satisfieng of his sensuall lust. Before he was diuorced from his wife the kings sister, he begat on hir a sonne, the which in the daies of king James the fourth, in a priuat quarrell that rose betwixt him and an other noble man, chanced to be slaine. Thus much touching the lord Thomas Boid of Balmarnocke out of Ferrerio, who also in report of the matter touching the marriage betwixt the king and the daughter of Denmark, somewhat varieth from an other that writ thereof.

The ambassadoys that were sent vnto Christierne king of Denmark & Norwiche in the yeare 1468, as the said Ferrerio affirmeth, were these; Andriew

bishop of Glasgou, William bishop of Orkneye; Andriew lord of Anandale chancelor of the realme, Martine Wane the great almoner, & the kings counsellors, Gilbert de Kericke archdeacon of Glasgou, David Creighton of Crauford, & John Shaw of Warlie. These ambassadoys being dispatched into Denmark in Iulie, in the yeare aforesaid, came at length to Haffnen, where B. Christierne then remained, and were of him iustlicie receiued, & well heard concerning their sute, in so much at length, after he had proponed the matter to his counsell about the eight of September, it was agreed in this sort, that the ladie Margaret, daughter to the said king Christierne, should be giuen in mariage vnto B. James of Scotland, and that the Isles of Orkneye, being in number 28, and likewise the Isles of Shetland, of which there are eightene, should remaine in possession of the kings of Scotland, till either the said king Christierne or his successors in name of the mariage monie should pay vnto king James, or to his successors, the summe of fiftie thousand shillings of the Rheine. This mariage was thought, by reason of this ingaging of those Isles, right profitable vnto the realme of Scotland, because of the controuersie and variance which had continued long before those daies betwixt the kings of Scotland and Denmark, about the right of possessing those Isles.

In the moneth of Nouember next ensuing, after the mariage had bene consummate in Iulie before, within the abbey church of Holie rood house (as before ye haue heard) or in saint Giles church in Edinburgh (as other write) the thre estates were called to assemble in Edinburgh, where the queene was crowned, and the parlement holden, the most part of the lords remaining still in Edinburgh all the next winter: and in the summer following, the king and queene made their progresse into the north parts, and were honozable receiued in the principall cities and townes where they came, and likewise by the nobles of the countrie, to the great reioicing of the whole realme. After their returning to Edinburgh, the king called a parlement in the moneth of Maie 1471, in the which among other things it was ordeined, that the lords, barons, and burroughs of the realme, should build ships and boats, and prouide nets for fishing. Also it was ordeined that none should weare silks in dublet, gowne, or cloake, except knights, minstrels, & heralds; except they might dispend one hundred pounds in laids by yeare: and that the football and other vnlawfull games should be debarred, and the exercise of shooting mainteined. James eldest sonne to king James the third, was borne the tenth day of March, in the yeare 1472, who afterwards succeeded his father, and was called James the fourth. Christierne B. of Denmark, to congratulate the hapie birth of this young prince being his nephew by his daughter, released all the right, title & claime which he or his successors might haue to the Isles of Orkneye and Shetland.

A strange comet or blasing starre (as we call it) appeared in the south, from the seuenteenth day of Iannarie, vnto the eighteenth of Februarie, and was placed betwixt the pole and the pleiades, that is to say, the seuen starres. A great ship built by Benedict the late archbishop of saint Andriew, called the bishops barge, brake and was lost beside Banburgh, being fraught with merchandize, the twelfth of March. Many merchantmens seruants and other passengers were drowned with hir, some escaped by boat, and were taken by the Englishmen, among whom was the abbat of saint Colme, who was constrained to pay vnto his taker one James Bar four score pounds for his ransome yet he could be suffered to depart. The abbas of Dunfermling being vacant,

vnto Denmark as Ferrerio saith.

The mariage concluded.
The Isles of Orkneye and Shetland ingaged.

1469.

1470.

1471.

The like act for shooting was instituted by king James the first. An. 1425. John Maior

1472.

The right to Orkneye and Shetland resigned.

A blasing starre.

1473.

A shipwreck.

Abbeies gi-
uen by vnlaw-
full means.

The bishop of
S. Andrews
made arch-
bishop.
1474.

Primate and
metropolitan.
Twelve bi-
shops in
Scotland.

1476.

The lord of
the Isles at-
tainted.

1446. Lelle.
The king rai-
sed an armie.

The lord of
the Isles sub-
mitted him-
selfe.

He resigneth
Ross, Cantire,
and Bnapden.

1477.
An inquisitor
sent from the
pope.

vacant, the count chose one of their owne monks called Alexander Thomson, and the king promoted Henrie Creichton abbat of Wadley therunto, whom the pope admitted, & Robert Shato parson of Spinto was preferred by the king unto the abbacie of Wadley, and then in such wise began promotings of secular priests to abbasies at the princes request, and the laudable elections ancientlie used, made void: because the court of Rome admitted such as the princes made sute for and named, getting great rewards and notable summes of monie thereby, so that neither the bishops durst admit such as the counts elected, nor such as were elected durst pursue their right, and so the abbasies were bestowed upon such as followed the court, and liued courtlie, secularlie, and voluptuoullie, to the great slander of religious men, which by the naughtie examples of their gouernours fell to the works of wickednesse, whereupon daile much euill increased, and vertue in all estates decayed.

This yere in September, the indulgence of the see of saint Andrews was published by Patrike Graham bishop thereof, and the same see erected into the dignitie of an archbishops see, at the sute of the said Patrike, who gaue information to the pope, that because the archbishop of Dork was metropolitan of Scotland, and that there was oftentimes warre betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, the Scottishmen could not haue access to their metropolitan, speciallie in cases of appellation. And therefore the pope (as some write) thought it reason to make saint Andrews primate and metropolitan of Scotland, and ordeined that the twelue other bishops of Scotland should be vnder his primasie, who would not agree thereto; but promised the king by way of a taxation eleuen thousand marks for his maintenance against the said archbishop: and the prelates sent to Rome about this matter. This yere was a great death in the realme of Scotland, so that where a parlement was called in September, it was prologed untill the twelue day after Christmas. In Januarie the parlement was holden at Edinburgh, in which John lord of the Isles and earle of Ross was attainted, partly for his owne euill deeds, but most speciallie for the defaults of his father Donald lord of the Isles.

In Maie, in the yere 1477, the king raised a puissant armie of the most able men upon the north side of the water of Forth, to pursue the lord of the Isles both by sea and land. The earle of Crawford was made admerall of the armie by sea, and the erle of Atholl the kings vnckle by his father was lieutenant of the armie by land. But such meanes was used by the earle of Atholl, that the lord of the Isles humbled himselfe to the kings pleasure, upon certaine conditions; and thereupon in the beginning of Iulie next ensuing, the said lord of the Isles came to the parlement unto Edinburgh, and there was the agreement made and confirmed betwixt the king and him: he resigned into the kings hands all the right he had to the earledome of Ross, the lands of Cantire and Bnapden, which earledome the king annexed to the crowne, and pardoned him and his seruants of all offenses and transgressions before that day committed, and inuested him anew in the lordship and seigniorie of the Isles, and other his lands not released, to hold the same of the king by the seruice of ward and reliefe. The king also gaue unto the earle of Atholl for his diligence shewed, in reducing the said lord of the Isles unto order, the lands and forrest of Clonzie.

There was an inquisitor called Husman this yere sent by pope Sixtus into Scotland, to examine by vertue of his commission Patrike Graham arch-

bishop of saint Andrews, whose examination and proses being sent vnto the pope, he pronounced him an heretike, schismaticke, and simoniacke, and declared him accursed, condemning him to perpetuall prison: and so he was degraded from all orders, cure, and dignitie of ecclesiasticall office, and William Schewes archdeacon of the same see was promoted in his place, to whom he was also committed to see him safelie kept in prison. He was first sent vnto saint Colmes inch, and from thence to Dunfermling, and lastlie to Lochleuin, where he died, and was buried in saint Sarcis Ile in Lochleuin. The said William Schewes was consecrated archbishop of saint Andrews on Passion Sunday in Lent, within Holie rood house, the king being present, and manie of the nobles of the realme. And there the said archbishop recetued the pall, as a signe of his archbishops dignitie, and so was confirmed primate and legat of the realme, notwithstanding the impediment made against Graham before by the bishops about the same.

This yere also Alexander duke of Albanie was committed to prison by the king his brother, within the castell of Edinburgh, through euill counsell; but he brake out and escaped to Dunbar, where he caused the castell to be furnished with all necessaries: and leaving his seruants within it, passed himselfe into France, and was there of the king honorablie recetued, and louinglie intreated. In the beginning of Maie following, the king besieged that castell by his lieutenant the earle of Arundale, who lost at that siege three good knights, the lord of Lute, sir John Schaw of Sauch, & the lord of Cragwallase, with the shot of a gun, & John Ramsie was slaine with a stone cast by hand. When they within saw they could not long indure, they left the castell and fled a waie by sea, and the earle of Arundale entered, and found it void of all things whereof anie account was to be made.

Doctor Ireland being graduat in diuinitie at Paris, was sent from the French king vnto the king of Scots, to persuade him to make war vpon England, to the end that king Edward should not aid the duke of Burgognie. And moreover, he had in charge to moue for the pardon of the duke of Albanie, and shortly after returned with answer. The erle of Mar called John Stewart the kings yonger brother, this yere in the moneth of December, was taken in the night within his owne house, and conueied vnto Cragmiller, where he was kept as prisoner by the kings commandement, and after was conuict of conspiracie for witchcraft which he should practise against the king: and hereupon in Cannogate beside Edinburgh, his veines were cut, and so he bled to death. There were manie and diuerse witches and sorcerers, as well men as women conuict of that crime, and burnt for the same at Edinburgh. The king sent ambassadors into England to make sute to haue the ladie Cicill, daughter to king Edward, ioined in marriage with his sonne James the prince, which was granted, and the marriage concluded to be solemnized, when the prince of Scotland should come to perfect age: as in the English historie it more plainlie appeareth. Doctor Ireland, with a knight, and another religious man, came againe to king James from the French king, to persuade him to make warres against England: and at length, king James and his nobles condescended to breake the peace, wherewith Thomas Spenser bishop of Abirden (that was full tenderlie beloued of king Edward, and had bene ener a mediator for peace betwixt the kings of England, France, and Scotland; & the duke of Burgognie) when he heard that warre would follow, he died through griefe of mind

The archbi-
shop is not
well handled.

Deprived.
1478. Lelle.

Put in prison

1478. Lelle

1479.
Wil. Schewes
is consecrated
archbishop.

The duke of
Albanie im-
prisoned.

He escaped.

Edinburgh
besieged.

1479. Lelle.

Doctor Ire-
land sent vnto
the king of
Scots.

1479. Lelle.

1480.
John Ste-
ward a pri-
soner.

was put to
death.

A marriage
concluded.

1480. Lelle.

Bishop Spen-
ser died.

1481.
King James
sent an ambas-
sage vnto R.
Edward.

R. Edward
sent a nauie
into Scot-
land.

Ships taken
and burnt.

The king of
Scotland pre-
pared an ar-
mie.

A legat inhi-
bited him.

In other na-
me sent into
Scotland.

Berkeley as-
sailed by an
armie of Eng-
lishmen.

1482.

The duke of
Albanie com-
meth into
England.

The presump-
tuons demean-
our of the
Scottish nobi-
litie.

Thomas
Cochran.

Imbaling of
coine.

The kings
concubine na-
med Dalzie.

seine ambassadors, which were Berpelo: Bernard Stewart, lord of Aubignie, marshall of France, and Peter Gallart doctor of both lawes, to renew the old league betwene this James the third, and the king of France: for which cause the king of Scots and the nobles assembled at Edinburgh, where (with the French ambassadors) taking all the rols of all the ancient leagues, they reconfirmed the same, with the seales of both parts set thereunto; which done, the Frenchmen (with whom were sent into France divers Scots) returned home. Amongest the Scots, one Robertson was the chiefe, a man famous for the feates of battell, and having imployed his service on the parts of the French in the Italian warres, which being ended, the said chosen soldiers following the conduct of Berold Stewart, went into England with Henrie earle of Richmond, after king; whose part they took against Richard at that time usurper, upon the English, for which cause the earle of Richmond (when he was after king) did detelle loue the Scots.

The seditions also, which a long time did burne in France, caused terrible wars to grow betwene the king of France and the duke of Burgognie. Whereunto, when the death of Charles (the last duke of Burgognie, slaine at Rantz by the duke of Lorraine) did set end: Charles the eight of that name, king of France (assembling a great armie) did apply all his force and devise to expell Alphonse out of the kingdom of Naples; who at that time succeeded haplesse unto him, by reason that Alphonse was then easilie removed. But after, when the Neapolitane people did revolt (from the French faction) to Ferdinand the son of Alphonse, there arose great flames of warre and sedition through Italie, each part striving to support the strength of his owne. The administration of which warre against Ferdinand, was chieflie performed by the Scots, as principall captains of that armie, or at the least equally with the best. Of which Septe the chiefe were Alexander duke of Albanie, son to James the second king of Scots; John also duke of Albanie, sonne of this Alexander, George Montgomerie lord of Loynes, Bernard Stewart (who was after made viceroy of Naples, which office he wisely manie yeres did execute) Robert Stewart marshall of France, Nicholas Scot, and others, whereof manie (for their worthie exploits) were by the French honorable rewarded with great possessions. Who also (as manie of the Scots before had done) planting themselves in Calabria, became the authors of manie ancient families. For though by the evil custome of common speech, they receive the name of Scot (as taken of their countrie) yet by the ensignes, and tokens which they had and bled, it may easilie be knowen of what families the Scots their ancestors did descend.

Wherefore it followeth by most certaine conjecture, that the ancient familie of the earles (to whom ple of speech hath long obtained the surname of Scots) flourishing in Placentia, had their originall from the stocke of the Dowglasse, as the armes of them both do well witnesse: which kindred (besides manie other earles thereof) is at this day notable beautified by Christopher Scot, who (with singular pietie and learning) doth gouverne the church of Canan. Again, there is another familie of Scots, commonly called the Scoties in Calabria, whereof Bernard Scotia and Horace his brother (the one a senator of Mantua, and the other a prelat) are both famous, as well for their vertue, as nobilitie; also Francis Scotia, lord of Pine and Mondone, and other nobles of the marquisdom of Saluce, are descended from the Scots, with the large familie of the Schitties (descended of James Wylando Scot,

which we have heard confirmed by the armes of that familie) are well advanced about Cremona, Mantua, and Verona, as are also the Paparons in Rome (so called for their armes and ensignes) whose ancestors to be of the Scottish nobilitie, is witnessed by a worthie monument thereof in the church of saint Marie the great, in which the father and the son called Paparons, being there buried, are both adorned with the ensignes of knighthood out of Scotland.)

The duke of Albanie, for that he understood there was possion given to him in drinke in the kings chamber, and therefore stood in feare of his life, fled from the court unto the castell of Dunbar, whereby ensued great discord. The king fearing the displeasure of his nobles, got him also into the castell of Edinburgh. The earles of Angus, Buchquhane, and others, left the king, and assisted the duke of Albanie. And the king through counsell of certaine meane persons (whome he had againe taken unto him, summoned the duke and other his assistants, to come to answer for such treason as he had to lay against them, & withall prepared an armie to besiege Dunbar, whereof the duke being advertised, fled into England, and afterwards being accompanied with the earle of Dowglasse, and a great number of Englishmen, invaded Scotland upon the west marches, where manie Englishmen were slaine and taken by the resistance of the lords Cockpall, Johnston, and others, the duke was put to flight, and the earle Dowglasse taken and brought to the king, who because he was an aged man, and had bene long banished his countrie, was sent to the abbey of Lundoris, where he remained the rest of his daies, and at length, departing this life, was buried there.

The duke of Albanie for the losse of that armie, was blamed of the king of England, and thereupon taking a milking, secretly departed over into France by the helpe of John Liddell, sonne to sir James Liddell knight, who afterwards lost his life for the same. The duke was well intertained in France by the king there: and finally running at tilt with Lewes duke of Orleans, was hurt with the splint of a speare, and thereof died. He left behind him two sonnes, John duke of Albanie, that was after gouvernor and tutor to king James the first, and Alexander that was after bishop of Arrer, and abbat of Scone. His yere the lord Hume, Torrellis, Oliphant, and Drummond, were made lords of the parliament. In the yere 1484, the king sent the archbishop of saint Andrews unto Rome, for certaine privileges which he obtained. And the same yere, pope Innocent the eight of that name, sent the bishop of Imola to treat of peace, betwixt Richard king of England, & James king of Scotland. James king of Scots, having not long before made diverse incursions and rodes into England, and that to his profit, he sued thereupon for a truce, which came to passe even as king Richard wished, so that condescending to have a communication, commissioners were appointed for both parts to meet at Nottingham, the twentieth day of September next ensuing.

For the king of Scots there appeared Colin earle of Argile, the lord Campbell, the lord chancellor of Scotland, William bishop of Aberdeen, Robert lord Lile, Laurence lord Oliphant, John Drummond of Stobhall, Archembald Duitelaw archdeacon of Latoden, and secretarie to king James, Lion king of armes, and Duncan Dundas. For king Richard, there came Richard bishop of saint Asaph, John duke of Norfolk, Henrie earle of Northumberland, Thomas lord Stanleie, George Stanleie lord Strange, John Greie lord Powes, Richard lord Fitzhugh, John Gunthorpe keeper of the kings priorie scale, Thomas Barlow maister of the rols, sir

Thomas

Peace concluded for the yeres.

Poison given.

The king is forsaken.

Lords are summoned.

Scotland invaded.

Earle Dowglasse sent unto an abbey.

The duke of Albanie is blamed.

1484.

The archbishop is sent to Rome.

The pope sent to intreat for peace.

Commissioners appointed on the behalf of the king of England & Scotland, to treat for a peace at Nottingham.

The castell of Dunbar in the Englishmans hands.

An article for the castell of Dunbar.

An article for traitors.

An article for Scottishmen already being in England. An article for the wardens of the marches.

It claime to be put in safe conducts. An article for such as should serve either princes in warre.

Colleagues comprised in the truce.

Thom
fir
Richar
later
commu
eth) a
the spa
sing of
pere
funne

Dun
lie all
two re
enimie
or wait
Berw
for the
as the
it was
the first
castell
the said
that he

onlie
red br
when h
hands

He
had no
for tha
to the
that if
daies
to be a
the
eths
those t
remain
by an
or an
the cas
sues o
that th
it thou
or reco
dure fo
ding st
of the
forefai
ded.

An article for traitors.

An article for Scottishmen already being in England. An article for the wardens of the marches.

It claime to be put in safe conducts. An article for such as should serve either princes in warre.

Colleagues comprised in the truce.

Certaine noble families in Italie and Calabria spring from the Scots.

Thomas Britan chiefe iustice of the common pless, sir Richard Kaccliffe knight, William Catesbie, & Richard Salheld esquires. These counsellors in the later end of September, after sundrie meetings and communications had together, concluded (as followeth) a peace to be had betwixt both the realmes for the space of thre yeres, the same to begin at the rising of the sunne, on the 29 of September in the yere 1484, and to continue unto the setting of the sunne on the 29 of September in the yere 1487.

During which terme, it was agreed, that not onelie all hostilitie and warre should cease betwixt the two realmes, but that also all aid and abatement of enimitie should be avoided, & by no colorable meanes or waie in anie case used. The towne and castell of Berwikke to remaine in the Englishmens hands, for the space of the said terme, with the same bounds as the Englishmen possessed it at that season, when it was deliuered to the Scottishmen by king Henrie the first. It was likewise condescended, that all other castels, holds, and fortresses, during the tearme of the said thre yeres, should abide in the hands of those that held them at that present, the castell of Dunbar onelie excepted. This castell of Dunbar was deliuered unto the Englishmen by the duke of Albanie, when he fled into France, and so remained in their hands at that time of concluding this truce.

Hereupon (by reason the Scottish commissioners had not authoritie to conclude anie full agreement for that castell, unless the same might be restored unto the king their maisters hands) it was accorded, that if the king of Scots, within the space of fortie daies next ensuing, did intimate his resolute refusal to be agreeable, that the said castell should remaine in the Englishmens hands above the space of six moneths, that then during that terme of six moneths, those that kept the castell for the Englishmen should remaine in quiet, and not be troubled nor molested by anie kind of meanes by the said king of Scots, or anie other by his procurement, so that they within the castell likewise abstaining from making anie issues or reffes upon the Scottish people. And if after that the said terme of six moneths were once expired, it should chance that anie warre arose for defending or recovering the said castell, yet the truce should indure for all other rights and possessions, notwithstanding that it might be lawfull to do what lay in anie of their powers, either for winning or defending the foresaid castell, as though no truce had bene concluded.

It was further agreed, that no traitor of either realme should be receiued by the prince of either realme; and if anie traitor or rebell chanced to arrive in either realme, the prince thereof to deliuer him upon demand made. Scots already abiding in England & Iwoyne to the king there, may remaine still, so their names be certified to the Scottish king within fortie daies. If anie warden of either realme should invade the others subiects, he to whome such warden is subiect, shall within six daies proclame him traitor, and certifie the other prince thereof within 12 daies. And in euerie safe conduct this clause should be contained; Provided alwaies that the observer of this safe conduct be no traitor. If anie of the subiects of either prince do presume to aid, helpe, mainteine, or serue anie other prince against anie of the contractors of this truce, then it shall be lawfull for him, to whome he shewed himselfe enemie, to apprehend and attach the said subiect, going, coming, or tarrieng within anie of his dominions.

Colleagues comprised in this truce (if they would assent thereto) on the English part were these: the king of Castile and Leon, the king of Arragon, the king of Portugale, the archduke of Austria & Bur-

gognie, and the duke of Britaine. On the Scottish part, Charles the French king, John king of Denmarke and Norwaie, the duke of Gelderland, and the duke of Britaine. The lordship of Lorne in the realme of Scotland, and the Island of Lundaie lieng in the riuer of Seuerne, in the realme of England, were not comprehended in this agreement. This concord, peace, and amitie thus concluded, was appointed to be published the first day of October, in the most notable cities and townes of both the realmes.

For the sure obseruation, keeping, & performance of this truce & league, there were appointed for conservatores on the Scottish side, David earle of Crawford and lord Lindseie, George earle of Huntlye lord Gordon and Badzenath, John lord Darncliffe, John lord Benedie, Robert lord Lile, Patrike lord Valene, Laurence lord Dligphant, William lord Borthwikke, sir John Kesse of Halkheid, sir Gilbert Johnston of Cliphinton, sir John Lundie, sir John Ogilvie of Arlie, sir Robert Hammliton of Fingalton, sir William Balze of Lamington, sir John Benedie of Blarphone, sir John Wlmes, sir William Kochwen; Edward Stockton of Kirke patie, John Dundas, John Kesse of Mountgrenan, &c. quires.

It was further agreed, that commissioners should meet at Loughmaben on the eighteenth day of November, as well for redresse of certeine offenses done on the west marches, as also for declaring and publishing the peace. On the English part, the lord Dacres, the lord Fitzhugh, sir Richard Kaccliffe, sir Christopher Porelbie, sir Richard Salheld, or thre of them. For the Scots, the lord Benedie, the lord Mountgomerie, the lord Lile, John Marwell steward of Annandale, Robert Creighton of Sanquhan, or thre of them. Also, there were assigned commissioners to meet at Koidenborne for the east marches, the first day of December; and at Halban Stanke for the middle marches, on the fourth day of the same moneth. At which two places for Scotland, there were assigned to appere the earle of Huntlye, the earle of Angus, the earle of Argille chancelor of Scotland, the lord Annandale, the lord Seiton, the lord Dligphant, the lord Stubbhall, with others.

For England, the earle of Northumberland, the lord Gressocke, the lord Scrope of Passan, sir William Calcoigne, sir Robert Constable, and other. The same commissioners had authoritie to assigne certeine persons, to view and declare the bounds and limits appertaining to Berwikke, according to the true meaning of the league. For the battell ground it was accorded, that the same should remaine without sowing, earing, building, or inhabiting, as it had done before. Shortly after the concluding of this truce, king Richard intreated for a marriage to be had betwixt the prince of Rothsaie, eldest sonne to king James & ladie Anne de la Moile, daughter to John duke of Suffolke and to the ladie Anne his wife, that was sister to the said king Richard. For the concluding of this marriage, both the kings sent their ambassadores againe unto Rottingham, where their treatie had such successe for that time, that the marriage was agreed upon, and writings thereof drawn, ingrossed, and sealed, and affiances made and taken by proctors and deputies on both parts. The foresaid young ladie was immediately called princeesse of Rothsaie, but by the short life of king Richard his uncle she shortly after lost that name.

King James within a while after the conclusion of this league and marriage aforesaid, for the expressing and declaring of his opinion touching the castell of Dunbar, whether he would be agreeable that the same should remaine onelie six moneths, or else during

Lorne & Lunde
daies excepted.

Commissioners appointed to meet at Loughmaben

Commissioners to meet at Koidenborne. And at Halban Stanke.

The battell ground.

A marriage concluded betwixt the duke of Rothsaie and the ladie Anne de la Moile.

A peace concluded for thre yeres.

son given

king is taken.

are moned.

otland in the

The castell of Dunbar in the Englishmens hands.

An article for the castell of Dunbar.

le Dow- sent into abbey.

duke of the is ed.

484. archbishops sent to pope sent great for

An article for traitors.

An article for Scottishmen already being in England. An article for the wardens of the marches

A clause to be put in safe conducts.

An article for such as should serve either princes in warre.

Colleagues comprised in the truce.

mission appointed the be of the (Eng Scot- to treat peace at igham.

King James by letters signifieth his mind touching the articles of Dunbar.

during the tearme of the whole truce in the Englishmens possessions, he wrote unto king Richard a loving letter, signifieng unto him, that he was not minded to take the recouerie of the said castell by force of armes, but rather to leaue it in his hand, during the whole terme of the truce. Nevertheless, he instantlie required him for the bond of that lone and familiaritie, which now by treatie and alliance was sprung up betwixt them, that he would redeliver the said castell into his hands; according as reason might moue him thereto; considering the Englishmen had no right to it, being onelie deliuered to them by traitors of their native countrie, without anie reasonable cause, or commission lawfullie authorized.

King Richard dailied in this matter with pleasant letters and faire words feeding forth king James, without minding to gratifie him in that sute, so that as long as king Richard liued, king James could neuer get it for anie thing he might do. In the

1486.

King Richard ouerthrowne by the earle of Richmond.

yeare 1486, Henrie earle of Richmond coming out of France with a power of men, of the which Bernard Steward a Scotchman was chiefe capteine, landed in Wales, and passing through the countrie into England, at length incountred king Richard, and slue him, so obtaining the crowne of that realme. And after he was somewhat quietlie established in the same, he came into the north parts, where he remained the most part of the next summer, and regarding nothing more than to haue the loue and friendship of his neighbors, & to be confederat with the kings and princes joining next unto him, he sent from Bewcastle one of his counsellors Richard For bishop of Excester, and sir Richard Cogcombe knight, ambassadoys unto king James, to treat a contract, and renew the bond of peace and truce betwixt the said kings and their realmes.

These ambassadoys were gladlie receiued of king James, who declared unto them, that he bare great fauor and loue unto their maister, and would be glad to pleasure him in all he might: howbeit, that his subiects were not of so good a mind towards the English nation as he himselfe wished, and therefore he willed them to be contented with a truce for seven yeares, fith further he could not do, for doubt to offend his nobilitie and subiects. But he promised secretly, that when those seven yeares were expired, he would renew the same for the tearme of other seven yeares, and so from seven yeares to seven yeares so long as he liued. This he did, because he perceived that his people had him in such hatred, that they would not consent to anie bond that he should make. The ambassadoys perceiuing his good meaning toward king Henrie, confirmed the truce for those seven yeares, and so returned home to king Henrie, who was glad of that they had done.

* In the meane time died the queene, a woman of singular beautie and godnesse, who was supposed greatlie to mitigate the embroiled force of his husband. At what time also in France died Alexander the kings brother, leauing behind him two sonnes, which were Alexander borne of his first wife (daughter to the earle of Dykeneie) and John (borne of his second wife) being after made gouernor of Scotland. Immediately after that this truce was thus concluded betwixt the two realmes, king James caused the three estates to assemble in parlement at Edinburgh the first of October in the yeare 1487, in the which order was taken, that iustice shoulde be holden through all the parts of the realme, & that no pardons shoulde be granted for anie great crime that shoulde be committed for the space of seven yeares to come, so that the king began to vse sharpe execution of iustice in all parts, which was right dis-

pleasant to manie.

At the same time was an ambassadoy sent to the king of Romans, for the calling in of a letter of marque, which had bene granted against Scottish merchants, at the sute and instance of certeine Hollanders and Burgognions, and was shortly after hereupon reuoked. After the parlement was ended, the king remoued unto Striueling, leauing his wife the queene, and his sonne the prince at Edinburgh castell, whilst he keeping persons about him of meane calling, gaue himselfe to take his pleasure with women, & to gather by gold and siluer; greatlie to the offense of his subiects. Yet in the meane time, now after the death of king Richard, whether it was by treason or appointment, the castell of Dunbar was deliuered to the hands of king James, and that to his great ioy and high contentation; for he that ruled his kingdome more with rigor than with anie tractable meane of fauorable iustice, stood euer in feare of some troublesome tumult that might be raised by his owne people, if occasion were ministered either through hope of foren aid or otherwise.

So long therefore as the castell was in the Englishmens hands, he doubted least through practise, some conspiracie shoulde be contriued betwixt his owne subiects and the English nation, greatlie to the annoiance of his estate, & thereupon he was the more desirous to reduce the same castell into his possession. But the onelie meane to haue assured himselfe from the hands of such as sought his life, had bene to haue changed his wilfull manner of gouernement, & to haue leaned unto such counsell as would haue aduised him for the wealth of his whole realme, and not vpon desire to please, haue maintained his vniuersal opinions, to the wzonging astwell of his commons as of the nobles and peres of his realme; for the nobilitie of Scotland, namelie the earles of Angus, Argile, and Lenox, the lords Dalis, Hume, Drummond, Greie, and others, perceiuing themselves oppressed by such as from base birth had risen (without worthie deserting) to the degree of counsellors, and therewith aduanced to so high authoritie, as all things were ordered at their appointment, conspired togither, & determined by force of armes to see a reformation in such a disordered manner of gouernement.

But yet because it shoulde not be thought that they minded the destruction of their countrie, but rather the aduancement thereof, they made the lord James duke of Roxbairie sonne to the king (a child borne to godnesse and vertue) the chiefe capteine in this their enterprize, and that in manner against his will; hereby openlie protesting, that they minded and purposed the suppressing and confusion of an euill king, and not the subuersion of their native countrie. By which their craftie imagined inuention, they thought to remoue all suspicion of their purposed vntruth and shamefull disloyaltie. They had sent to the earle of Dowglas, who remained prisoner (as ye haue heard) in the abbeye of Lundois, and required him to assist them in their begun enterprize, promising that they would restore him againe to his lands and former dignitie, and honor him as principall of their faction. But that noble, wise, and ancient earle, being already schooled with troubles, and hauing learned by experience (to his great griefe) that such matter meant, refused to breake his ward, or to assist them in anie wise, dissuading them from their enterprize, because it seemed to him neither goodlie nor honorable, fithens both himselfe and his friends had tassed for the like, great hinderance, which might be an example to him and others to beware in time to come.

The king being once informed of this rebellion and

Ambassadoys sent to the king of the Romans.

The king giueth himselfe to satisfie his lust in keeping women and gathering treasure.

After the death of king Richard, Dunbar was deliuered.

The meane whereby king James might haue avoided danger of death by his subiects.

The conspiracie of the Scottish lords against king James the third.

King James gathereth an armie.

The sendeth letters to the kings of England & France.

Eugenius 8: Buchanan.

The answer of the rebels to the kings message.

They meet in a pitched field.

The king is put to the sword.

His name.

Fr. Thin.

James the fourth.

1488.

and his gathering force, blessed grace of God to take this pur by the such were that might be done they or e ball but whi alle late their ned ner for he the the wit tie min and acc tro tei uer St the flau pecc mil in, stan call dol of f fed foll the (be tho tha nise by [3] fait Gl on nat N Jan the gam ing

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 12.

1487.

A parlement.

No pardon to be granted to offenders for the space of seven yeares.

King James
gathereth an
armie.

He sendeth
letters to the
kings of Eng-
land & France
Eugenius 8:
Buchanan.

The answer
of the rebels
to the kings
inlavage.

They met in
a pitched
field.
The king is
put to the
worste.
He is slaine.

Pr. Thin.

James the
fourth.

1488.

and conspiracie against him, was sore disquieted in his mind, and to meet their mischievous attempts, gathered an armie. Yet before the using of anie force, he sent messengers to his sonne, and to the nobles with him, to trie if he might come to some agreement with them. He sent also letters to the king of England, & to the French king, requiring them to take some paines in the matter, to procure an attonement betwixt him and his nobles. And besides this, he wrote to pope Innocent about the same purpose, praizing him to intermeddle his authoritie by sending some legate into Scotland, to appease the troubles thereof. But the Scottish nobilitie, and such of the people as were by in armes against him, were so desperatlie set, and wholie bent on reuenge, that no wholesome counsell nor medicinable aduise might appease their furious rage, so that for answer to his messengers, they sent him word, that if he would resigne the title of his crowne and realme, & depose himselfe of his whole regall dignitie, then they would come to some communication with him or else not. The like answer was giuen to the ambassadors of England and France, that were sent vnto them from the kings of both those realmes, which sore lamented the fortune of their friend and alie the Scottish king.

But Adrian the bishop of Romes legat came to late, as who should say, a day after the facte: for when their grounden malice and spitefull hatred conuincied against him might not be qualified by anie manner of means, but that they were now committing forward with all their puissance to Striueling, where he then remained, he would not staie till the orles of Huntley, Erroll, Atholl, Crawford, Rothus, Sutherland, Cathness, & Sparthall, the barons, Forbes, Agillie, Grant, Fraser, and others, were arriued with their powers, amounting to the number of forty thousand men, with the which they were coming forth of the north parts to his aid: but rashlie and without good aduise he issued out of the towne, accompanied with the earles of Glencarne & Spottros, the lords Graham, Ruthuen, Spartwell, and certeine others, and forthwith ioined battell with his aduersaries at Banockelbozne, within two miles of Striueling.

Now when nothing might quiet them, at length they met thus in a pitched field, where after great slaughter & murder made of an huge multitude of people, the king being put to the worste, fled into a mill, whither being fiercelie followed and found therein, he was cruellie slaine, and vnreuerentlie left stark naked. A notable mirrour to all princes, that calling to remembrance such a miserable and most dolorous sight, they may take heed by what manner of persons they suffer themselves to be led and abused. For if this prince king James the third had not followed vpon a willfull pretense, and obstinat mind, the counsell and aduise of vantage, and such as (being advanced from base degree vnto high authoritie) studied more to keepe themselves in fauor, than to giue true aduertisements, and faithfull aduise vnto their prince, he might haue reigned longer by manie daies & yeres, in great and high felicitie. [In which conflict was on the kings part slaine (as saith Buchanan) Alexander Coningham earle of Glencarne.] He was thus slaine nere Striueling, on the seventh day of June, the yere after the incarnation 1488, being also the 29 of his reigne.

Now then, after that the barons of Scotland had thus slaine their soueraigne lord and liege king James, the third of that name: his eldest son James the fourth was crowned king of Scotland, and began his reigne the 24 of June, in the yere 1488, being not past sixteen yeres of age, who notwithstanding

ding that he had bene in the field with the nobles of the realme against his father, that contrarie to his mind was slaine; yet neuertheless afterwards, he became a right noble prince, & seemed to take great repentance for that his offense, and in token thereof, he wore continually an iron chaine about his middle all the daies of his life. He was greatlie giuen to deuotion and prayer, visiting religious houses, and bestowing on them sundrie gifts. He gouerned his realme in great rest, peace, iustice, and quietnesse, riding him selfe in proper person diuerse daies and nights, to suppress and take theenes, robbers, and oppressors of his subiects in all parts of his realme, till he had brought the countrie to great quietnesse. He was learned and liberall, and indued with manie other good vertues and qualitties.

Anon after his coronation, the earle of Lennox, and the lord Lile, with diuers other their assistants, notwithstanding that they had bene with him at the slaughter of his father, seeing that things went not as they wished, raised an armie, and caused the dead kings bloudie shirt to be borne afore them for a banner: and coming forwards toward Striueling against the young king, were ouerthrowne at Tolsmolle, where the Lennox men, and sundrie other of the barons side were slaine, as the lord of Hiltrucht, and other taken and hanged for their offences. The king called a parlement at Edinburgh, which was holden the first of October, where he being moued by clemencie, granted a generall pardon to all those that came in field at Striueling with his father against him, and appointed certaine one to haue speciall pardons there vpon vnder his seales. He likewise dispensed with the heires of them that were slaine with his father there in field, appointing them their particular dispensations vnder his seales, after the same manner. Further it was ordeined, that all iustices, shiriffes, stewards, bailiffes, lieutenants, and other which had offices in heritage, and had bene with his father at the field, should be suspended from the same offices for the terme of three yeres: and those which had offices for life, or for terme of yeres, should be vterlie excluded from the same.

Moreouer, he tooke order that all such goods as had bene taken from landed men and burgeses, should be restored to them againe, except that which was taken from such landed men and burgeses as were in the field against him; for that was deemed a lawfull preie. It was also iudged that the death of his father came vpon him through his owne default, and that king James the fourth then reigning, and all his adherents and partakers in that field, were innocent and guiltlesse of all slaughter made there at that time, and clearely acquit of all pursute and occasion thereof: the three estates granting to giue their seales to testifie the same, with the kings great seale of the realme, to be shewed vnto the pope, the kings of France, Spaine, Denmarke, and other princes their confederats. And for the ceasing of these, reiffe, & such other great enormities, the king was appointed to ride in person once euerie yere through all parts of the realme. And certeine noble men were ordeined to exercise iustice in euerie thire next adioining to the places where they had their chiefe residence: and herevnto they gaue their othes to be diligent in the administration of iustice. These ordinances were right well obserued all the daies of James the fourth his life time, so that the realme was reduced to great tranquillitie, and gouerned in good peace and iustice. Furthermore, all gifts made by his father in prejudice of the crowne, were reuoked, from the second day of Februarie immediatlie preceeding his death, to the day in which he was slaine.

* About

The king
was repen-
tant.
The king
wore an iron
chaine.
was giuen to
deuotion.
He was a
great iusticer.

He was lear-
ned.

The nobles
raise an armie
againe.

They were
ouerthrowne.

A parlement.

A generall
pardon.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan.lib.13.

* About this time was a monster borne of a strange foine, hauing from the nauill downeward the perfect parts of one man, not different from the right proportion of a man: but from the nauill upward, it was double bodied, hauing all perfect parts answering euerie of those bodie, sundered to all actions and shew. This monster the king commanded to be diligentlie nourished and instructed, but chiefelie in musike (wherein it profited verie much.) Further also learning diuers sorts of languages, whose seuerall wits and natures manifestlie appeared by diuers dispositions of their minds. For sometime they would fall out one with another, and when anie thing displeased them, they would most bitterly contend the one with the other: contrarilie, when anie thing happened to their liking or desire, they would consult and agree together as friends. In which this was twofold remembrance, that if the legges or loines had bene hurt below, they both together felt the paine; but if they were pinched or grieued in any part aboue seuered from the other, then that bodie onelie felt the same which had that hurt done vnto it. Which different sense did more plainelie appere in the death of the one of them: for when the one bodie died manie daies before the other, that which liued, did after by little and little consume, by the putrifaction of the other bodie then dead; which monster liued 28 yeres, and in the time of John the gouernor: of which thing we doubt not to write (more boldlie) sith there are men yet lining of honest fame which saw these things.

Buchan.li.13.

This king in the beginning of his reigne, to make his estate the surer, and more faithfull to reconcile the hartes of such as had maintained factions against him, determined to marie the daughters of his aunt by two husbands, to two of those noble men: for which cause he married Grecina Boid to Alexander Forbois, and Margaret Hammilton to Matthew Stewart, by which in time there followed a most singular peace in the kingdome. Also an esquier, and an herald were sent into France, Spaine, and other places, to learne where the king might be a suter for some great ladie to ioint with him in marriage. Whereouer beside these, there were sent honorable ambassadoys into France, Spaine, and Denmarke, to renew the old amities & leagues betwixt those realmes and Scotland, as had bene used in the daies of this kings progenitors. His two brethren, the duke of Rothesie, and the earle of Mar, he caused to be brought up in good nourture and vertuous exercise, appointing to them such livings for maintenance of their estates, as his father had assigned them.

For his counsell he chose a certeine number of the prelates, noble men, and barons of his realme, such as were thought most meet, taking this order, that six of them at the least should continually remaine about him, by whose aduise he should doe all things that touched the affaires of the realme: and in case any thing was done without their aduise, the same should be iudged void, & not to be obeyed, & this was inuolublie kept all his daies. When the esquier and herald were returned againe into Scotland, which had bene to visit strange countries, and made report of that they had seene, there was a parlement holden, in which it was ordeined, that the bishop of Glasgow, the earle Bothwell, and others, should go as ambassadoys to sue for the kings marriage in place where it should be most expedient, and most to the kings liking. Great variance rose betwixt the archbishop of saint Andrews, and the bishop of Glasgow, touching the preheminence of their iurisdiction, which drew the noble men into factions, till the king commanded the same to cease, and that they

should trie it by iain before competent iudges.

* James Dgiluie knight of Aire, was sent ambassadoy to the king of Denmarke, to whome the king gaue in charge, that he should labor to renew the old league that was betwixt the Danes and the Scots, which he wiselie executed and obtained, with certeine priuileges for the benefit of the merchants. By means thereof at his returne, he purchased such fauour of the king, as that he was advanced to the title of a lord, in which the name of the Dgiluies was first increased with anie honorable title. The king about the same time took order for increase of some number of ships to be had in his realme, and that euerie haven towne should build some, as well for fishing, as to transport merchandize from place to place.

The lords and barons, and such other as would, were commanded to helpe the merchants toward the building of such ships: and for good example, the king caused to make certeine ships at his owne charges, which might vse the trade of fishing. Whereouer, the king considering the ignorance that was amongst the landed men of his realme, when they should passe vpon inquests, he ordeined that euerie landed man should put his eldest sonne to schole, that he might learne perfectlie the lawes of the realme, and that vpon great forfeiture. Thus in the beginning of his reigne, diuers good lawes and constitutions were made, for the advancement of the common-wealth, which he caused to be dulie obserued and kept during his time. The pope sent a protomotaire called Forman into Scotland, with a rose and a scepter of gold, to be presented vnto the king, desiring him to perseuere in godlinesse, honor, and vertue, as he had begun. The most part of this yere the king spent in riding abroad through all parts of his realme to see iustice ministered, speciallie in the north parts, where the people are commonlie furthest out of order.

There was hostlie after some appearance of warres betwixt England and France, whereupon king Charles sent vnto king James, requiring him of assistance, if it came to passe that the Englishmen did inuade France: and further declared, that he had one with him called Richard duke of Yorke, second sonne to king Edward the fourth, who had bene preserved now manie yeres secretlie by his aunt Margaret duchesse of Burgognie, and therefore was iust inheritor to the realme of England, whom he would send into Scotland, praiering the king to assist him to recouer his rightfull heritage, the said realme of England. And hostlie after herevpon, the said feined duke (whose right name was Perkin Warbecke, as in the English historie it appeareth) arrived in Scotland well and honorable accompanied, to trie what purchase he might make there for succors to attaine his pretended right to the crowne of England.

* After whose arrivall he was brought to the presence of king James, before whom he did lamentable bewaile (as he well could) the fall of the house of Yorke, and his owne calamities: most humble and vehementlie beseeching him, to ransom the kinglie blood from that contumelie. For answer wherevnto at that present time, the king bid him be of good heart, for he would so worke, that he should find his sute not defrauded of all due effect, in obtaining succor in his distresse. Few daies after, the king assembling together his counsell, commanded this (counterfeit) duke of Yorke to be brought vnto him, who now (more than before) did in this assemble bitterlie complaine of his misfortune, shewing, that being borne to great hope of a kingdome (as the sonne of the noblest king of that age) he was left

Fr. Thin.
Lesseus lib.8.
pag.332.

Donation
made for
ships.
1492. Lesle.

Donation
made for
learning.

1494. Lesle.
A protomotaire sent into Scotland with a rose.
1495. Lesle.

1492.
The king goeth on progress.

1496. Lesle.

Perkin was becke.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan.lib.13.

1486
A marriage fought for the king.

1491.

Two archbishops strive for the preeminence.

Lesleus lib.1.
pag.334.

void of all helpe by the death of his father, & had like to haue fallen into the tyrannie of his vncle Richard duke of Glocester, before he could vnderstand what calamitie or misfortune might signifie.

But aided by diuine assistance, he (when his elder brother was murdered by his vncle) was persecuted by the helpe of his fathers friends, and conueied away from the bloudie hands of the vsurping king Richard, who (not able in that kingdome, whose helpe by right he was) to lead a bare and begged life, did so liue in forrein countries, as he counted the condition of his brother (taken from those miseries by sudden death) to be happie in respect of his owne troubles and extremitie: for he was reserued aliue to the scoene of fortune, not daring at the first to bewaile his calamitie amongst strangers, whereby he might moue their pitie towards him: yea (and after) when by little and little he came to open what person hee was, how noble bozne, whose helpe, and to whome alied, he was (to increase all his former miseries) more grieuouslie assaulted by the malice of fortune than before. For then he could not almost liue in safetie in anie place, because of the subtiltie of his enemies, who would haue bought his life (of those with whom he remained) priuile soliciting them to discover his secrets, and (under the colour of feined amitie) to corrupt his true friends, to search out and discover his hidden friends, and to defame him amongst the common people.

Wherewithall not yet satisfied, they reuile (said he) the ladie Margarete his aunt, and imprison the nobles of England that seemed to fauor his cause; notwithstanding all which (the vsing the truth of his owne conscience against the slanders of hir and his enemies, and moued with pitie for the distresse of hir kinsman) did with hir abilitie relieue his necessitie. But at length, when he saw no sure defense in a woman and widow (whose authoritie could not stretch to the command of hir people in that liberall sort as the would) he was driuen to seeke the aid of other princes, and to request them to looke into the misfortunes that might light vpon such great estates, and that they would not suffer kinglie blood (oppressed by tyrants) to lament in such extremitie. For yet he was not so base minded (although hee were in manie great miseries) that he would not hope at one time or other to be restored to his kingdome, by the helpe of such friends as he had in Ireland and England: adding thereunto the helpe which he should haue out of France, whereof he had already made some trial by the singular beneuolence of the same king, hauing liberallie imparted manie benefites vnto him.

Besides which, not supposing this to allure the kings mind to his fauor, he began by flatterie to extoll him, not doubting but he (whose fauor had bene liberallie shewed to the distressed) would now diminish the same to him; but that he hoped that he would (for his singular humanitie to all banished persons, for pitie towards a miserable creature, for loue towards his kinsman, for necessities cause towards his friend, and for the rarenesse of league that ought to be among princes) succor and relieue him with men and monie, thereby to helpe him to the recouerie of his kingdome. Wherefore againe he importunately requirerth the king of aid in this extremitie, since the same was honorable to himselfe, acceptable to God, beneficiall for his realme, and a singular fame among other princes in ioining with them determined to restore him. Which if he might obtaine (and that the rather by his furtherance) he did liberallie promise alwaies to stand a most firme friend to the Scots, for whose cause he would spend his crowne and life.)

Thus Perkin Warbecke did vse the matter in

such subtill wise, that king James either giuing, or seeming to giue credit to his words, after aduise and deliberation had and taken with his counsell, receiued him in honorable wise, naming and reputing him duke of Bozke, and the refore promised him to aid him in all that he might. And shortly after, he married him to his nere kinswoman the ladie Katharine, daughter to the earle of Huntley, and moreover raised a great armie, speciallie of the borders, and with the same hauing this pretended duke in companie with him, invaded England, burnt towne spoiled houses, and tooke great booties and rich preies both of goods and prisoners, & allured with the sweetnesse of such spoile and gaine, wasted all the countrie of Northumberland, and had gone further, but that he could perceiue no aid comming in vnto this new found duke, contrarie to such golden promises as he had made, that as sone as they were entered into England, there would flocke vnto him both of the nobilitie and commons, and that in great numbers.

King James perceiuing no such matter, thought it better to returne with assured gaine, than to tarie this new sprung dukes doubtfull and vncertaine victorie. And so hauing his people laden and pestered with spoile and prisoners, he dreylo backe into Scotland. The king of England aduertised hereof, made preparation for the raising of an armie, meaning to send the same against the Scots: but the rebellion of the Cornishmen, which chanced the same time about a tyme leued then of the people, constrained him to imploie that armie to repress the enterpryse of those rebels. Yet neuerthelesse he sent the earle of Surreie to the borders, that with the power of the countrie adioining, he might defend the same from the inuasions of the Scots, if they attempted to breake in: and so the earle laie on the borders all that yere.

King James then perceiuing that no maine armie came against him, invaded euen the borders of England, and laied siege to the castell of Roxham, sending his light horsemen abroad into Northumberland, and the bishopricke of Durham, where they burned and spoiled all about in the countrie: but hearing that the earle of Surreie had raised an armie, and was comming towards them, they returned to the host lieng before Roxham, where king James perceiuing he could not win the castell, notwithstanding he had done great hurt and damage thereto, he raised his siege, retired into his countrie, and left great companies on the borders for defense thereof. And so before the comming of the English armie, king James was returned. The earle of Surreie yet (as the English writers affirme) followed into Scotland, and tooke diuerse castles and towres, remaining within the countrie the space of six or seven daies, and then came backe without battell or anie notable skirmish offered.

About the same time was one Peter Hialas sent ambassadoe from Ferdinando king of Spaine, to treat as a mediator for the concluding of peace betwixt the kings of England and Scotland, which Hialas travelled so earnestlie in the matter, that at length it was agreed, that certaine commissioners of both the realmes should meet at Melrose, where for the king of England, doctor For, then bishop of Durham, with this Hialas, and other graue personages, met the Scottish commissioners. After long conference and much talk had, for the conclusion of a generall peace, finally nothing but a truce might be accorded for certaine yeres, though Hialas did what he possible might, to haue agreed them for all manner of matters, quarrels, demands, and causes, that soeuer the same had bene, that a perpetuall peace might haue bene concluded, because he was chiefe sent

C. J.

Perkin Warbecke married the earle of Huntley's daughter.

1495.

King James invaderth Northumberland.

1496.

1497. Lefle. King James returneth without prof-fer of battell.

A rebellion in Co. newall.

The earle of Surreie sent into the north.

1498.

The Scots invaderth the borders of England.

The earle of Surreie raised an armie.

The Scots raise their siege.

The earle of Surreie went into Scotland.

Peter Hialas an ambassadoe from the king of Spaine.

Commissioners met at Melrose or Jedworth (as some say.)

A truce concluded for yeres.

The cause why Hialas was sent.

for that intent.

The king of England requested to haue the counterfeite duke of Yorke (otherwise named Perkin Warbecke) deliuered to him: but king James (esteeming his honor more than anie earthlie thing) would in no wise seeme to betraie him that fled to him for succour, and with whom he had copled one of his owne kinswomen in marriage: but he was contented to couenant, that the same Perkin should be constrained to depart out of Scotland, and not to be further aided by him, or by anie other through his meanes or procurement. The king of Scots to keepe promise made in the said treatie of peace, and knowing himselfe to be abused by the said Richard, whom he had reputed to be verelie duke of Yorke (although he was not so called him before his presence, and declared to him the great fauour and good will which he had borne towards him, putting him in remembrance that for his sake he had taken warre in hand against England, and invaded the countrie in hope of assistance by his friends within the land, where not one resorted to him.

And albeit he had married his nere kinswoman, yet might he not keepe longer warre with England for his sake onelie; except he might be sure of some aid through his meanes, whereof he could see no appearance. He desired him therefore to withdraw forth of his realme, either into Flanders to his fathers sister the ladie Margaret; or into some other place where it pleased him to abide, and expect some better time more conuenient for his purpose. The said Richard gaue the king thanks, and obeyed his pleasure, departing thortlie after out of Scotland, and sailed into Ireland, from thence to transport into Flanders. But finally making an attempt into England, he was taken prisoner in the abbey of Beaupre, together with his wife, whose beautie was such, as king Henrie thought hir a more meet preie for an emperour, than for souldiers, and therefore used hir verie honorable, appointing hir to remaine in the court with the queene his wife, where she continued so long as the said king liued.

This yere, the peace being well kept betwixt England and Scotland, the same was nere at point to haue bene broken; by reason that the Englishmen which laie in garrison within the castell of Porzham, did make a frate with certeine Scottishmen that came riding nere to the castell, as it had bene to haue viewed it. But although they ment no euill, yet diuerse of the Scottishmen were slaine, and manie wounded and sore hurt; so that king James hauing information thereof, was sore displeased therewith, thinking and saieing, that there was no more incertaine thing, than to haue peace with England. And hereupon he sent his herald Perchmount with sharpe and vehement letters vnto the king of England, making great complaint for this iniurie and wrong done to his subiects, by those within the castell of Porzham. But receiuing most reasonable letters for excuse of that which was done, as well from the king of England himselfe, as from the bishop of Durham owner of the castell, he was indifferentlie well appeased & satisfied, so that he required to haue the bishop to come into Scotland vpon safe conduct to common with him, as well for the full quieting of this matter, as for other things which he had to talke with him of.

The bishop by licence of the king his master, accomplished the Scottish kings request; so that coming into Scotland, he was receiued by him verie honorablie at Melrose, where (after certeine talke had betwixt them for the appeasing of this last displeasure) the king brake with the bishop for the hauing of the ladie Margaret, eldest daughter to Hen-

rie the seventh, as then king of England, to be giuen him in marriage: and further declared that he was minded to send his orators vnto hir father the said king Henrie, about the same matter. And forsomuch as he knew that the bishop was one that might do much with king Henrie, who highlie fauoured him for his singular wisdom and learning, he desired him to be a meane to further his sute, which if it were obtained, he trusted it should highlie redound to the honor & wealth of both the realmes. The bishop considering herein as much as the king was able to tell him, did not onelie promise to do all that in him lay, but also encouraged him to send his orators with all speed, trusting that they should receiue a verie towarblie answer.

King James following the bishops aduise, anon after his returne into England, sent certeine persons ambassadoys vnto king Henrie, to moue him to the effect aboue mentioned. These ambassadoys were highlie welcomed, and verie well heard, so that to be brieft, their request seemed so agreeable to king Henries mind, that the marriage was thortlie thereupon concluded (but not consummate betwixt the foresaid James king of Scotland, and the said ladie Margaret daughter to king Henrie) in the seventeenth yere of the said king Henries reigne. At the same time, when this marriage was so agreed vpon, a peace was also concluded betwixt the kings of England and Scotland, for the terme of their two liues. And to auoid that none of either of the said kings subiects that had offended the lawes, should be receiued into anie of their dominions; it was accorded, that no Englishman should come within Scotland, without his princes letters supplicatorie vnto the king of Scots, nor anie Scottishman to come within England, without the like letters from his prince, desiring safe conduct and passeport.

In the yere next ensuing, Robert Blakater the bishop of Glasgow, Adam Hepburne the earle Bothwell, and other noble men of Scotland, were sent in ambassage from king James vnto the king of England, for the perfecting of the foresaid marriage betwixt king James, and the ladie Margaret, eldest daughter to king Henrie, which earle by letters of procuracie and mandat, in the name of his master king James, assied and handfasted the foresaid ladie Margaret in all soleme wise, according to the manner: which assurance and contract thus made, was published at Paules crosse in London, on the day of the conuersion of saint Paule, in reioicing whereof Te Deum was song, and fiers made, with great feasting & banquetting throughout that citie. This done, the ambassadoys returned into Scotland, and then afterwards was great preparation made in England for the conueieng of the said ladie into Scotland, and likewise great purueiance there for the receiuing of hir.

On the sixteenth of June, king Henrie toke his iournie from Richmond, with his daughter the said ladie Margaret, and came to Colweston, where his mother the countesse of Richmond then laie. And after he had remained there certeine daies in pastime and great solace, he toke leaue of his daughter, giuing hir his blessing with a fatherlie exhortation, and committed the conueieng of hir into Scotland vnto the earle of Surreie, and others. The earle of Northumberland, as then warden of the marches, was appointed to deliuer hir vpon the borders vnto the king of Scotland. And so this faire ladie was conueied with a great companie of lords, ladies, knights, esquires, and gentlemen, untill she came to the towne of Bertwicke, and from thence vnto Lanbert church in Lamer more within Scotland, where she was receiued by the king and all the nobles of

An article for Perkin Warbecke.

King James reasoneth with the counterfeite duke of Yorke.

Perkin Warbeck went into Ireland to come into Flanders.

1499. The truce like to be broken.

King James requireth to talke with the bishop of Durham.

King James purposeth to be a sator for marriage in England.

The consummation of the marriage betwixt king James the fourth, and the ladie Margaret.

Ambassadors sent into England.

1500. A marriage concluded betwixt king James and the ladie Margaret.

A peace concluded betwixt England & Scotland.

The king of Denmarke cometh into Scotland.

He is restored to his kingdom by the earle of Hereford.

This was in the yere 1502.

The he land men obedient to lawes.

1503. Lefl. 1504.

R. Thin.

A devise to get the king monie.

1503. Lefl.

1506.

that realme, and from the said place of Lamberton church, the was conueied unto Edinburgh, where the day after his coming thither, the was married unto the said king with great and solemne triumph, to the high reioicing of all that were present.

And berelie the English lords (as the earle of Surreie and others) which gaue their attendance on the said ladie till the mariage and feast were ended) at their returne home, gaue great praise not onelie to the manhood of the Scots, but also to their manners and heartie intertainment. For aswell the noble men as the ladies and gentlewomen of Scotland at that present, were nothing behind the English lords & ladies in coslie apparell, masse chaines, and other furniture, as well for themselves as their horses, and made great bankets to the English men, and shewed them such iusts and other pleasant pastimes in honor of the mariage, so well, as after the manner of the countrie could be deuised. By reason of this mariage and aliance, men were in great god hope that perfect peace and sincere amitie should continue betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland a long time after: and berelie during the life of king Henrie the seventh, no cause of breach was ministered betwixt him and his sonne in law, but that they liued in great loue and amitie.

About this time, the king of Denmarke, through diuision that did rise betwixt him & his lords, was constrained to forsake his countrie, and to come for aid into Scotland, where the king receiued him louingly, and vpon his earnest sute, for that he was both his cosine and confederat, and also the rather, at the contemplation of the French kings request and perswasion, he prepared an armie of ten thousand men, the which vnder the conduct of the earle of Arrane, he sent with the said king of Denmarke to assist him against his aduersaries. The earle of Arrane according to his commission, attending the Danish king into his countrie, restored him to his kingdome and former gouernement, and so leaving him in peaceable possession thereof, returned with his armie againe into Scotland, with great honor both to himselfe, the king, and realme.

Shortlie after was a parliament called, during the which the quene was crowned, and manie good acts and constitutions made, especiallie touching the limiting of places where iustice should be ministered in the Isles and hie lands: whereby it came to passe, that the king was aswell obeyed, & his lawes were as dueltie obserued and kept by the hie land men, as by those that dwelled in anie part of the low land. The king then being at peace with England, and iustice so ministered amongst his owne subjects, that they liued in great rest and quietnesse, certeine of his counsell [as William Elphinstone bishop of Aberdeen] deuised waies to win the king great profit and gaines, by calling his barons & all those that held anie lands within his realme, to shew their euidences by way of recognition: and if they had not writings to shew, according to the ancient instruments and lawes of the realme sufficient for their warrant, the lands should remaine at the kings pleasure.

But when the king perceiued his people to grudge herewith, and not without cause, as with a thing deuised to disquiet his people and the whole countrie, of his owne courteous & gentle nature he easilie agreed with the possessors of such lands: for the which he purchased great love amongst his people, & the detraiers of that ordinance wauing passing great hatred and malice. This yeare in Aprill the king held his court of iustice at Lotoder, and removing it to Edinburgh, there continued the same, where the lord of Thowerton was convicted for killing his wiife, and therefore

lost his head [at Edinburgh by the kings sentence.] There came an ambassadoe this yeare also from the duke of Gelderland, to renew the league betwixt the king and the said duke. Also an herald came out of France, who brought news which the king liked well.

This yeare also, the king caused a mightie ship to be made, the which was put forth into the roade the seventh of Iulie, and the king sailed himselfe into the Spate, an Island in the Forth, and was driven in againe with tempest: but the same ship was after appointed forth, and sent to the sea with sundrie valiant gentlemen in hir, to meet with the Hollanders which had taken and spoiled diuerse Scottish ships, and throune the merchants and other that were in the same ouer board. For reuenge wherof, Andrieu Sarton took manie ships of the Hollanders and filled certeine pipes with their heads, which he sent vnto the king for a witness how he had sped. A star like a comet appeared the tenth of August, giuing great light in the night season like to the sun beames. A Frenchman named sir Anthoine Darcie knight, called afterward Le sir de la Batotie, came through England into Scotland to seeke seats of arms. And coming to the king the foure and twentieth of September, the lord Hamilton fought with him right valiantlie, and so as neither of them lost anie pece of honor. This yeare James prince of Scotland and of the Isles was borne in the abbey of the Holie rood house, the one and twentieth of Iannarie; and on the thre and twentieth of the same moneth, he was baptised in the said abbey church. His godfathers were these, Robert bishop of Glasgowe, and Patrike earle Bothwell; and the countesse of Huntclie was his godmother. The quene, after she was brought to bed, was verie weake and troubled with great sickenesse, so that she lay in great danger: for recovery of whose helth the king went on foot vnto saint Pirians in pilgrimage; and afterwards in Iulie, both the king and the quene went thither to visit the same saint.

Pope Julius the second sent an ambassadoe vnto king James, declaring him protector and defender of the faith, and in signe thereof sent vnto him a purple disdrem or crowne wrought with flowers of gold, together with a sword, hauing the hilts and skabbert of gold set with pretious stones, which were presented vnto him by the said ambassadoe, and the abbat of Dunfermling, within the abbey church of Holie rood house. At that time the peace contracted betwixt the two kings of Scotland and England was there confirmed. The lord of Teruere or Camfire in Zealand (whose ancestors not long ago came forth of Scotland) sent his messenger the bailiffe of Teruere to the king, who presented vnto him certeine great horses and other rich presents, in remembrance that he came of the Scottish race; and the king in recompense thereof, sent vnto the said lord his order, and made his ambassadoe knight, rewarding him at his departing (which was in August) with right honorable gifts.

The whole realme remained in such peace and quietnesse in these daies, that the king rode one day himselfe alone in post from Sterling, by S. Johnes towne, and Aberdeen, vnto Elgin; and reposing a little part of the night in the house of maister Thomas Leslie then parson of Angus, went to horse againe, and came to saint Dundots in Kildie, by that time they were ready to go to masse. This was on the one & thirtieth day of August. About the latter end of September, the archbishop of saint Andrews, and the earle of Arrane, were sent ambassadors into France. They took ship the seven and twentieth of September. The seventeenth of Februarie, James prince

Fr. Thin.

A great ship made.

The Hollanders ships taken.

A bright star appeared in the skie.

Anthoine Darcie.

1507. Prince James is borne.

The king went on pilgrimage.

The pope declared king James protector of the faith.

Horses presented vnto the king.

Peace and quietnesse in Scotland.

An ambassage into France.

Ce. ij.

The confirmation of the marriage betwixt king James the sixth and the ladie Margaret.

The king of Denmarke cometh into Scotland.

He is restored to his kingdome by the earle of Arrane.

The hie land men obeyed at lawes.

1505. Le. 1504.

Fr. Thin.

I desire to see the king againe.

1506.

prince of Scotland departed this life at Striueling, and the bishop of Calloway also, who was appointed to be his gouernor.

* About this time, the k. (to tell you here, as saith Lelleus, a matter that to this day is remembred amongest the Romane people with great laughter) created a certaine Italian (with whose wit and pleasant speech he was delighted) abbat of Tungland. This man (being a noble framer of deceit, & boaster of his wit) did on a time persuaide the king, that he was so conuerfant in all hidden knowledge of naturall things, and in the secret science of Alchymie, that he could turne all other mettals into pure gold, if anie would beare the charge thereof. But after much time spent thereabout (with long looking of the king, and the nobilitie, to see the effect hereof) there was nothing done, but that their purses were emptied, and the vaine man was defamed by the breach of his promise. At length when he was fallen into the hatred and offense of all men, he did partly to gather againe an opinion & report of his vaine glozie, and partly to recouer the kings fauor, giue out a rumor, that he would (by sleight) be in France before the ambassadoys (which were sent thither, and had losed from thore to take their iourne) should come thither. For the performance whereof, he appointed a day for them to meet at Striueling, from whence he would take his flight, and begin his iourne. At what time, and to what place, manie resorted together, desirous to see this new bird; amongest whom (for recreations cause) came the king also.

What need manie words. This man fastening (which he had caused to be made of the fethers of diuerse foules) vnto both his sides, lifted vp himselfe from the cassell of Striueling, into the aire to take his iourne: but this deceiver suddenlie fell headlong to the ground, not able to be holpen by the force of his wings: wherewith the people (vncertaine whether they should rebuke the follie of the man, or pittie his misfortune) flocked about him, demanding this winged abbat how he did: to whom he answered, that he had broken the bone of his thigh, and was out of hope to lie anie more hereafter. To conclude, they all were like to die with laughing, to see him, which before would lie like Icarus, did now lie like Simon Pagus, with all his bodie almost broken in peces. At length when euerie one had laughed their fill, this worthy abbat, to salue all the matter, referred the default of his sleight wholie to his wings, because they were not made of eagles fethers and such like, but onelie of pullens fethers, not meet or accustomed to cut the aire with flight; and which by a certaine inward vertue (working according to the nature of those foules) did draw the fethers downe toward the donghill (wherupon those birds lue) as the adamant draweth iron.]

The 9 of Maie in the yeare after, the lord D'obigne, and the president of Tholous, came from Lewes the French king as ambassadoys to declare vnto king James, that he ment to match his eldest daughter in marriage with Francis de Wallois of Aien, and duke of Angouleme; notwithstanding that Charles king of Castile that was after emperor, made sute for hir. Because therefore he ment not to conclude anie thing in such a weightie matter without consent of his confederats, of which he esteemed king James as chiefe, he required him of his aduise and counsell therein; who after aduise ment taken, made answer, that albeit the king of France had sufficient counsell about him; yet sith he had desired his aduise, he would friendlie giue the same: which was that he should rather marie his daughter within his owne realme, vnto such as should succeed him, than to bestow hir vpon anie forein prince, sith otherwise

some claime might be made in time comming vnto the crowne by such as should match with hir. And so with this answer, the president of Tholous departed, reporting the same at his comming home vnto the French king, who thereupon folloied his owne determination therein, confirmed and allowed thus by his confederat the king of Scotland.

The lord D'obigne toke a sicknesse and died thereof at Corrozzhin, in the moneth of June, and caused his heart to be sent vnto saint Minians in Calloway; because he had vowed a pilgrimage thither whilest he remained the French kings lieutenant in Naples, where he had atchieued manie high enterprises against his enemies. His name was Bernard Steward, lieutenant of those men of warre which Charles the eight of that name king of France did send with Henrie earle of Richmond into England, when the same earle came against king Richard, whom he vanquished, and thereby got the crowne. And so after manie noble victories and valiant acts atchieued, this lord D'obigne ended his life in his owne countrie of Scotland, where he was borne. This yeare also in Maie and June, there were kept great iusts and tourneies in Edinburgh, by one calling himselfe the wild knight, who counterfeited the round table.

There were diuerse ambassadoys sent forth this yeare also, as the archdeacon of saint Andrews, and sir Anthonie Darcie into France, and the bishop of Purree into England. The fifteenth of Iulie, the quene was deliuered of a daughter, which shortly after she had receiued baptisme, deceased, and the quene in that childbed was againe in great perill of death. The bishop of Glascow died this yeare in his iourne to Jerusalem, the nine and twentieth of Iulie; James Beton succeeded him in that see. The thirtieth of Iulie, there was a great fraie betwixt the lord Marwell, and the lord Creighton of Sanchar, where the lord Creighton was shaled with his companye from Dunfreis, & the lord of Dalziel and the young lord of Crauthlaie with diuerse other were slaine. The nineteenth of September was a great earthquake in manie places both of England and Scotland, namelie, the same was perceiued in churches.

The king of England sent a gentleman with horses trimlie trapped with bards of scale to be presented to king James, who thankfullie receiued them, and right honorablie rewarded the messenger. The archdeacon of saint Andrews returned forth of France in a great ship called the tresuroz, which ship was cast away on the coast of England, and the archdeacon, and foure hundred persons that were in hir, were brought to the king of England: but the archdeacon in Nouember following returned home and came to Edinburgh. Adam earle of Bothwell and lord Hales departed this life at Edinburgh the seventeenth day of October, and earle Patrike succeeded him. Henrie the seventh king of England, passed out of this world the two and twentieth of April, in the yeare 1509, and his sonne Henrie the eight succeeded him, after whose coronation king James sent an honorable ambassage of certaine lords and a bishop to congratulat him at his first entry into the rule of his kingdome, as to the manner in such cases appertineth.

* At this time, John and Andrew Barton (obteining letters of marque from the king against the Portingals) preieng on the borderers of Portingale did take manie of their ships (landed with rich merchandise) which they brought into Scotland. Which kind of pilles being often made by the Bartons vnto the Portingals, gaue them cause grauoullie to complaine to their king, of the wicked piracie of the Scots.

Fr. Thin.
Lelleus lib. 8.
pag. 345.

The lord
D'obigne
died.

This was
the king him-
selfe.

Ambassadoys
sent.

The archb-
shop of Glas-
cow died.

A bickering.

An earth-
quake.

Horses sent
vnto king
James.

The archde-
con of saint
Andrews
came out of
France.

The earle
Bothwell
died.

1509.

King Henrie
the eight suc-
ceeded his
father.

Fr. Thin.
Lelleus lib. 8.
cap. 250.

1508.
An ambassage
sent vnto the
king.

The kings
answer.

Scots
counc
nie tin
Scoti
made,
happ
cause
the W
giuen
lettere
among
Porti
ness
in the

in fl
ships
the o
othe
teine
wou
rest c
at th
Dor
light
at th
haue
true
gogr
ding
lar in
brea
bozo
foun
of D
lesse
and f
that
ting
flam
men
Sco
deat
frust

he ha
inui
not
mar
Joh
to th
ship
the
of, n
fath
state
ter
came
ent
ble
first
there

Scots: but neither the king of Portingale with his counsell, nor his people with their force, could at anie time suppress the Bartons (defended with the Scotch letters of marque) but that he would invade, spoile, & carie awaie the Portingale ships, if he happened upon anie of them. Touching which, because it shall not seeme to be a manifest iniurie by the Bartons to the other (and not rather a iust cause giuen by the Portingals) we haue here inserted the letters of our king James the sixt (as they be found amongst the records) written to Immanuel king of Portingale for this matter. In which it shall manifestly appeare, whether the fault were not mostlie in the Portingals or no.

James the sixt, king of Scotland,
to Immanuel the woort he king
of Portingale.

Worthie king, friend, and deere cosine, certeine yeares past, a Scotch ship laden with merchandize, & loading from the port of Sluis in Flanders, was invaded by two armed ships, gouerned by Portingals; whereof, the one was called John Wasque, and the other John Pret. Which ship (after certeine of hir merchants slaine, manie wounded, manie taken prisoners, and the rest cast into a fisher-bote to be set on land at the next shore) was by them caried into Portingale: all which was done in the sight of the rest of the Lusitan ships, which at the same time did also lose out of that haven to passe into Portingale. The full trueth whereof, Charles the duke of Burgonie, and earle of Flanders, vnderstanding (and moued not so much for the singular iniurie done to the Scots, as by the breach of the priuilege, & right of his harbours) did signifie the same (knowne, and found by order of iudgement) to the king of Portingale, admonishing him, that in lesse he took order for such wicked deeds, and for the restitution of the hurt and losse: that he would inuenor, that all the Portingals (which frequented the marts of Flanders) should by sentence of iudgement, satisfie all the damages which the Scots had susteined. But the vntimelie death (of that iust and valiant man) did frustrat all his determination.

The king also our grandfather (when he had by his letters complained of that iniurie to the king of Portingale, and had not much profited) gaue forth letters of marque, that is, he gaue authoritie to John & Robert Barton, brothers & heires to that John, which was maister of that ship so caried away, to recouer so much of the Lusitans. Before the execution whereof, my grandfather died: after which (my father being yet verie young) the whole state of the realme did suppose it best to alter nothing in forren causes, vntill he came to full age. At time (being of sufficient yeares) he did forbear to grant the ble of the said letter of marque, till he had first consulted with the king of Portingale thereabouts. Whereupon (dispatching

an ambassadoz vnto him) our father also died (before we could againe heare anie answer from thence) leauing me a child not past thre yeeres old. For which cause, the gouernor of the kingdome iudged it best (during our minozie) to defer these letters of marque, vntill we came to riper yeares; which was done, not without great griefe and complaint of those miserable and poore men.

Whereupon, we also for these last two yeares (being now growen to riper age) are moued alowell to prouide, that other merchants which in that ship of Julian, haue lost their goods and kindred, as also to permit the heires of the said John Barton (by way of letter of marque before granted) to haue power giuen them, onelie to take so much recompense of the Portingals. Whereof yet, we thought it meet, that they should not ble any of them, vntill we had first (by this Snadone our esquier) laid before your maiestie the whole order of the matter, which is the iudiciall knowledge of the pirasie, the value of the losse, and the cause of our long silence, assuredlie hoping that you will not do anie thing, in respect of your humanitie and byrightnes, but that which shall be good and iust. The which, if you deeme is yet to be deferred; we require your worthinesse to consider, that we cannot forsake our subiects, afflicted with so great iniuries, whome hereafter we refer to the law of all nations, for recouerie of their goods taken away, which thing ought not to seeme to anie man (by anie meanes) to be the violating of friendship, league, or consanguinitie, wherewith we haue bene linked. Wherefore, when that same shall happen, we desire your excellencie to take the same in good part (most worthie cosine and conederat king) to whom I wish long and happy life. From Edinburgh, the day before the Ides of Aprill, in the yeare, 1540.

The king about this time gaue liberall possessions to Robert Worthwike, a notable artificer for making of field peeces and other guns; for the which liberalitie, he should make certeine great peeces in the castell of Edinburgh, whereof there are manie yet to be seene in Scotland, with this supercription:
Machina sum Scoto Worthuik fabricata Roberto.

This summer the king went in pilgrimage vnto saint Duthois in Kosse, and the queene remaining at Holie rood house, was brought to bed of a prince, the twentieth day of October, the which the third day after was baptised and named Arthur. Two great ships came forth of France to the king, fraught with guns, speares, and all other kind of munition for warre. Alexander, bastard sonne to the king, newlie made archbishop of saint Andrews, who had bene long in Germanie student there in the scholes with that famous clearkie Erasmus Roterdamus, and had profited verie well, came from Flanders by sea into Scotland, and was iouisfullie receiued; because he had bestowed his time so well in vertues and learning.

The lord of Fast castell came ouer with him; who had travelled through a great part of christendome, and mozeouer passing into Turkie, came to the emperor.

Fr. Thin.
Lectus lib. 8.
pag. 313.

The king
swent on pil-
grimage.

A ship with
munition.
1540.

The archbis-
hop of saint
Andrews.

The lord of
Fast castell
went into
Turkie.

Ce. iii,

perour

perour of Turkie at the citie of Caire, who retained him in seruice, and gaue him good interteinement, so that he remained with him, till he heard that the lining of Fast castell was fallen to him by lawfull succession; notwithstanding that when he departed out of Scotland, there were eight severall persons before him to succeed one after another, which in the meane time were all deceased. The 14 of Iulie, Arthur prince of Scotland and the Isles, departed this life in the castell of Edenburgh. Two scorpions were found, the one quicke, and the other dead, in the orchard of the castell of Cragmiller, which thing was reputed for a marvellous great wonder, that any should be seen within the Ile of Britaine. In the moneth of September, an vniuersall sicknesse reigned throug all Scotland, whereof manie died. It was verie contagious, and they called it Stope gallant.

There came also a passing faire woman into Scotland about the same time, naming hir selfe Katharine Gordon, wife to Perkin Warbecke, that had named himselfe duke of Yorke, but at length being brought to the king, she confessed that she was, and so auoided the realme. In which meane while, the ladie Katharine Gordon hir selfe remained in England, and had right good maintenance, so that she liued there verie well and honorably manie yeeres after. Furthermore, the king vpon the eighth day of Nouember coming from Edenburgh to the water of Hule, took diuers misgouerned persons, & brought them to Jedworth, where the principall of the Trumbills, with naked swords in their hands, and withs about their necks met him, putting themselves in the kings mercie, which were sent to sundrie places to be kept in ward, with diuers other of those countremen, whereby the marches were more quiet afterwards; and from thence the king passed to saint Johns towne, where iustice were holden the residue of the winter.

The next yere in the beginning of Aprill, the quene went from Dunfermling toward saint Dythois in Kosse, and was all the way right honorably vlsed and interteinend. About the tenth of Iulie, she returned to Edenburgh, where she found the lord Dacres, and sir Robert Duncraig knight come thither as ambassadors from the king of England hir brother, who were honorable received. In the yere next insuing, in June, Andzew Barton being on the seas to meet the Portugals (against whom he had a letter of marque) sir Edmund Halward lord admerall of England, and the lord Thomas Howard, sonne and heire vnto the earle of Surrey, were appointed by the king of England to go likewise to sea with certeine ships, and met with the said Andzew as he returned homewards nere to the Dolones, hauing with him onelie one ship and one barke.

The Englishmen at the first made signe vnto the Scots as though they ment none euill, saue onelie to salute them as friends; but getting withyn them, they set vpon them right fiercelie, and the Scots for a while did as valiantlie defend themselves, so that manie were slaine on both sides; but in the end the Englishmen got the vpper hand, wounded Andzew Barton the chiefe captaine of the Scots, that he died of the hurts that he there receiued, and the ship called the Unicorn, and the barke called Jennie Peruine, were both taken, with all the Scottishmen that remained alieue in the same, which were had to London, and staid as prisoners in the bishop of Yorke his house for a time, and after sent home into Scotland. King James was sore offended with this matter, and therevpon sent an herald with letters, requiring redresse for the slaughter of his people, and restitution of his ships, with otherwise it might seme

to giue occasion of breach of the peace. But the king of England denied, that the slaughter of a pirat (as he toke Andzew Barton to be) ought to breake anie bond of peace, yet neuertheless he promised to send commissioners to the borders, that should intreat of that matter, and other eniornities chanced betwene the two realmes.

About this time was Alexander Hume the onlie gouernor of all the marches of Scotland (which before were accustomed to be diuided into thre parts) darrelie beloued to king James, being a man of a fiercer disposition than was conuenient for the profit of the common-wealth. This man promised to the king (troubled with the cares of warre, and carefull to wipe alwaie the reproch of late receiued by the English) that shortly he and his followers with their kindred and aliances, would so bring the matter about, that the English should as greatlie lament for their losses, as they had now conceiued ioies of their victories. To the performance whereof, he gathered thre thousand souldiers, wherewith he entered England, and there spoiled seuen towne before anie succour might come to rescue them: but as he returned backe laden with booties of all kinds, his men (being accustomed to pilfries and robberies) impatient of delate, presentlie diuided the pze in the host, euerie one departing home to his owne as it was nearest vnto him. Yet Alexander did not disperse such as he might keepe together: but assembling as manie of them as would tarie, with a small companie abode the end of all things, alwaies hauing an eye to see if anie pursute were made after them. But when he perceived no bodie to follow, and that there was no doubt of danger (passing the time more careles than before) he fell vntowares into the hands of thre hundred English laid in wait for him, who (taking the opportunitie of the time) did set vpon him and his, and (driving them into extreme feare) they killed and put to flight all such as they incountered. In which tumult diuers of the Scots were slaine, and two hundred taken, of whome George Hume, brother of the said Alexander (exchanged for Comarck, Heron, and Ford, taken prisoners, and long retained in Scotland for reuenge of the death of Robert Carr) was one, and the chiefe, whereby he departed quietlie into Scotland.)

The French king and the duke of Gelderland, perceiuing that the king of England was minded through procurement of the pope & others, to make them wartes, either of them sent ambassadors into Scotland vnto king James, requiring his assistance against England: but king James minding to mainteine peace and concord betwixt the parties, sent an ambassador vnto the king of England, desiring him in brotherlie and most louing wise to liue in peace and quietnesse, and not to make anie wars against his confederat friends, offering himselfe to agree and compound anie difference that was fallen betwixt the king of England and the said princes. The king of England, who had already sent aid vnto the ladie regent of the low countries against the duke of Gelderland, made such faire answer herevnto as he thought stood with reason, and so dispatched the ambassadour backe againe to his maister, without anie more adu in that matter, about the which he came for that time.

Much about these dates, there was called a provinciall synod of bishops, abbats, and other religious persons at Edenburgh, in the monastrie of the Dominicke friers, whereof the popes legat being present. In which by the common voice of them all (although against the will of manie of them) it was ordeined that benefices or priests livings (whose reuenues did yearly exceed the value of 40 pounds) should pay

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 12.

The king of
France requir-
ed aid against
England.

King James
persuaded to
peace.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus. lib. 8.
pag 356.

Prince Ar-
thur deceased.

Two scorpions
found in
Scotland.

Stope gal-
lant a sickness.

Katharine
Gordon.

The Trum-
bills with o-
ther are taken
by the king.

1511.

An ambassage
from the king
of England.

1511. Lefle.

1512.

Two ships
taken by the
Englishmen.

The kings
barr and
married.

The bishop of
Surrey came
home.

A young prince
borne in
Scotland.

The French
king sent to
persuade the
king of Scots
to warre.

fourteen
pikes of
Englishmen
taken.

Mistrie exer-
cised.

The quene
brought to bed
of a child.
1512. Lefle.
The league
renewed with
France.

Portenants
sent into
England and
France.

1513. Lefle.
Doctor well
sent into
Scotland
ambassador.

1513.
Dunition for
warre sent out
of Denmark.

Provision sent
out of France.

pay a
grue
he lik
Bail
and
turn
king
in th
Hun
h
h
of A
bzin
Fra
ters
ball
of A
in th
bapt
land
in th
can
H
the
the
war
niti
In
lan
fue
whi
affe
can
A
ful
me
Nati
gy
of
Lic
cob
in f
loz
whi
of a
The
him
arti
and
The
of
Un
call
an
vnt
gra
Do
had
nex
Sc
tha
der
rea
this
don
bif
Fr
an
cer
pol
fiet
the
wi

pay a pension of the tenth to the pope; and should give to the king (when he required) such summes as he liked to demand: which unto this day is called the Balomane monie or tax. John lord Gordon, sonne and heire to Alexander Gordon erle of Huntlee, returned out of France, and was married unto the kings bastard daughter, in November following, in this present were 1512, of whome the house of Huntlee is descended.

The king's
bastard
married.

The bishop of
Gurrey came
home.

A young prince
borne in
Scotland.

The French
king sent to
persuade the
king of Scots
to warre.

Fourteen
princes of
Englishmen
taken.

His rule exer-
cised.

The queene
brought to bed
of a child.
1512. Lesle.
The league
renewed with
France.

Pursuants
sent into
England and
France.

1512. Lesle.
Doctor West
sent into
Scotland
ambassador.

1513.

Amition for
warre sent out
of Denmarke.

Provision sent
out of France.

Shottlie after came the bishop of Gurrey home, having bene at Rome, in France, and England, bringing with him from the pope, and the kings of France and England, manie good and pleasant letters: and with him came a cleark of Spaine in ambassage unto the king. This yere the eleventh day of Aprill, the queene was delivered of a young prince in the palace of Linthgo, who was Shottlie after baptised, and named James the first prince of Scotland, and of the Isles, that after succeeded his father in the kingdom. The lord Dacres, and doctor West came in ambassage from the king of England, and Monsieur de la Mot came with letters also from the French king, to persuade king James to make warre against England, promising him monie, munition, and all other necessarie provisions of warre. In his waie as he passed the seas towards Scotland, he had drowned three English ships, & brought shuen awaie with him unto Lieth for prizes, in the which were but three Englishmen left alive. Shottlie after, maister James Ogilvie abbat of Durburgh came forth of France with letters of the like effect. After this Robert Barton went to the sea, and in Julie brought into Scotland 14 prizes of English men which he had taken.

About this season, the lord of Dymweidie was slain in Edenburgh by two persons, which took sanctuary in Holie rood house, and so escaped. John erle of Atholl deceased the nineteenth of September, & Lion Harold king of armes deceased the first of October. Great misrule was exercised on the borders in this season, and therefore the king assembled the lords in Edenburgh for reformation thereof; and while they were there, the queene was brought to bed of a child, which died shottlie after it was christened. There came a great ship into Scotland, which the king of France had sent unto the king, laden with artillerie, powder, and wines, & then was the league and band renewed betwixt Scotland and France. The same ship landed at Blacknesse the nineteenth of November. King James sent a pursuivant called Unicoine into France, and another into England called Flaie, which Flaie required a safe conduct for an ambassado: to be sent from the king his maister unto the king of England: but this would not be granted.

Upon the said Flaies returne, Monsieur de la Mot was sent backe into France, and with him sir Walter Ogilvie, and a messenger whome the pope had sent into Scotland. On the sixteenth of March next ensuing, doctor West came as ambassado: into Scotland from the king of England, appointing that certeine commissioners should meet on the borders for redresse of all quarrels betwixt the two realmes, in the moneth of June next ensuing. And this appointment was kept, but no good could be done, as after shall appere. The king sent Forntan bishop of Gurrey into France, to signifie unto the French king the message of the said doctor West, and other things. In the moneth of Maie, there came certeine ships out of Denmarke laden with guns, powder, armor, & other kind of munition. Also Monsieur de la Mot landed in the west part of Scotland the firsteath of Maie, with foure ships fraught with wine and flower, and returned againe the nineteenth

of the same moneth.

The great Odonell of Ireland came to king James at Edenburgh, the first of June, offering his friendship and service to him before all other princes, and speciallie against the king of England; whereupon he was thankfullie received, honorable entertained, & rightlie rewarded. And to the band of friendship being with him concluded, he returned into his countrie. The king prepared a great number of ships, the principall thereof were the Michaell, Margaret, and James. They made saile towards the sea the twentieth seventh of Julie; and the king sailed in the Michaell himselfe, till they were past the Island of Maie, James Gordon son to George erle of Huntlee being one of the capteins of the same ship.

The commissioners met on the borders in June, according to the appointment: but because the Englishmen would not consent to make anie redresse or restitution, till the fiftenth of October next, thinking by that delate and continuance of time, they should understand the state of their kings proceedings in France, and in the meane time refuse in their hands the Scottishmens goods which they had taken both by sea and land (as the Scottish writers ascribe) the king of Scots being thereof advertised, sent Lion king of armes unto king Henrie then lying at siege before Tertoine, with letters of complaint, commanding him that if king Henrie refused to accomplish the contents of his said letters, he should denounce warre unto him. Whereupon Lion arriving in the English armie with his cote of arms on his backe, about the middelt of August, desired to speake with the king, and was within a short space by Carter chiefe king at arms of England brought to the kings presence, having his nobles and counsellors about him, where, with due reverence, & some good words first uttered, he delivered his letters, the tenor whereof insueth.

Odonell pro-
fessed friendship
unto king
James.

A naue sent,

Commissione-
ners met at
the borders.

The English
men protect
the time.

A king of
armes sent
unto La. Hen-
ric of Eng-
land.

The tenor of the king of Scots letters.

Right excellent, right high, and mightie prince; our dearest brother and cosine, we commaund bs unto you in our maist hartie manner, and received fra Raff Heralde your letters, quhat untill ye approue and allow the doings of your commissioners latelie being with ours at the borders of bathe the realmes; for making of redresse quhilk is thought to you and your counsell should be continuat and delat to the fiftenth day of October. Als ye write slaats by se aught not compare personallie, but by their attourneys. And in your letters with our herauld Flaie, ye ascertain bs ye will naught enter in the treur taken betwixt the maist christian king and your father of Aragon, because ye and others of the hale liege nether should nor may take peace, treur, nor abstinence of warre with your common enimie, without consent of all the confederats. And that the emperor, king of Aragon, yea and euery of you be bounded to make actuall warre this instant sommer against your common enemy. And that so to do is concluded and openlie swozne in Paules kirke at London, upon S. Markes day last by past. And farther haue denied safe conduct vpon our request that a seruitor of ours might haue reposed to

.Thin.
uchanan.
p. 12.

e king of
ance requi-
and against
gland.

g James
uaderly
race.

hin.
us. lib. 8.
56.

to your presence (as our herauld Flaie reports.

Right excellent, right high, and mightie prince, our dearest brother and cousing, the said meeting of our and your commissionners at the borders, was peremptorily appointed betwixt you and us after diuerse diets, for reformation befoze continueth to the commissionners meeting, to effect that due redress sould haue bene made at the said meeting, like as for our part our commissionners offered to haue made that time. And for your part, no malefactor was then arrested to the said diet. And to gloze the same, ye now write that slaars by sea ned not compeer personallie, but by their attourneis, quhilk is again law of God and man. And gif in criminall action all slaars sould naught compeer personallie, na punitive sould follow for slaughter, and then bane it were to seke farther meetings or redress. And hereby apperes (as the deed shewes) that ye will nouthur keepe god waies of iustice and equitie nor kindnes with us.

The great wrongs and unkindnes done befoze to us and our lieges we ponderate, quhilk we haue suffred this long time in bpbearing, mainfowering, noundzelling of attemptates, so as the bill of the taken of inhalding of bastard Heron and his complices in your contrie, quha slue our warden vnder trust of daies of meeting for iustice, & thereof was filat & ordaint to be deliuerd, in slaing our liege noblemen, vnder color by your folks, in taking of others out of our realme prisonet and chanet by the crags in your contrie, withhalding of our wiues legacie promist in your diuerse letters for despite of us, slaughter of Androis Barton by your awn commaund, quha than had naught offended to you nor your lieges vnredress, and breaking of the amity in that behalfe by your deed, and withhalding of our ships and artillarie to your vse.

Wherupon, eft our diuerse requisitions at your wardens, commissionners, ambassadors, & your selfe, ye wrote and als shew by others vnto us, that full redress sould be made at the said meeting of commissionners, and sa were in hope of reformation, or at the lest ye for our sake wald haue desired fra inuasioun of our friendes and coussings within their awne countries that haue naught offended at you, as we first required you, in fauour of our tender coussing the duke of Gelder, quham to destroy and disinherit ye sent your folks, and dud what was in them. And right sa we lately desired for our brother & coussing the maist christen king of France, quham ye haue caused to tye his countrie of Millaine, and now inuades his selfe, quha is with us in second degree of blude, and hafe bene vnto you kind without offense, and moze kinder than to us.

Notwithstanding, in defense of his person we mon take part, and thereto ye because of others, haue given occasion to us

and to our lieges in time by past, nouthur doing iustlie nor kindlie toward us, proceeding alwaies to the vtter destruction of our nearest friendes, quha mon doe for us quham it shall be necessarrie; in euill example that ye will hereafter be better vnto us, quham ye lightlie fauour, manifestlie wronged your sister for our sake in contrarie our wits: and saieng to our herauld that we giue you faire wordes, and thinke the contrarie. Indeed such it is, we gaue you wordes as ye dud us, trusting that ye sould haue emended to us, or worthin kinder to our frends for our sakes, and sould naught haue stopped our seruitors passage to labour pear, that they mought as the papes halines exhorted us by his breuites to do. And thereupon we were contented to haue ouersene our harmes, and to haue remitted the same, though ether informacion was made to our hake father pape Iulie, by the cardinall of Porke, your ambassador.

And sen you haue now put us fra our gude beleue through the premisses, and speciallie in denieng of safe conduct to our seruants, to resort to your presence, as your ambassador doctor West instantlie desired we sould sende one of our counsell vnto you vpon great matters, and appointing of differences debatable betwixt you and us, furthering of pear if we might, betwixt the most christen king & you, we neuer hard to this purpose safe conduct denied betwixt Infidels. Herefoze we write to you this time at length plainesse of our mind, that we require and desire you to desist fra farther inuasioun and vtter destruction of our brother and coussing the maist christen king, to quham by all confederatioun, blude and alie, and also by new band quhilk you haue compelled us latelie to take through your iniuries & harmes with out remedie done daillie vnto us, our lieges and subiects, we are bounden and obligit for mutuall defense ilk of others, like as ye & your confederates be obligit for mutuall inuasiouns and actuall warre.

Certifieng you, we will take part in defense of our brother and coussing the maist christen king, and will do what thing we trust may cause you to desist fra pursute of him, and for deuit and postponit iustice to our lieges we mon giue letters of marque according to the amitie betwixt you and us, quhar to ye haue had little regard in time by past, as we haue ordaint our herauld the bearer hereof to say, gif it like you to heare him and gif him credence. Right excellent, right hie & mightie prince our dearest brother and coussing, the Trinitie haue you in keeping. Geuen vnder our signet at Edenburgh the twentieth sixt day of Iulie.

King Henrie hauing read the letter, and considered thereof with aduise of his counsell, sent for the herauld againe, and told him that he had read and well perceived the contents of the letters which he had deliuered to him, and would make him answer with condition,

The heraulds answer.



po
te
su
by
ge
flu
th
bl
em
co
fr
or
ki
pa
th
to
co
by
di
pa
ar
ca
ri
ne
ar
ge
pe

ni
ar
to
al
al
di
w
ab
ad
re
ba
no
ha
re
ta
hi
ou
no
ou
ag

The heraulds sent for.

The heralds
answer.

condition, that he would promise to declare the same to his maister. Whereunto Lion made this answer: *Str.* I am his naturall subiect, and he is my naturall lord, and that he commandeth me to say, I may boldlie say with fauour; but the commandements of others I may not, nor dare say vnto my souereigne lord. But your letters sent by me, may declare your maisters pleasure, albeit your answer requireth doings and not sayings, that is, that you immediatlie should returne home. Then said the king: I will returne at my pleasure to your damage, and not at thy maisters summons. And herewith he caused an answer to be written to the king of Scots, in forme as followeth.

King Henrie his answer.

Right excellent, right high & mightie prince, &c. We haue receiued your writing dated at Edinburgh the twentieth day of Iulie, by your herald Lion this bearer, wherein after rehearse all and accumulation of manie furnished iniuries, griefs and dangers down by vs and our subiects to you and your lieges, the specialties whereof were superfluous to rehearse, remembring that to them and euerie of them in effect reasonable answer founded vpon law and conscience, hath tofore bene made to you & your counsell; ye not onelie require vs to desist from further inuasion and vtter destruction of your brother and cosine the French king, but also certifie vs that you will take part in defense of the said king, and that thing which ye trust may rather cause vs to desist from pursute of him, with manie contriued occasions and communications by you causelesse sought & imagined, sounding to the breach of the perpetuall peace passed, concluded, and sworn betwixt you and vs, of which your imagined quarrels causelesse deuised to breake to vs, contrarie to your oth promised, all honor & kindness, we can not maruell; considering the ancient accustomed manners of your progenitors, which neuer kept longer faith & promise than pleased them.

Howbeit, if the loue and dread of God, mightinesse of bloud, honor of the world, law and reason had bound you, we suppose ye would neuer haue so farre proceeded, specially in our absence. Wherein the pope and all princes christened may well note in you dishonorable demeanour, when ye heng in wait, sake the waies to doe that in our said absence, which ye would haue bene well aduised to attempt, we being within our realme and present. And for euident approbation hereof, we need none other proofes nor witness, but your owne writings heretofore to vs sent, we being within our realme, wherein ye neuer made mention of taking part with our enimie the French king, but passed the time with vs till after our departure from our said realme. And now percase ye supposing vs so farre from our said realme, to be destitute of defense against your inuasions, haue vttered the

old rancour of your mind, which in couert manner ye haue long kept secret.

Neuerthelesse, we remembring the brittleness of your promise, & suspecting though not wholie belauing so much vntedfastnesse, thought it verie expedient and necessarie to put our said realme in a readinesse for resisting of your said enterprises, hauing firme trust in our Lord God, and the righteousnesse of our cause, with the assistance of our confederats & allies, we shall be able to resist the malice of schismatiks and their adherents, being by the generall counsell expresse excommunicate and interdicted; trusting also in time conuenient to remember our friends, and requite you and our enimies, which by such vnnaturall demeanour haue giuen sufficient cause to the disherison of you and your posteritie for euer, from the possibilitie that ye thinke to haue to the realme, which ye now attempt to inuade.

And if the example of the king of Nauarre, being excluded from his realme for assistance giuen to the French king, can not restraine you from this vnnaturall dealing; we suppose ye shall haue like assistance of the French king, as the king of Nauarre hath now, who is a king without a realme, & so the French king peaceablie suffereth him to continue, whereunto good regard would be taken. And like as we heretofore touched in this our writing, we need not to make anie further answer to the manifold griefs by you furnished in your letter: forsomuch as if anie law or reason could haue remoued you from your sensuall opinions, ye haue bene manie and oftentimes sufficientlie answered to the same: except onelie to the pretended griefs touching the denieng of our safe conduct to your ambassadoz last sent vnto vs.

Whereunto we make this answer, that we had granted the said safe conduct; and if your herald would haue taken the same with him, like as he hath bene accustomed to solicit safe conducts for merchants and others heretofore, ye might as soone haue had that, as anie other: for we neuer denied safe conduct to anie your lieges to come vnto vs and no further to passe, but we saw well, like as your said herald had heretofore made sinister report contrarie to truth, so hath he done now in this case, as it is manifest and open. Finallie, as touching your requisition to desist from further attempting against our enimie the French king, we know you for no competent iudge of so high authoritie to require vs in that behalfe. Wherefore (God willing) we purpose with the aid and assistance of our confederats and allies to prosecute the same; and as ye doe to vs and our realme, so it shall be remembered and acquitted hereafter by the helpe of our Lord & our patrone saint George, who right excellent, right high and mightie prince, &c. Dated vnder our signet in our campe before Cirwine, the twelfth day of August.

This

This letter being deliuered vnto the Scottish herald, he departed with the same into Flanders, there to haue taken ship: but for want of readie passage he staied, and returned not into Scotland till Flodden field was fought, and the king slaine. For king James perceiuing all the Englishmens doings to tend vnto war rather than to peace, hauing taken order for the assembling of his people, immediately after he had sent forth his herald with commandement to denounce the warre, he determined to inuade the English confines, and first before his maine force was come together, the lord Humes that was lord chamberlaine and warden of Scotland, the thirteenth day of August, hearing that the Englishmen had fetched a bottie within the Scottish ground, assembled a powter, & followed them into Northumberland, but yet he could returne he was forlaid [in Bowne house, or Bowne field] by the Englishmen, which breaking out of their ambushes, put the Scottishmen to the wayle, and of them toke and slue manie.

Englishmen
fetched a bottie
in Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 13.

These wars thus begun, the king determined to go to his armie (as it seemeth) not yet fullie assembled. Whereupon comming to Lincolne, he went to the church to heare euensong; as the maner was. To whom, after he had entered the chappell, there came an old man, whose heare was somewhat yellowish red, hanging downe vpon his shoulders, his forehead high with baldnesse, bare headed, hauing his bodie couered with a blewish garment, girded with white, and verie reuerent in his countenance. This man seeking the king, passed through the companie standing there, and drew nere to the king. Who being now come vnto him (and with a certaine rude behauiour, leaning vpon the seat wherein the king was placed) in homelie sort saied vnto him: King James sent vnto thee, to giue thee admonishment that thou hasten not forward to the place which thou hast determined: which warning if thou dost despise, it shall succeed ill with thee, and with all such as shall attend vpon thee. Further I am commanded to giue thee intelligence before hand, that thou eschue the familiaritie, custome, or counsell of women, and if thou dost otherwise, it shall succeed to thy hurt and reproch. After which thus spoken, he mingled himselfe with the other companie, neither could after be found (the euensong being ended) when he was sought for by the king: for he was neuer scene after that he had thus deliuered his message. Which seemed the more strange, because that manie which stood nere him (marking all his order, and desirous to haue heard more things from him) could not perceiue his departure; amongst which persons (of those that meant to haue asked him further questions) David Lindsay (a man of approved credit and vertue, verie well learned, and whose life was far estranged from lieng and falsehood) was one, who told this same to me (saith Buchanan) as a thing most certaine; or else I would haue ouerpassed it as a fable caried about by common report.]

King James
approched
nere vnto
England
with his
power.

The king of
Scots made
too much
hast.

Porham.
The Bates.

In the meane time was the whole powter of Scotland assembled, with the which king James approaching to the borders, and nothing abashed with the euill lucke thus at the beginning chanced to his people, purposed with greater aduantage of victorie to recover that detriment; and hereupon he made such hast, that he would not staie for the whole powter of his realme, which was in preparing to come forward vnto him; but comming to the borders, he passed ouer the water of Tweed the two and twentieth of August, and entered into England, lodging that night at Wilsford nere to the river of Tuisell, and the next day laid siege vnto the castell of Porham, and within short space won the Bates, ouerthrowing the

Barnekin, & slue diuerse within the castell, so that the capteine and such as had charge within it, desired the king to delate the siege, while they might send to the earle of Surreie already come with an armie into the north parts, couenanting if they were not rescued by the nineteenth day of that moneth, they should deliuer the castell vnto the king. This was granted: and because none came within the time to the rescue, the castell was deliuered at the appointed day; a great part of it was ouerthrowne and beaten downe. After this he won the castles of Fould and Etell, & diuerse other places of strength, of which, part were ouerthrowne. He also toke manie prisoners, and sent them away into Scotland, and diuerse he assured: and thus he abode an eightene daies within England, till two parts of his armie were scaled & departed home from him, which they did vpon this occasion.

Barnekin.

Fould and
Ettell taken.

The king was determined & persuaded to haue besieged Berwike (beyond which he was now passed) since the same alone was more hono^r (than all the other places besides) if they wan it; the taking whereof they supposed not to be verie hard, because they were sure that the towne and castell were unfurnished of all things for the defense thereof. Whereupon, the king (deeming nothing too hard for his armie, especiallie, since the English were set on worke as much as they might in the French wars) being nourished in that vanitie (by his flattering courtiers) did leaue the same vndone at this time, meaning in his returne easilie to haue obtained it. But as they were yet at Fould, a herald of the English came vnto them, requiring that they would appoint a day and place, where and when both the armies might loine in battell. Whereupon, there was a counsell called amongst the Scots, in which it was agreed by the greater part, that the Scots should returne home into their countrie, least with so small a companie they might hazard the state of the whole countrie; especiallie, since that they had already sufficientlie obtained fame, glorie and riches, and to the vttermost satisfied the band of amitie with the French; for there was no iust cause, why they for number (so few) and for trauell (in ouerthrowing so manie forts) so much weakened, should now againe be laid open to so great a multitude of the English daile increasing with succors. For it was said at that time; that Thomas Howard brought into the field (besides the rest of his armie) 6000 of chosen and valiant souldiers from the English campe (in France) before Tarweine.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. li. 13.

To which perswasion (to make the matter more strange) it was further added, that if the king did depart; the English host of necessitie must be dissolved, and could not that yeare againe be repaired, because their souldiers were set from the furthest parts of the realme; and that if the king would needs fight, that he then should doe it in his owne realme, keeping the time & place in his power alwaies to be appointed. But when the French ambassador (and certaine other, fed with the French pensions) labored to the contrarie; the king being by nature fierce, and greedy of warre, was easilie persuaded to abide his enemie in that place. In the meane time, when the English came not forth (at the day appointed to them by the herald, which before had bene with the Scots) the noblemen of Scotland, taking occasion thereof, did afresh go to the king, declaring that their not comming to battell was onelie a traîne and deceit, deferring the matter from day to day, to the end that their force might be increased, and the Scots diminished.

Wherefore said they, we should vse the like policie against them. For since they haue not attended the time

time?
Scots
tell, or
which, th
if it be
to erect
uing his
hence (r
refist a
of the
bridge n
in fund
more: I
be subd
anie all
The kin
sons; I
Englis
were an
the who
With
gus (wh
and au
with al
more a
fells gi
king b
that be
lish ar
himself
that th
nor do
were i
cold pl
of all t
and in
could r
fall) in
An
bge v
should
a stran
euill of
owne
blond
uer tim
the Fr
wiffed
kingd
ther sh
to him
all the
or cou
slaine.
the blo
prostit
fight a
suppos
be cith
laie; I
sent fr
diuider
weight
the ho
plate a
vpon t
us: f
these r
deeds.
lie and
to the
nie cal
sword
botties

time prescribed unto them; it is no shame to the Scots to retaine into their countrie without battle, or to fight within their owne limits. Of both which, the surer counsell was to follow the first; which if it be not liked, there is there good occasion offered to execute the other. For since the river of Forth (having his banks) is not passable, but at certain places hence (excepted by a bridge) some few may there resist a great multitude. Besides which, when a part of the English armie is passed the bridge, the same bridge may easilie (by engines placed there) be cut in sunder; so that there shall not be passage for anie more: by means whereof, the one part of them shall be subdued on the one side of this river, before that anie aid can come unto them from the other banke. The king liked neither of these deuises and persuasions; but answered, that he would not suffer the English to depart (unsoughten with) although there were an 100000 against him. At which rash answer, the whole nobilitie was grievously offended.

Whereupon Archibald Dowglas earle of Angus (which farre excelled all the others both in pæres and authoritie) laboured to turne the kings mind with all gentle persuasions, and began to make a more ample discourse upon the two former counsels giuen by the nobilitie. For he shewed that the king had fullie satisfied the request of the French, in that he had now turned the greatest part of the English armie before bent against the French, against himselfe and his owne people; and had so wrought, that those great armies should neither hurt France nor do anie iniurie unto the Scots, sith they were not able long to remaine in campe in those cold places, and in a barren countrie unfurnished of all things (by the calamities of the last warres) and in which there was no corne; and if there were, it could not be ripened (the winter comming on so fast) in those northerne parts of the realme.

And where the French ambassadoz doth so much urge vs unto the battell, I suppose that the same should not seeme either new or strange unto vs, that a strange man (which doth not respect the common euill of the realme, but the priuat commoditie of his owne nation) be ouer lauish in poisoning out the blood of other men. Besides which, his request is ouer impudent, to demand of the Scots that which the French king (a man of singular experience and wisdom) doth not iudge conuenient for his owne kingdom or dignitie, if we be ouerthrowne. Neither should the losse of his host seeme more light unto him, although we are few in number; because that all they of Scotland (which excell in force, authoritie or counsell) are assembled here together, who being slaine, the rest of the realme would some be a preie to the victor. What? Is it more safe for vs, and more profitable to the eschewing of all danger, for him to fight at this present? No trulie. For if Letwes do suppose, that the English (by imagined meanes) may be either made needie of monie, or else wretched by de-laie; what can be done more necessarie for the present state of things, than to compell the enimie to diuide his armie, to the end that we may ease the weight of warre against the French by one part of the host to be sent against vs, and still to hold them plaie as it were alwaies to keepe them readie to set upon vs, & by remouing to giue them cause to follow vs? For so I suppose shall the glorie and shew (which these men I feare rather valiant in words than deeds, do with their rashnesse so much pretend) be fullie answered. For what can happen more honorable to the king, than that we (by the ouerthrow of so manie castles, by the spoile of so manie countreies with sword and fire, and by the driving home of so great booties and preies) haue done that iniurie to them,

as that their countrie shall not by the peace of manie pæres recouer his former estate? Whith greater profit may welcome for by warre, than in so great tumult of warres, with great praise and honor to vs, and with shame and reproch to our enemies, to obtaine quiet, ioined with gaine and glorie for the refreshing of our selues? Which kind of victorie (that is gotten more by words than by swords) chiefe belongeth to man, and of men speciallie to the leaders and captains, as such a glorie wherof the common souldiours may not chaberge any part.

Which being thus spoken by Earle Dowglas, although all they which were present seemed (by their countenance) to giue consent thereto: yet the king (who had with other bound himselfe to fight with the English) receiued these counsels with contrarie eares; and in heat commanded Dowglas to depart home, if he were afraid of the enimie. Whereupon he (conceiuing some unkindnesse, and inwardlie beholding whereunto all these things would come by the kings rashnesse) forthwith burst out in teares. After which (as soone as he could settle himselfe thereto) he spake these few words. If (said he) my former life did not cleare me from the reproch of a coward, I knowe not with what reason or persuasion I might cleare or defend my selfe. For trulie so long as this my bodie was able to susteine anie labor, I neuer spared to spend the same in the defense of my countreies helpe, and my soueraignes honor. But since I see their eares to exclude my counsell (which is the onelie thing wherewith I can now be profitable) I here leaue my two sonnes (who next unto my countrie are most deare to me) and the rest of my kindred (of whom I greatlie account) as a certaine pledge of the truth and loue of my mind towards the, and the common helpe of my countrie. And I pray God that he make this feare of mine to be false, and that I may rather be counted a lieng prophet, than behold those things which I feare will happen unto vs. Which words when the Dowglas had said to the king, he departed thence with his companie. The rest of the nobilitie (because they saw they could not draw the king to their mind) took that place for battell which was next unto them, to the end (seeing they were much inferior in number to their enemies, for there were 26000 fighting men in the English armie, as it was knowne by the scouts) to defend themselves with the benefit of the place, and thereupon got the hill next unto their campe.)

In which meane time, the earle of Surrie, lieutenant to the king of England, having raised all the power of the north parts of England, came with the same towards the place where he heard that king James was incamped, and approaching within three miles of the Scottish campe in full sight of the Scottishmen, pitched downe his tents, and incamped with his whole armie. Although king James had great desire to fight with his enemies thus lodged in full view of his campe; yet because he was incamped in a place of great aduantage, so as the enemies could not approach to fight with him, but with great losse and danger to cast themselves away, he thought good to keepe his ground, speciallie because all those of the nobilitie, who were knowne to be of experience, did not hold with their aduise that counsell him to giue battell.

At that time the earle of Surrie had sent an officer at armes unto him, requiring him to come forth of his strength unto some indifferent ground, where he would be readie to encounter him, & name the earle of Huntlee, a man for his high valiancie ioined with wisdom and policie, had in most reputation of all the residue, affirmed in plaine words [besides that which Dowglas had before said] that

The power of the north countrie raised.

The English campe in sight of the Scottish campe.

King James was minded to keepe his ground.

Paulus Iouius.

The earle of Huntlee his counsell.

Fr. Tain.

nothing

nothing could be either more fond or foolish, than to fight at pleasure of the enimie, and to set all on a maine chance at his will and appointment; and therefore it should be good for them to remaine there in place of aduantage, and with prolonging the time to trifle with the enimie, in whose campe there was already great scarcitie of vittells, neither was it possible that they should be vittelled from the inner parts of the realme, by reason of the cumbersome waies for cariage to passe now after such abundance of continuall raine as of late was fallen, and not yet as yet to cease, so that in sitting still and attempting nothing rashlie without aduiselement, the king should haue his enimies at his pleasure, as vanquished without stroke stricken through disadvantage of the place, and lacke of vittells to susteine their languishing bodie.

And suerlie beside the want of vittells, the foule and euill weather fore annoied both parties; for there had not bene one faire day, no scarce one houre of faire weather of all the time the Scottish armie had lien within England, but great cold, wind & raine, which had not onelie caused manie of the Scots to returne home, but also forebered the Englishmen, as well in their iourne thitherwards, as also while they lay in campe against the Scottish armie. There was sending of messengers betwixt them to and fro, and the king had sent his quarell in writing by the earle of Surrie by his heralds. Late the night before the battell, containing as followeth.

King James his quarell vnto the earle of Surrie.

Where it is alledged that we are come into England against our bond and promise, thereto we answer: that our brother was bound as farre to vs as we were to him, and when we swore last before his ambassadors in presence of our counsell, we expressed speciallie in our oth, that we would keepe to our brother, if our brother kept to vs, and not else. We swore that our brother brake first to vs, and of his breach we required him diuers times of amends: and latelie we warned him, as he did not vs per we brake. And this we take for our quarell, and by Gods grace shall defend the same at your assured time, which with Gods helpe we shall abide. Thus was the king verie desirous to trie the matter by battell, although the wisest sort of his nobles wished not that he should doe any thing over rashlie.

There chanced also manie things taken (as ye would say) for warnings of some great mischance to follow, which though some reputed but as vaine and casuall haps; yet the impression of them bred a certeine religious feare and new terror in his heart. For as he was in counsell with his lords, to understand their opinions touching the order of his battels, there was an hars start amongst them, which hauing a thousand arrowes, daggers, and other kind of things bestowed at him, with great noise and shooting, yet he escaped from them all safe and without hurt. The same night also, while he had gnawed under the buckle and leather of his helmet where with he should fasten the same to his head. And moreover, the cloth or veile of his inner tent (as is said) about the breake of the day, appeared as though the deawie moisture thereof had bene of a bloudie colour.

Hereupon the king keeping himselfe within his tent, the earle of Surrie constrained by necessitie to seek all waies whereby to traine the king downe from the hill where he was lodged, remoued his campe towards the hills of Floddon, where the king of Scots late incamped. And on the ninth day of September passed the water of Till at Twissell bridge; the rearward going oner at Wilsford, putting themselves as nere as they could betwixt the Scottish campe and Scotland. King James perceiving the Englishmen to passe the water, iudged that they had ment to win an hill that late betwixt them and his campe, and therefore to prevent them, he caused his field to be raised, and fier to be set on the litter & cabins which they had made of boughs, and so with all speed remoued to the other hill, being gotten thither per the Englishmen could perceive him to be remoued out of his former lodgings, because the smoke of the fiers which the Scots had made, covered all the countrie betwixt the two armies.

In the meane while were the Englishmen aduanced to the foot of Floddon hill, hauing thereby gotten double aduantage: for the Scottish ordinance could not much annoie them in marching upwards vnder the leuill thereof, and they againe might gall the Scots in shooting off at them, as they came downe towards vpon them. For king James hauing disappointed the Englishmen of the hill, thought to relie it should be an easie matter for him to overthrow them, which being put beside the place where they intended (as he thought) to haue camped, would neuer abide the countenance of his puissant armie, if he might attaine to ioine with them. Therefore the Scottish armie [after they had appointed the same into three wards, whereof (as saith Lesleus) the earle of Huntlee and the lord Hume led the right wing, the left had the earle of Crawford and Montrose; and the king himselfe kept the middle ward, with the earles of Argile and Lennox] making downe wards, encountered with the English host nere to the foot of the mountaine called Brannton, and first sir Edmund Haward leading one of the out wings of the English armie, hauing with him three thousand men, being fiercelie assailed by the Scots on foot, hauing speares and long weapons, and also by certeine horsemen, was in the end discomfited, and his people beaten downe and put to flight, so that being of them forsaken, he was constrained to follow. But yet he and diuerse other which escaped, ioined themselves to the next battell as well as they might. This so prosperous a beginning, who would thinke should haue turned to the losse of the Scots part, and aduancement of the English side. But so it came to passe, for king James no sooner saw that wing of the English host overthrowne and discomfited, but that he deemed how all the whole power of the Englishmen had bene fleeing away: and therefore alighting beside his horse, and commanding those that were about him to follow, prepared himselfe to pursue the chase.

His capteins did what they could by words to remoue him from his purpose, declaring to him the dutie of a prince: which is not rashlie to enter the fight, but to provide and see that euerie thing be done in order: and whereas comming to trie the matter by hand blowes, he can doe no more than another man; yet keeping his place as appertineth to his person, he may be worth manie thousands of other. The king nothing moued with these exhortations, breaking his arrais of battell, with a companie of noble men, rushed forward into the fore ward, where accomplishing the office of a footman, he found the Englishmen not fleeing, but manfullie standing at resistance,

The English campe remoued by the earle.

The Scots campe remained also.

Aduantage gotten by the ground.

King James his practice.

Fr. Thin.

Sir Edmund Haward was fiercelie assailed.

A good beginning had an euill ending.

King James deceived himselfe and alighted from his horse.

The capteins good counsel not regarded.

The kings hardieesse married all.

His persuasions.

Foule weather.

Prodigious chances.

In here.

The buckle leather of his helmet gnawed with mice. The cloth of his tent of bloudie colour.

Sir Edmund Haward was the best of the rearward.

King James.

The lord chamberlain and his.

The lord chamberlain beareth blame.

The Englishmen than God for noble victory.

5000. But 15000 men.

Sir Edmund Haward was fiercelie assailed.

A good beginning had an euill ending.

King James deceived himselfe and alighted from his horse.

The capteins good counsel not regarded.

The Scots men returned home againe.

The king was killed of his own people.

resistance, so that there was a right hard encounter, and manie arrowes shot on euerie side, and great hurt done therewith.

At length sir Edward Stanlie with the reregard of the Englishmen came fiercelie downe from the hill of Bzantou, upon the backe of the kings armie, wherein they fought cruellie on both parts for a long space; but at length the victorie inclined to the Englishmen. For the king himselfe was there beaten downe and slaine, with all that whole battell which first entered the fight. The other part of the Scottish host, whereof Alexander Hume lord chamberlaine had the gouernance, although he saw where the other Scottishmen were in danger, and closed in on euerie side, yet would he not once remoue one foot forward out of the place (where he stood) to aid them. Whereouer, the lacke of discretion in the king, which would needs run vpon his owne death, amazed the minds of all men, and brought them into such perplexitie, that they knew not what to doe; but looked one vpon another without stirring to o^r fro, as those that were in despaire now after the death of their king to recover the victorie, which by so strange a chance seemed as it were slipped out of their hands.

Howbeit, the lord chamberlaine bare the most blame, for that he did not cause a new onset to be giuen. But it happened well for the Englishmen: for if king James had ordered himselfe wiselie in this battell; or that after he was slaine, a new furie had moued the Scots to haue renewed the fight in reuenge of the kings death, as had bene expedient, the victorie vndoubtedlie had bene theirs (as was thought by men of great vnderstanding.) Wherevpon the Englishmen reimebryng how manifestlie Gods godnesse appeared towards them in this battell, confessed themselves long after bound to God for their safetie and deliuerance out of that present danger. The fight began about foure of the clocke in the after noone, and continued thre houres, in the which fiftene thousand men were slaine on both parts: and of that number a thirde part at the least was of Englishmen (as was credible reported) but (as our English writers asserme) there died of Englishmen not past fiftene hundred.

But yet the Scottishmen hold, that there died more of the Englishmen than of their nation at this field, and that manie thought it was not the bodie of king James which the Englishmen found in the field, and took it for his; but rather an other Scottish mans corpes, called the lard of Bonehard, who was also slaine there. And it was affirmed by sundrie, that the king was seene the same night aliuie at Kelso: and so it was commonlie thought that he was liuing long after, and that he passed the seas into other countries, namelie to Jerusalem to visit the holie sepulchre, and so to dyue forth the residue of his daies, in doing penance for his former passed offences: but he appeared not in Scotland after as king, no more than Charles duke of Burgognie did appeare in his countres after the battell of Pance, although his people had the like vaine opinion that he escaped from that discomfiture aliuie.

But now to returne to the truth of the matter where we left. In the night folowing after this terrible battell, the residue of the Scottish armie returned homewards the same way they came, waiking and spoiling the English borders as they passed. At their comming home, euerie man spake euill of them; for that as towards and naughtie persons, they neither sought to reuenge the death of their noble king, nor yet to succour their fellows that were beaten downe and slaine before their faces. But namelie Alexander Hume lord chamberlaine was reprobous; as cause of all that mischiefe, which be-

ued himselfe not as a captiue, but as a traitor or enimie to his countrie. * Upon the hono^r of this victorie, Thomas Halward earle of Surrie (as a note of the conquest) gaue to his seruants this cognifance (to weare on their left arme) which was a white lion (the beast which he before bare as the proper ensigne of that house) standing ouer a red lion (the peculiar note of the kingdome of Scotland) and tearing the same red lion with his pawes.]

Thus haue you heard how through rashnesse and lacke of skilfull order, the Scottish armie was overcome, and that worthy prince king James the fourth brought to his fatall end, on the ninth day of September, in the twentieth and fift yere of his reigne, and thirtie and ninth of his age, which was in the yere from the incarnation 1513. For his politike gouernment and due administration of iustice, which he exercised during the time of his reigne, he deserved to be numbred amongst the best princes that euer reigned ouer the Scottish nation. All theft, reiffe, murder, and robbrie ceased in his daies, by such rigorous execution of lawes penall as he caused to be exercised through all the bounds of Scotland: insomuch that the sauage people of the out Isles forted themselves through terror and dread of due punishment to liue after the order of lawes and iustice, where other wise of themselves they are naturallie inclined to sedition, & disquieting of each other. To conclude, men were in great hope, that if it had pleased the hie determinate power of almightie God to haue lent to him longer life, he should haue brought the realme of Scotland to such a flourishing estate, as the like in none of his predecessors times was yet euer heard of.

There died with him in that infortunate battell, of noble men (beside others of the meaner sort) the archbishop of saint Andrews his bastard sonne, the bishop of the Isles: the abbats of Inchaffreie and Killwennie: the earles of Montrose, Crawford, Argle, Lennor, Glencar, Cathnes, Castelles, Bothwell, Arrell high constable of Scotland, Adell, Atholl, and Morton: the lords Louet, Forbois, Clouston, Ross, Funderbie, Saintcleare, Marwell, and his thre brethren, Daunlie, Sempill, Bothwicke, Bogonnie, Arskill, Blackater, and Colwin: knights and gentlemen of name, sir John Dobuglas, Cuthbert Hume of Fast castle, sir Alexander Seton, sir Davie, maister John Grant, sir Dunkin Catwells, sir Sander Lowder, sir George Lowder, maister Marshall, maister Key, maister Elliot, maister Caldwell clerke of the chancerie, the deane of Ellesker, Spacke bene, Spacke Cleue, with manie others.

* This James the fourth was of a firme bodie, of iust stature, of most comelie countenance, and of sharpe wit, but altogether vnlearned, as the fault of that age was. But he did diligentlie applie himselfe to an old custome of the countrie, cunninglie to cure wounds, the knowledge whereof in times past was a thing common to all the nobilitie, being alwaies vsed to the warres. He was easilie to be spoken vnto, gentle in his answers, iust in his iudgements, and so moderat in punishments, that all men might easilie see he was vnwillinglie drawn vnto them. Against the detraction of the euill, and admonishment of the good, there was such worthinesse of mind in him (confirmed by the quiet of a good conscience, and the hope of his innocencie) that he would not onelie not be angrie, but not so much as vse a sharpe word vnto them. Amongest which vertues, there were certeine vices crept in by the ouermuch desire to please the people, for whilst he labored to auoid the note of conetousnesse (objected to his father) and sought to win the fauour of the common sort (with sumptuous feasts, gorgeous shewes, and large gifts) he fell into

Fr. Thin.
Buchan, li: 13

The sauage
people refo-
med them-
selues.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan, lib. 13.

Shir Edward
Stanlie inua-
ded the backe
of the rere-
gard.

King James
slaine.

The lord
chamberlaine
and kill.

The lord
chamberlaine
beareth the
blame.

The English
men thanked
God for this
noble victorie.

1000. Buchan.
15000 men
slaine.

The Scottish
men returne
home againe.

They were re-
uiled of their
owne people.

that pouertie, that it seemed (if he had liued long) that he would haue lost the fauor of his people (wone in old times) by the imposition of new taxes. Wherefore his death was thought to haue timelie happened vnto him.)

*James the
fift.*

*An assemble
at Striueling
1513.*

*The king
crowned, and
the queene ap-
pointed re-
gent.
Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 13.*

After the death of that worthy prince king James the fourth, slain at Bannockburn (as before ye haue heard) his sonne James the fift succeeded him: for after the returne of those that escaped from the said field, the queene assembled the lords and estates of the realme together at Striueling, where the 21 day of September 1513, his sonne the foresaid James the fift, a child of one yeere, five moneths, & ten daies of age, by vniuersall aduise and consent was crowned king, and his mother the queene appointed regent of the realme, vntill the counsell of the reuerend father James Beaton archbishop of Glasgowe, the earles of Huntlye, Angus, and Arrane. * This gouernement the queene obtained by reason of his husbands testament, who making his last will (before that he went to the warres) did appoint the rebey that the whole administration of all things should remaine with hir, so long as she continued a widow: the which though it were against the custome of the countrey (being the first example of a womans gouernement amongst the Scots) yet it seemed tolerable to most men (giuen to peace) especiallie since there were not men sufficient at that time for honor and experience to take that charge in hand, by occasion of the great slaughter of the nobles at Flodden field, which gouernement she did not long enjoy.]

A debate.

*The duke of
Albanie is
sent for.*

*Monsieur de
la Baudie is
sent into
Scotland.*

*An assemble
had at Stri-
ueling.*

*The great
disquietnesse
reigning in
Scotland dur-
ing the mi-
noritie of
James the
fift.*

*Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 12.*

For shortly after they fell at variance amongst themselves, about the bestowing of those benefices which were vacant by the deaths of those persons which had bene slain at the field; by reason whereof, some of them writ letters secretlie into France to John duke of Albanie, willing him to come into Scotland to be tutor to the king, and gouernor of the realme, as he that was next of blood to the king, and nearest to the crowne, in case the kings children deceased without issue. He therefore sent monsieur de la Baudie into Scotland, who in companie of the earle of Arrane, the lord Fleming, and Lion the herald (which long had bene in France) landed on the west coast the third of Nouember. And shortly after, the said monsieur de la Baudie deliuered his letters to the queene and lords, who thereupon met at saint Johns towne, and there by vniuersall consent it was accorded, that the duke of Albanie should be admitted tutor and gouernor to the king & realme, and that the same should be confirmed in parlement by the three estates which should be kept at Edinburgh, the thirtieth day of March next, for the same intent.

To rehearse the troubles and great disquietnesse that chanced, during the minoritie of this king; the rough lacke of due administration of iustice, and by discord & variance daily rising amongst the lords & peeres of the realme, a man might haue iust cause greatlie to wonder thereat, and in weying the same throughlie, no lesse lament the oppression done to the poore commons in that wicked and most miserable time, when iustice seemed to sleepe, and rapine with all the other sorts and rabble of inturious violence inuaded hir emptie seat, triumphing ouer all as a conqueror. * During the times of which disorder, there was (amongest those which preyed and spoiled others) a great capteine of the same faction, called Macrobert Struan, who (ouerrunning Atholl and the adioining places) was accompanied for the most part with eight hundred theues, and sometime more. Which Struan was at length (whilest he spoiled euerie man at his owne pleasure, and at that time remaining with his uncle John Creichton) taken by

wait laied for him, and enforced to depart with his life.]

The queene sent louing letters vnto the king of England his brother, requiring him of peace. Whereupon a truce was taken betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, for the space of one yeere and a day. In the beginning of Februarie, the king of England, hearing that a parlement should be holden in Scotland, for the bringing in of the duke of Albanie to be tutor, wrote to his sister that she should in anie wise impeach and staie his comming thither; declaring how dangerous it was, not onelie for hir, but also for hir sonne to haue him gouernor, which was to succed, if his son were once out of the way. But the chiefest cause that moued the king of England to labour, that the duke should haue nothing to doe in Scotland, was (as manie thought) for that he knew how the duke, in fauour of the king of France, would shew himselfe an enemie against England, with all the force he might make or procure.

Shortly after that the peace was concluded betwixt him and the king of France, he sent a letter also, requiring him not to suffer the duke to passe into Scotland, for the reason first alleged. But notwithstanding the labor that king Henrie made to the contrarie, it was concluded by the states in parlement assembled in Edinburgh, at the time prefixed, that sir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion king of armes should be sent into France, to procure the duke to come into Scotland, being now confirmed tutor and gouernor, according to the lawes of the realme in such cases provided. Whereupon, in Aprill then next following they took the seas, and passed into France, accordinglie as by the states had bene deuised.

This yeere came a legat into Scotland from the pope, with certeine priuileges granted to the king and realme. The thirtieth of Aprill was the queene deliuered of a prince in the castell of Striueling, which was baptised by the posulat of Dunfermling, and the archdeane of saint Andrews, and infantlie confirmed by the bishop of Cathness, by the name of Alexander. During the time that the queene lay in childbed, great discord fell out betwixt the lords of the west parts, and the other lords of the realme: but shortly after the queene called an assemble at Edinburgh the twelfth of Iulie, where they were all well agreed. And herewith two of the cleargie were sent into England for peace. And the 28 of the same moneth, maister James Ogilvie abbat of Dunburgh, and sir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion the herald came forth of France with articles in writing from the king there, and the duke of Albanie; by the which the dukes comming was excused, because the king could not want him, till some end were had touching the warres betwixt him and the king of England, which was concluded in October next following.

This yeere, the first of August, the queene married Archembauld Dowglafe earle of Angus, and immediately after in saint Johns towne took the great seale from the bishop of Glasgowe, that was chancelor of the realme. Whereupon the said bishop got him to Edinburgh, where manie lords assisted him; and kept out the queene and hir new husband, so that they might not enter there: whereof great discord rose within the realme amongst the nobles and peeres of the same. In the peace contracted betwixt Lewis the twelfth of that name, king of France, and Henrie the eighth, king of England, no mention was made of the realme of Scotland: for the which the Scottishmen thought great salt in the French king, seeing that for his cause the warre had bene attempted betwixt them and England. The same yeere, about

*The king of
England writ-
teth to his sis-
ter.*

*The duke of
Albanie con-
firmed tutor
by parlement.*

*1514.
A legat from
Rome.
The queene
deliuered of
hir second son
Alexander.*

*The marriage
of the queene
mother.
The great
seale taken
from the bi-
shop of Glas-
gowe.*

*A peace con-
cluded be-
twixt Eng-
land & France*

*The decrease
of the bishop
of Aberdeen.*

*Monsieur de
la Baudie.*

1514.

*The castell of
Dunbarton
taken.*

*The popes
bulls publi-
shed.
1515. Lelle.*

*Contention
about the in-
ueying of the
se of saint
Andrews.*

*1515.
Truce be-
twixt Eng-
land and
Scotland.*

*The duke of
Albanie his
arrival in
Scotland.*

*The duke of
Albanie recei-
ued into Ed-
inburgh.*

bout t
ston b
scale
a fatt
the fo
the co
crease
good b
The 2
the ca
banie
to the
after
then
of sa
pers
nam
and f
twelv
nigh
carn
shell
caste
stir
that
the
fong
ginn
lik
chase
rike
ling
and
sain
bith
of th
in C
And
uer
lett
mai
rebe
horr
out
or w
mer
lord
pro
whi
at t
wo
late
and
was
ind
Lell
affe
Sc
cou
din
duk
arri
app
nec
lon
can
con
gre
fir
Ed
on

The decess
of the bishop
of Aberdeen.

king of
Scotland wth
to his li-

Monsieur de
la Sautie.

Duke of
Albanie con-
fessed tutor
parlement.

The castell of
Dunbarton
taken.

The popes
bulls publi-
shed.
1515. Lesle.

Contention
about the in-
coming of the
king of saint
Andrews.

1514.
The king de-
liuered to the
keeping of cer-
taine lords.

marriage
of quene
er.
great
taken
the bi-
of Glas

The duke of
Albanie his
arrivall in
Scotland.

ace com-
d be-
Eng-
France

The duke of
Albanie recei-
ved into E-
denburgh.

bout the twentieth fift of October, William Elphing-
ston bishop of Aberdeen, and lord keeper of the priute
scale departed this life at Edenburgh. He had bene
a faithfull counsellor to James the third & to James
the fourth, by whose helpe he founded and indowed
the college in the old towne of Aberdeen, for the in-
crease of learning & vertue, which hath flourishid with
good wits of students euer since, till these our daies.
The 20 of Nouember, Le sire de la Bantie receiued
the castell of Dunbar in the name of the duke of Al-
banie, at the hands of the deane of Glasgow brother
to the bishop of Murray, called Fozman. Shortly
after, John Hepborne the prior of saint Andrews
then elect archbishop of that see, besieged the castell
of saint Andrews, and war it by force from the kee-
pers of it, which were appointed to defend it in the
name of Gawin Dowlaglas, wherewith the quene
and the earle of Angus were highlie offended. The
twelfth of Ianuarie, being a verie darke & winde
night, the earle of Lennor, and the maister of Glen-
carrie undermined the nether groundsoile of the cas-
tell gate of Dunbarton, & entered thereby into the
castell, & so toke it, putting out thereof the lord Er-
skine. Shortly after (that is to say) the fiftenth of
that moneth, a great assemblee was made betwixt
the earles of Angus and Arrane, the one to haue
fought with the other, which was the cause and be-
ginning of great trouble that ensued.

The same day in Edenburgh were the bulls pub-
lished, which Fozman the bishop of Murray had pur-
chased at Rome, for the obtaining of the archbishop-
rike of saint Andrews, the abbassies of Dunferme-
ling, and Arbroth, through supplication of the quene
and duke of Albanie. From which bulls the prior of
saint Andrews appealed, pretending title to the arch-
bishops see by election and generall gift of the lords
of the realme; and herupon got together his friends
in Edenburgh, as the maister of Hales and others.
And on the other part, the lord chamberleine, and di-
uerse of the bishop of Murreys friends got the kings
letters, by vertue whereof they proclaimed the said
maister of Hales, and the prior of saint Andrews
rebels, with all their assistants, putting them to the
horne: wherupon they were constrained to depart
out of Edenburgh. And in Maie following, the pri-
or went vnto Rome, there to iustifie his appeale.

The foure and twentieth of Februarie, a parle-
ment was assembled at Striueling; but because the
lords could not agree amongst themselves, it was
proposed till the coming of the duke of Albanie,
which was looked for to be in Scotland, in Aprill; or
at the furthest in Maie next ensuing, as he had sent
word by sir John Striueling of the Reir, that was
latelie come from him with letters vnto the lords
and peeres of the realme. The fiftenth of Maie, truce
was proclaimed betwixt England and Scotland, to
indure for thre yeares, or thre moneths (as faith
Lesleus) but the same day at six of the clocke in the
afternone, the Englishmen entered the borders of
Scotland vpon the water of Rule, and forraied the
countie, doing great hurt therein, notwithstanding
the truce. The seuententh day of Maie, John
duke of Albanie, tutor and gouernor of Scotland,
arrived at the towne of Aire, with eight ships well
appointed, and furnished with men and all kind of
necessarie provision for his estate.

From thence taking the sea againe, he sailed a-
longst the coast till he came to Dunbarton, and there
came on land, & on the next day passed forth to Glas-
cow, where all the westland lords receiued him with
great semblance of reioicing for his arrivall. The
fir and twentieth day of Maie, he was receiued into
Edenburgh, a great number of lords meeting him
on the way. The quene also came from hir owne lod-

ging and met him, to doe him honoz. Sundrie con-
ceipts, pageants, & plates were shewed by the burge-
ses, to honoz his entrie in the best maner they could
deuise. Shortly after his coming to Edenburgh,
there came thither forth of all parts of the realme,
the lords and barons, where they being assembled
in counsell, he toke vpon him the gouernement of
the realme, which he promised to vse by their aduise,
so that they would assist him in setting forth of iu-
stice and good orders, which they undertooke to do.

Herupon was the parlement, which had bene
proposed till his coming, summoned to be kept at
Edenburgh the twelfth of Iulie, in the which diuerse
acts were concluded and made; and the lord Dun-
mond was adiudged in the dukes mercie, for stri-
king Lion king of armes. The duke pardoned him
of life and honoz, but his lands and goods remained
in the kings hands: notwithstanding, he was after-
wards restored to the same againe. In this parle-
ment also, the duke of Albanie was confirmed by
the thre estates of the realme tutor and gouernor to
the king; the scepter and sword being deliuered to
him: his oth also was taken by the lords, and theirs
giuen to him, that each of them should be faithfull to
others, and namelie to their king and soueraine
lord, and also should mainteine iustice to the utter-
most of their powers, for the aduancement of his
honoz, and suertie of the realme.

In the meane time, whilest this parlement was
in hand, the gouernor was aduertised that the king
should haue bene conueied forth of the realme se-
cretlie into England: wherupon he suddenlie de-
parted in the night time from Edenburgh, with his
men of warre in good order, & came to Striueling,
where the king, with his brother Alexander, laie with
the quene; which castell, togither with the kings per-
son, and the other within it, were deliuered to him
the third day of August: wherupon he committed
them and the castell to the keeping of foure lords of
the realme, whereof the earles of Eglington and
Montrose were two. The lord Hume, because he
had assisted the earle of Angus and the quene a-
gainst the gouernor, was denounced a rebell; and
the earles of Lennor & Arrane, with manie others,
were sent to his houses to seise the same into the
kings hands. In the castell of Hume was laid gun-
powder by a traine, wherby diuerse of them that en-
tered first into the castell were burned.

The lord Hume himselfe got him into England,
and soze disquieted the marches, so that no day of
truce was holden, neither on the east nor middle
marches. The twelfth of August, the quene, the
earle of Angus, and his brother George Dowlaglas,
went from Temptallon vnto Berwike, and from
thence passed to the nuntie of Caudream; where-
vpon aduertisement being giuen to the K. of Eng-
land, and his pleasure therein knowne, the fir and
twentieth of that moneth he was receiued by the
lord Wacres, & conueied to Harbottell castell, where
he remained till he was deliuered of a daughter,
called Margaret Dowlaglas, afterwards married to
the earle of Lennor, as in place conuenient it shall
further appeare. There was no Scottishman at this
time receiued into England with hir. The gouernor
perceiuing the rebellion of the lord Hume, passed to
the borders with his Frenchmen, where the first of
October, the said lord Hume came & submitted him-
selfe to the gouernors pleasure, and his brother Alex-
ander shortly after did the same, and they were both
deliuered to the earle of Arrane, who was appointed
to keepe them in safetie within the towne of Eden-
burgh.

But the twelfth of October next ensuing, the said
earle of Arrane departed from thence in the night
ff. ii. season,

A parlement
summoned.

The king de-
liuered to the
keeping of cer-
taine lords.

The lord
Hume de-
nounced a re-
bell.

The birth of
the countesse
of Lennor.

The lord
Hume sub-
mitted him-
selfe.

The earle of Arrane fleaseth away.

The lord Hume and other convicted of treason.

The old countesse of Arrane purchaseth her sons pardon.

A commotion betwixt the earles of Murrie and Huntclie.

Lion king of armes raised by the lord Humes.

A truce concluded betwixt England & Scotland.

The earle of Arrane returnseth from the gouernour.

The earle of Lennox furnissheth Dunbarton.

The earles of Lennox and Arrane take a respite. For man re-

season, with those his prisoners, scaling their waies on foot. Whereupon, the gouernour causing the parlement to be holden that was summoned to begin the foure and twentieth of October, the said lord Hume, maister William Hume, and David Hume, were convict of treason by all the states, to lose their liues, lands, and goods. This parlement was proroged till fiftene daies after, within which time the earle of Arrane was appointed to make appearance, or else it was agreed that they should proceed against him in like manner. And in that meane space, the gouernour went to besiege the castell of Hamilton, where that noble aged ladie, the old countesse of Arrane, daughter to king James the second, & mother to the earle of Arrane, and aunt to the duke by his fathers side, caused not onelie the castell to be surrendered at the dukes pleasure, but procured also the earle of Arrans peace, which earle, the twelfth of November next ensuing, came with the bishop of Glasgou vnto Edinburgh, and there submitted himselfe to the dukes will.

About the same time, certeine lords took part with the earle of Murrie the kings bastard brother, and the earle of Erroll, against the erle of Huntclie, and raised a commotion; so that being got into Edinburgh, there was much adoe, & the towne greatly disquieted. The gouernour lieng in the abbey, came into the towne, and took the earles of Huntclie, Erroll, Murrie, and others; and committed them to ward within the castell, while he tried the cause: and finding that maister William Haie being with the earle of Murrie had raised that sturre, he sent the same Haie into France, there to remaine during his pleasure, and forthwith the said earles were set at libertie. Lion king of armes appointed to go into England with letters to king Henrie, was stopped at Calisfreame by the lord Hume, who took his letters from him, and kept him prisoner, till Alexander Humes mother, that remained prisoner in Dunbar, was exchanged for him. The eighteenth day of December, Alexander duke of Roxburgh the kings brother departed this life at Strivelling.

The seventeenth day of Januarie, a truce was taken betwixt England and Scotland, till the feast of Pentecost next. This truce was agreed upon at Colbingham, by certeine commissioners, appointed on either part there, to treat for peace. For the realme of Scotland were these: Monsieur de Blanes the French ambassadoz, archdeacon of saint Andrews, maister Gavin de Dunbar, and sir William Scot of Baluerie knights. The Englishmen compelled for their part, the earle of Angus and the lord Hume within the compasse of this truce. In the meane time, the earle of Arrane departed from the gouernour againe, and repaired to the west parts, where he confederated himselfe with certeine lords, notwithstanding that sir James Hamilton, and the lord of Cauder remained pledges for his good demeanour within the castell of Edinburgh. The earles of Lennox, Glencarne, and other caused the castell of Dunbarton and diuerse other to be furnished, and took the castell of Glasgou with the kings great artillerie that laye within it, and spoiled the same.

The gouernour aduertised thereof, raised an armie & went to Glasgou, where by the labor of the bishop of that place, an appointment was taken, so that the castell was deliuered into the bishops hands. The earle of Lennox came in to the gouernour, and took a new respite, and about the beginning of March next following, the earle of Arrane and the lord Hume did the like. For man the archbishop of saint Andrews, against whom the prior of saint Andrews did stand (as ye haue heard) for that same benefice, to

the great disquieting of the realme, by such partakings as chanced thereabout among the lords, came now to the towne of Edinburgh, and resigned all the three benefices, whereof he had purchased buls of the pope, that is to say, the archbishopricke of saint Andrews, the abbasie of Arbroth, and Dunfermling in the gouernours hands, to bestow the same at his pleasure: who by the counsell of certeine lords, satisfied such as claimed interest to the same, and pacifying of all debates, bestowed them as followeth.

First, the said archbishopricke he gaue to the said Forman with the abbasie of Dunfermling, and to maister James Hepburne he gaue the bishopricke of Murray, and benefices worth a thousand marks by the yeare vnto the prior of saint Andrews for a recompense; the abbasie of Dyrburgh he gaue vnto maister James Ogilvie, and the bishopricke of Aberdeen (then vacant) vnto Alexander Gordon, and to the archbishop of Glasgou called Beton he gaue the abbasie of Arbroth, assigning to the earle of Murray a large pension out thereof. One of the Hamiltons was made abbat of Kilwinning, and George Dundas was made prior of the knights of the roads. And thus he bestowed the benefices which had bene vacant ever since Flodden field, vnto diuerse lords, or to their kinmen, that by such liberalitie bestowed towards them, all debates and discords might cease, which had hapened amongst them, specially about the bestowing of the same benefices. This was done in the moneth of Februarie.

Shortlie after, the gouernour, by counsell of the lords, to the end the realme might come to a perfect quietnesse, and the noble men vniued together, returned into fauor the earle of Angus, & maister Patrick Pantoun secretarie, who for his cause had bene kept as prisoner in Inche galle. He likewise receiued the lord Hume, and his brother, pardoning them all their offenses past. And in parlement holden the first of Aprill, they were restored to all their lands, heritages, fees, and honors. About that time, the lord of Stralwen in Atholl committed diuerse great offenses and crimes, for the which he was taken by the earle of Atholl, and beheaded at Logierath by the gouernours commission.

All this while, the parlement was not dissolved but upon prorogation, and so the same began againe the first day of Iulie, at that time the king of England, at request of his sister the queene of Scotland, wrote letters to the lords now assembled in parlement, requesting them to expell the gouernour forth of the realme. But all the lords and states with vniuersall consent sent Albanie the herald with letters to the said king, excusing them, that they might not in anie wise satisfie his desire therein, the same being against reason and the lawes of their countrie.

In the moneth of September, the gouernour commanded the lord Hume, with his brother maister William Hume, and David bar of Fernhurst, to be arrested and bestowed in severall places, that better rule might be kept vpon the borders: but they lieng now in ward, sundrie informations were giuen vp against them: and thereupon, the eight of October, the said lord Hume and his brother were convict of treason, for assisting and maintaining of the theues vpon the borders, and other crimes; for the which he was beheaded: and on the morrow after, his brother the foresaid William Hume was likewise beheaded, and their heads were set vpon the Tolbuth in Edinburgh: David bar was spared.

Alexander lord Hume left yet three brethren in life, who were all by the iniuries of those times grievously afflicted with diuers misfortunes. For George, being banished for the slaughter of a man, remained

signeth his tie to the archbishops sa.

The duke of Albanie visiteth the borders. Another parliament. The duke of Albanie second person of the realme.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Angus and others received into fauor.

Monsieur de la Baultie made warden of the marches.

The parlement began againe.

The king of Englands letters to the lords.

The lord Hume and others arrested and committed to ward.

The lord Hume beheaded.

Fr. Thin. Buchan lib. 14.

remains abbat Dauid dingle was slain, a pittie man of his

great reason and shrewdness, a decrepit old man of his benigne nature, a daughter vpon to his Alexander and Scotland licen

war caused one he had won east daie cost nua and min of 1517. 15 new mig land

war caused one he had won east daie cost nua and min of 1517. 15 new mig land

war caused one he had won east daie cost nua and min of 1517. 15 new mig land

war caused one he had won east daie cost nua and min of 1517. 15 new mig land

war caused one he had won east daie cost nua and min of 1517. 15 new mig land

war caused one he had won east daie cost nua and min of 1517. 15 new mig land

war caused one he had won east daie cost nua and min of 1517. 15 new mig land

war caused one he had won east daie cost nua and min of 1517. 15 new mig land

war caused one he had won east daie cost nua and min of 1517. 15 new mig land

war caused one he had won east daie cost nua and min of 1517. 15 new mig land

war caused one he had won east daie cost nua and min of 1517. 15 new mig land

remained in England amongst his friends. John abbat of Jedworth was banished beyond Tate. David the younger brother, which was prior of Col-dingham two yeares after the death of his brethren, was (by James Hepburne, the husband of his sister) slaine by a traine, under color of a meeting and par- tie, whereunto he was called; whome all men did pittie, because he was a harmelesse yong gentle- man, of a singular wit, and folowie betrayed by those of whom he ought not so to haue bin intrapped.

Shortlie after, the duke rode to Jedworth with a great compantie of men, & staied the great robbing & reauing which had bene vsed on the borders, & left there good wardens to keepe good rule in those parts, and so returned to Edinburgh. The third of Nouem- ber, another parlement was holden, in which it was decreed, that the gouernor should be deemed and re- puted for second person of the realme, notwithstanding the claime made by his elder brother Alexan- der Steward, that was begotten on the daughter of the earle of Mkeneie, which was alleged to haue bene first married to their father the duke of Alba- nie, before he was married to the earle of Bullognes daughter, on whome he begot the gouernor. Where- upon this Alexander made protestation to be heire to his father; but they were afterward agreed, and Alexander renounced his title in his brothers fauor, and was made bishop of Arrerie, and abbat of Scone. At this parlement, the gouernor required licence to go into France, and to be absent there six moneths; but this sute was not granted till Aprill following.

At the same time was the earle of Lennox put in ward within the castell of Edinburgh, till he had caused the castell of Dunbzeton to be deliuered vnto one Alane Steward in the constables name, & then he was set at libertie. In the moneth of December, Monsieur de la Bantie was made warden of the east marches in stead of the lord Hume, and kept daies of truce: which procured such hatred, that it cost him afterwards his life. In the moneth of Ja- nuarie, the gouernor went to saint Johns towne, and there held his seat of iustice, where the lord Fle- ming for the tyme was made great chamberlaine of Scotland, with all the fees thereof. In the yeare 1517, there came ambassadoz from Francis the new French king, to desire, that the ancient league might be renewed betwixt him and the king of Scot- land, their realmes, dominions, and subiects.

For this cause, all the lords of the realme were as- sembled at Edinburgh, where, by them it was con- cluded, that the gouernor himselfe should passe the seas into France; and also that the bishop of Dun- keld, the secretarie, and the maister of Glencarne as ambassadoz should go thither: the which the thir- tēth of Maie, went a shipboard, and by the east seas sailed thither, and the gouernor toke ship at Peter- marke helide Dunbzeton the seuenth of June, tak- ing his course by the west seas, and so passed into France, where it was agreed, that he should haue remained but onelie four moneths, he hauing ap- pointed the bishops of saint Andrews and Glasgou, the earles of Huntley, Argile, Angus, and Arrane, to gouerne in his place, whilst he was absent. Al- so he ordeined Anthoine Darcie, or Monsieur de la Bantie lieutenant of the borders.

He also had caused the king to be brought into Ed- enburgh castell, within the which he should remaine in the keeping of the earle Marshall, the lords Cr- skin, Worthyke, Wishart; of the which, two at least should be alwaies present. The quene that re- mained as then in England, after she understood that the gouernor was departed towards France, returned to Edinburgh the seuenth of June, but

she was not suffered to see the king till August fol- lowing: at what time, for feare of the pestilence to be crept into the castell, he was removed to Craig- miller, where the quene oftentimes came vnto him; but at length, through some suspicion conceived, least the quene might conueie him away from thence in- to England, he was estones brought vnto the ras- tell of Edinburgh, in which he was kept after, ac- cording to the order taken in that behalfe.

* Much about this time in the which these things were done, John Gordon (the eldest sonne of that Alexander earle of Huntley, which for the praise of his singular goodnesse obtained the surname of good) returning out of France (whither a little before he had sailed with the gouernor) was singularly welco- med and interteined of all men, who going vnto his owne people (in the north parts) was tagged with such grievous sicknesse that he died therewith, and by his father (to whom he should by course of nature execute the same office) shortly after buried in the abbey of Kilrossie, with a goodlie toime erected on him by his said father. The death of which John gaue (for manie causes) manie griefes vnto manie persons: but a- mongst other the chiefest to his father, who liued not long after his sonne. Which Alexander when he died, left the said earle done to his nephew, sonne of his sonne John; who because he was but ten yeeres old, was committed to the earle of Angus, to be instruc- ted in all goodnesse of maners answering to the ex- cellencie of that wit therewith he was indued.

This earle Huntley adorned with excellent sweet- nesse of maners and pleasantnesse of wit, the earle of Angus would neuer or berie hardlie suffer to de- part out of his compantie. For which cause when the erle of Angus, for certeine suspicions of treason was banished Scotland into England, he attempted by all deuises and persuasions to intife the child to haue gone with him: but the yong boie could not be allur- ed with anie flatteries or persuasions to submit himselfe to the least note of reproch, in forsaking his king and countrie. Wherefore when the earle of Angus was departed into England, the child lifting vp his craning hands to the king, did grant himselfe and all he had to the king and his countrie, whome the king receiued with all kind of humanitie; and prouided that he should be instructed in euerie sort of vertue and learning, that was to be desired in such a prince; because the said child was boine of his sisters marriage.

The lords and other nobles highlie offended (as well for the death of the lord Hume, as for that they saw Anthoine Darcie lord Bantie the French ad- uanced to greater credit than themselves, and not onelie to be made warden of the marches, but also capteine of Dunbzeton, the strongest fort of Scot- land) began to raise tumults in the land. For Wil- liam Cockburne (uncle of Comarck Landon) who (repelling the gardians of the pupill) did keepe the cas- tell of Landon, assisted with the helpe of David Hume lord of Woodburne (whose sister the said Cockburne had married) first began a commotion in those parts. For when they saw that all means were taken from them openlie to reuenge the same, and to set vpon Bantie, they determined to performe the same (with some secret deuise) by lieng in wait for him.

For the castell of Landon or Landon, being kept in the possession of Woodburne (and such as toke his part against the king) he the said Wood- burne appointed subtile fellows secretlie to enter the castell, and to reteine it in the kings name. After which, this Woodburne feining a counterfeited anger (for he was a man full of all subtiltie) that this castell was so inuidiously taken from him, and kept to the kings

The king re- moved.

The doubt which the Scots had in the quene.

Fr. Thin. Lellens lib. 9. pag. 386.

Buchan. lib. 14

Lellens lib. 9. pag. 387.

gareth his th- e to the arch- bishops se.

following of offices.

Thin.

1515.

the earle of Angus and o- thers receiued to fauor.

the parties- ent began to

the king of englands ters to the ds.

the lord ame and o- r arrested d commit- to ward.

Thin. chan. lib. 14

The duke of Albanie visi- th the bor- ders. Another par- liament. The duke of Albanie se- cond person of the realme.

The gouer- nor albeeth li- cence to go in- to France.

The earle of Lennox in ward.

Monsieur de la Bantie made warden of the mar- ches.

1517. Ambassadors from France.

An ambassage into France.

The gouer- nor goeth into France.

Gouernors appointed to the kings per- son.

1517.

Monsieur de la Bautie slain by the lord of Woodburne, Fr. Thin.

A parlement called.

The lord of Woodburne indicted.

The earle of Arrane cometh into the Pers.

The maister of Hales.

The bond of league betwixt Scotland & France Capitaine Morres.

1518.

The abbat of Glenluce.

The Scots civilised at the French kings hands.

The bishop of Aberdeen a builder.

kings behove, he laid siege to the castell (as though he went about to recover the same with all the power he could) to the intent that Bantie might be intited to come thither to raise the siege. For which cause Bantie (supposing in truth that the castell had bene kept to the use of the king) hastening the rescue thereof, came forth of the castell of Dunbar to assemble the men of the countie to raise the siege, as lieutenant of the borders, he was chased by the said lord of Woodburne and other so fiercelie, that in the end he was slain, and foure Frenchmen with him: his head was cut from the shoulders, and set up in the towne of Duns [upon the castell of Hume] the nineteenth of Januarie.

The lords regents were herewith meruelouslie offended, & chose the earle of Arrane to be warden of the borders in de la Banties place, who was also chosen to be prouost of Edinburgh: wherewith the earle of Angus was highlie displeased. But the erle of Arrane, not seeming to passe much thereof, took George Dohglas the said earle of Angus his brother, and Marke Bar, committing them to ward within the castell of Edinburgh, because of the fauor he bare unto the said lord of Woodburne & his complices. Moreover, for due punishment of the murder of the foresaid de la Bantie, there was a parlement called the nineteenth of Februarie next, in the which, David Hume lord of Woodburne, and his three brethren, William Cockburne & John Hume, with diuers other their partakers, were indicted for the besieging of the castell of Langton, the slaughter of monsieur de la Bantie, and for the setting up of his head, intercommuning with the Englishmen, and diuers other misdoings.

Immediately after the end of this parlement, the earle of Arrane came into the Pers, with a great armie, and hauing with him the kings great artillerie, ment to haue besieged such places as would haue resisted him. But at his being in Lotoder, the heires of the castell of Hume were brought unto him, which on the next morrow he received, and put men within it to keepe it, as he did in Langton and Woodburne, which he received at the same time. The maister of Hales was also sought for at that time, that he might haue bene apprehended to answer the slaughter of David Hume, prior of Coldingham, whom he had slain traitorouslie. A litle before this parlement, the bishop of Dunkeld was returned from the French king with a bond of the league renewed betwixt Scotland and France. And at that same time was one capitaine Morres a Frenchman sent forth of France, with a certeine number of men, to receive the castell of Dunbar into his keeping, which accordingly he did, the same being deliuered unto him.

The earle of Lennor, who had bene with the governor in France, returned home into Scotland, & with him came a French herald from the king with letters, and maister Walter Steiward abbat of Glenluce came likewise from the governor. And about that time, because the queene and lords were aduertised that the French king had contracted new bonds of peace and amitie with the king of England, without making mention of Scotland, they thought themselves euil viced, being his confederat friends, and therupon sent sharpe letters to the king of France, and to the governor, by Albanie the herald. In the moneth of June, maister Gauen Dunbar, archdeane of saint Andrews, and cleerke of the register, was preferred to the bishops see of Aberdeen that was vacant by the death of Alexander Gourdon.

This Gauen founded an hospitall in Aberdeen, and indowed the same with lands for sustentance of

twelve pore men, with a prouost to haue care ouer them. He also builded a faire bridge, with seven arches ouer the water of De beside Abberden, and purchased lands for the perpetuall upholding thereof. He also builded two steeples in the cathedrall church, with halfe of the crosse church, and a faire palace for the small prebendaries, called the chapelins. Moreover, he bestowed manie rich & pretious ornaments vpon the same church of Abberden, as copes, chalices, and other such like things, which remained there long after. Manie right commendable works were accomplished by this diligent prelat, greatlie to his praise and high renowne; for he spent not the fruits of his benefice in vaine, but on such maner of buildings.

The seventeenth of June, there rose great stir in Edinburgh, by the falling out of the earle of Rothes, and the lord Lindsey, about the intoleng of the striffeslike of Jife, by reason wherof, they were put in ward, the one in Dunbar, and the other in Dunbarton. About the beginning of August, the queene remaining in Edinburgh, understood that the earle of Angus hir husband, as then sojourning in Dohglas dale, had taken a faire gentlewoman in those parts, and kept hir as his concubine; for the which act she conceived such hatred against him, that there was neuer no perfect lome betwixt them afterwards. In the beginning of Februarie, there came a cleerke as ambassadoz from the French king with letters, concerning the concluding of the truce betwixt Scotland and England, which message the lords made small account of, because the king had omitted to comprehend Scotland in the league which he lastlie made with England. The senenth of June, a mad man in Dundee slue in his mad fit a ladie of inheritance, a nun, with two other women, the one of them being great with child, and also two men.

The king of England wrote letters unto the French king, desiring him to staie the duke of Albanie, that he might not come into Scotland; and furthermore, he laid ships of warre in the passe vpon the seas to watch for his coming, and to take him by the waie as he should passe. In September the king was removed forth of the castell of Edinburgh unto Dalkith, for doubt of the pestilence, which was suspected to be in the castell of Edinburgh. And from Dalkith the earle of Arrane rode to Edinburgh to haue bin effloncs elected regent & prouost of that towne: but he missed his purpose, for the townesmen would not suffer him to enter, but repelled him backe, so that diuerse were hurt on both sides.

Hereupon, great dissention rose betwixt the said earle of Arrane, and the earle of Angus, because of his repulse in that sute: whereby the whole realme was diuided into partakings, so that sundrie slaughters thereof ensued, as of the prior of Coldingham, and six of his men murdered, by the lord of Woodburne at Lamerton, the first of October. About the same time, the king returned to the castell of Edinburgh, and in the towne there were remaining at the same time the earles of Angus, Erroll, and Craibford; the lord Glames, and other; the bishops of saint Andrews, Abberden, Dkeneie, and Dublane, with diuerse abbats and other prelates. And in the towne of Glasco was the bishop of Glascois chancelor, with the earles of Arrane, Lennor, Eglington, and Cassels, the lords Rolfe, Sempill, the abbat of Dalkeith, the bishop of Galloway, and other noble men of the west. Thus the lords were diuided, and would not take anie order for the good government of the common-wealth.

In December, monsieur de la Faict, and a French cleerke called Corbell, with an English herald called Clarencour, came from the kings of France and

Contention betwixt the erle of Rothes and the lord Lindsey.

The cause of the hatred betwixt the queene and hir husband.

1519. Lesle.

1519. A mad man.

The king of England hath to keepe the duke of Albanie forth of Scotland.

The earle of Arrane.

Dissention betwixt the earles of Arrane and Angus.

The peace proclaimed.

1520. Variance betwixt the earle of Angus and the lord of fermhurst.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 14.

The lord Hume's head taken downe.

and England, with an ambassadoꝝ also from the go-
uernoꝝ, with a conclusion of peace taken foꝝ one
yeare, betwixt Scotland and England: who com-
ming to Edenburgh, were receiued by the earle of
Angus, and the other lordes there with him, the which
sent foꝝ the chancelloꝝ & the earle of Arrane to come
thither; but they would not come anye nearer than to
Lynlithgo. The ambassadoꝝ therefore toke in hand to
persuade, that an assemblie might be had in Strieus-
ling: but the earle of Angus would not come there.
Nevertheless, the said ambassadoꝝ went thither,
where the earle of Arrane and his partakers, as the
chancelloꝝ and others, receiued them thankfullie, and
proclaimed the peace, according to the treatie which
they had brought, and so with courteous answer and
great rewards licenced them to depart. But in their
returne toward England, the earle of Angus with a
great number of men met them at Carlawerok, re-
proouing them that pelie foꝝ their demeanour, and foꝝ
taking their answer of the chancelloꝝ, so that they
were not a litle afraid, leass the earle in his displea-
sure would haue vsed some outrage towards them;
which otherwise than in wordes it should appere he
did not.

In Januariæ, about the keeping of a court at Jedburgh, there was raising of people betwixt the earle of Angus on the one part, and Andrew Har the lord of Fernhurst, in whole aid, James Hamilton came with foure hundred Pers men: but the lord of Sesselford then warden, assisting the earle of Angus his part, met Hamilton at Bello with a great companie, and when they were lighted on foot, and should haue foughten, the Pers men left Sir James Hamilton, the bassard of the earle of Arrane, in all the danger, with a few of his owne men about him, so that with much paine he was hoisted, and escaped in great danger unto Hume, with losse of foure of his servants which were slaine: and on the other part, there was an Englishman slaine called Kase Har, that came in aid of the warden. On the morrow after, the lord of Fernhurst, as balliffe to the earle of Arrane, of that regalitie, held his court at the principall place of the forrest of Jedburgh, and the earle himselfe held his court likewise in an other part of the same land, three miles distant from the other.

The thirtieth day of Aprill, the lord of Woodburne, and maister William Dowglaſſe, newlie made prior of Coldingham, with their partakers in great numbers, came to Eoeburgh to aid the earle of Angus, who was within the towne, againſt the earle of Arrane, and James Beton the chancelloz, who were alſo there. But now by the coming of theſe ſuccors, which entered by force at the heather bolwe, and ſue the maſter of Mountgomerie, ſonne of the earle Eglington, and ſir Patrick Hamilton knight, the earle of Arrane, and the chancelloz, were conſtrained to forſake the towne, & to paſſe through the north ſide. [To revenge this contumelie, the Hamiltons beſieged the cell of Warwiche (which is the caſtell of Cuninghame) but they ſoon ſte returned backe without doing the leaſt thing againſt them.]

The one and twentieth of Jolie, the earle of Angus being in the citie of Edinburgh, George Hume, brother to the late lord Hume beheaded, came thither with the Abbott of Colinton, brother to the earle of Angus, and David Hume of Willoburne, and a great company of gentlemen; and others, and passed to the Cordons, where they remained till the deace of the lord Hume, and of his brother William were taken up one befor the place where they were fallen off a fall, and this was done in presence of the Abbott of the same being. The next day they went to Linlithgow, and from thence to Strickling, in hope to have found the man

cello, and some other of that faction there. But mis-
sing of their purpose, they returned to Edinburgh a-
gain, and causing solemn funerall obsequies to be
kept in the blacke friers, for them that slayt those
heads, with offerings and bankets, they after wards
returned home to their owne dwellings, without at-
tempting any other thing for that present.

In November, the duke of Albanye arrived in Scotland on the west parts, at an haven called Cra-
 10 wach, the nineteenth of the same moneth; and on the
 three and twentieth he came to Edinburgh, accom-
 panied with the queene, the archbishop of Glasgows
 chancellor, the earle of Huntly, and manye other
 lords, knights, barons, and gentlemen; and wthin
 six daies after their comming thither, the psonall and
 bailiffes were deposed, because they had bene chosen
 in favour of the earle of Angus, and other appointed
 in their romes. Then was there a parlment sum-
 20 monned to be kept at Edinburgh, the six and twen-
 tith of Januarie next following; and on the ninth of
 Januarie, a generall summons of forfaiture was
 proclaimed at the market crosse in Edinburgh, wher-
 in were summoned the earle of Angus and his bro-
 ther, the prior of Coldingham, the lord of Wood-
 burne, the lord of Dalehouse, John Summerwell of
 Catwisteme, and William Cockbozne of Angton,
 with their complices, to make their appearence in the
 said parlment, to be tried for sundrie great offenses
 by them committed.

30 **M**aster Gawin Dowglass bishop of Dunkeld,
hearing of this proclamation, fled into England, and
remained in London at the Sauvie, where he depar-
ted this life, and is buried in the church there. He was
a cunning cleark, and a verie good poet: he transla-
ted the twelue bookes of the Aeneidos of Virgill in
Scottish méter, and compiled also The palace of ho-
nor, with diuerse other treatises in the Scottish lan-
guage, which are yet extant. The earle of Angus sea-
ting the sentence of forfallure to be laied against
40 him at the parlement, procured his wife (although
there was small liking betwixt them) to labor for his
pardon to the gouernour, Whereupon it was agre-
ed, that the earle, and his brother George Dowglass
should passe out of the realme into France, and there
to remaine during the gouernours pleasure: and so
they departed into France, and remained there all
the next yeere following.

The king of England, hearing that the duke of Albanie was arrived in Scotland, and had taken the rule upon him, doubting least he should persuade the Scottishmen to assist the French king, against whom, by persuation of the emperor, he ment hostile to make warre, sent his herald Clarencieux into Scotland, to require the duke to depart from thence, alleging; that it was promised by the king of France at the last conference betwixt them; which chanced the summer before, that he should not come into Scotland. And moreover, whereas the king of England was uncle unto the king of Scots, he considered with himselfe that by nature he was bound to defend his nephew, as he ment to do; and therefore he thought it not reason, that the duke being next to the crowne to succeed, if ought came to the young king, should haue the gouernement of him, least he might be made awaie, as other young kings had bene: He further complained, that the earle of Angus should be sett out of the realme, so that he could not enter the companie of his wife, sister unto the same king of England.

Clarencieſeur had theretoſe commands delivred; that if the duke refuſed to depart out of the Realme of Scotland, he ſhould intimate a defiance with open warre againſt him: towhiche the ſaid Clarencieſeur ob- declaring his meſſage unto the duke from point to point

The Duke of
Albame re=
turneth into
Scotland.
1521. Buch.

The prouost &
bailiffes of E.
denburgh de-
posed.
A parlement
summoned.

1521.

Gawin Dow-
glassie bishop
of Dunkeld
fleeth into
England.

The earle of
Angus fea-
reth the sen-
tence of for-
feiture.

He and his brother banked.

Clarenceux
an English
herald sent in-
to Scotland.

The king of
England dou-
teth to haue
the duke of
Albanie go-
uernor to the
king his ne-
phew.

Warre de-
nounced by
Clarencieux
against the
duke of Alba-
nie.

The peace proclaimed.

1520.

Marriage be-
twixt the earle
of Angus and
the lord of
Fermhurst.

9. Lesse.

519.
ad man.

king of
land
to keepe
of
the south
cotland.

earle of
ne.

ation
t the
s of Ar-
and
g.

Fr.Thin.
Buchan.li.14.

The lord
thrust his head
taken down.

**fiert de
lot.**

The dukes
answer.

point at Holle rood house, as he had in commande-
ment. To whome the duke answered, that neither the
king of France, nor the king of England should
state him from coming into his countrie. And as
touching the king, who was as yet young in yeres, he
loued him as his soueraigne lord, and would keepe
him, and defend both him and his realme against all
other that would attempt to invade the same, accor-
ding to his conscience, honor, and dutie. And as tou-
ching the earle of Angus, he had used towards him
all clemencie and mercie, notwithstanding his euill
demerits, and that principallie for the quenes cause,
whome he would honor as mother to his soueraigne
lord. This answer being reported vnto the king of
England, contented him nothing at all, and there-
fore prepared to make warre.

1522.

The death of
the archbishop
of saint An-
drewes.
James Be-
ton succeeded
him.

A stir in E-
denburgh.

The emperor
cometh into
England.
Scots and
Frenchmen
banished forth
of England.
The earle of
Shrewesburie
inuaith
Scotland.

Fr. Thin.
Lectus lib. 9.
pag. 409.

The tenth of Aprill, there came seven great ships
into the Forth, vnto Inchkeith, to haue spoiled the
ships, and invade the coast there: but they were lo-
stoutlie resisted and kept off, that they were not suf-
fered to doe anie great exploit, and so they returned
without preie or prise. In this season, Andrew For-
man bishop of saint Andrewes deceased, and bishop
James Beton archbishop of Glasgou, chancellor of
Scotland, was removed to saint Andrewes, & made
abbat also of Dunfermling, and the archbishoppe of
Glasgou was given a young man one Calvin Dun-
bar, that was the kings scholemaster. In the mo-
neth of Maie, there was great adoe in Edenburgh,
by the falling out of the seruants of the earles of
Murray and Erroll, with the seruants of the earle of
Huntlie, by reason whereof, the whole towne fell to
partakings; but the duke coming suddenlie from
the abbey of Holle rood house, staid the matter, and
committed the said earles vnto ward within the ca-
stell.

The emperor came into England, and perswaded
the king there to moue warres against the French
king, and so not onelie the Frenchmen but also the
Scots were commanded to go out of England,
their goods confiscated, and they conueied forth of
the land, with a white crosse sowed vpon their vpper-
most garment. In Iulie, the earle of Shrewesburie
was sent by the king of England vnto the borders,
with commission, to raise the power of the north
parts to invade Scotland, who vpon the sudden en-
tered and came to Helso, where he burnt one part of
the towne, but the borderers of the Mers and Teu-
dale, not being halfe so manie in number as the o-
ther, let vpon them, slue, and toke manie prisoners,
and so constrained them to returne into England
with small honor.

The gouernour after this (when he saw the Eng-
lish overrun all the borders of Scotland) called a
parlement at Edenburgh, the 9 kalends of August,
to cure the same wound. Beside this, the French sea-
ring their selues (because of a prepared and well fur-
nished nauie of the English which did euerie waie
coier and keepe the sea) sent manie (and those wise
and of excellent knowledge) vnto the gouernour, to re-
quest him that he would either by counsell persua-
de, or by authoritie enforce his Scots to take armes
against the English. After which (the matter being
with great consultation and manie reasons tossed
in argument to and fro) it was decreed by common
consent of the parlement, that a chosen number of
souldiers should be prepared, to defend the borders
from the invasion of the enimie, & (the more strong-
lie to repell the English force) it was concluded,
that the children of such as were slaine in that cry-
dion, should be freed from all charges or troubles
that might light on them during their minority:
and further, that the wines of all such which had aile
lands (during their liues & sell in that conflict) should

after the death of their husbands keepe the same for
the terme of five yeres.)

The duke of Albanie, hearing of the great prepa-
ration that the earle of Shrewesburie made, to raise
an armie of foure score thousand men to invade
Scotland, he likewise (as it was before decreed) sent
vnto all the earles, lordes, and nobles of the realme,
willing them to raise all such power as they could
make in defense of their countrie; which they did. And
so being assembled, the duke with a mightie armie of
Scottishmen and certeine Frenchmen, with great
artillerie, marched forward, till he came to the water
of Cke ouer against Carleill: and perceiving that
the English armie came not then forward, he did
what he could to persuaide the noble men to enter in-
to England: but as they were in counsell togither
about that earnest motion made to them by the duke,
a certeine graue personage said to them in this ma-
ner.

My lords, hither we be come by the commande-
ment of my lord gouernour duke of Albanie, and albe-
it we be readie to defend our atone natine realme,
contrarie the inuasion of our auld enimies of Eng-
land, yet neuertheless it seemeth not guid, nor for
the weale of our realme of Scotland, to passe with-
in England with our armie to invade the same at
this time. And the earnest persuaasions quhill the go-
uernour makes to vs to doe the same, proceeds ala-
nerlie for the pleasure of France. It appereth to be
sufficient enough for vs so long as the king our soue-
reigne lord is within age to defend our aton realme,
and not to invade: otherwise, we may put the haile
countrie and nobilitie thereof in hazard of tinfall:
for king James the fourth brought the realme of
Scotland to the best that it euer was, and by the
war it was brought to the worst almost that might
be: for by that warre, was he and his nobilitie tinte,
quhill Scotland fare laments. Wherefore by mine
advice, let vs go to the gouernour, and know of him
the cause why he would persuaide vs to invade Eng-
land.

Then they all came to the gouernours tent, and the
earle of Arrane, an auncient wise man spake for
them all, and said: My lord gouernour, by your will
and commaundement, here is assembled the maist
of the nobilitie of Scotland with their power, vpon
a pretense to enter within England. My lords
here would know the cause and quarrell why this
warre is begun, gif it might please your goodnesse, it
should well satisfie their minds. The duke stepped a
little space, and said: This question would haif bin
demaunded per notis; for well you know, that I for
uerie luse I beare to the realme of Scotland (of the
quhill I haue my name, honor, and lignage) haife
passed the seas from the noble realme of France, in-
to this realme of Scotland. And great cause there
was for me so to do, to bring you to a vnitie, when
ye were in diuision, by reason whereof, your
realme was like to haue bin conquered and destrui-
ed. And also the king of Fraunce, by my suites and
intercession, will loine with you in aid against the
English nation: and when this warre was deter-
minate in the parlement, you made me capitaine, au-
thorizing me to invade England with banner dis-
played. Then was no demaund made of the cause or
quarrell, and that I haif done, is by your assent and
agreement, and that I will iustifie. But to answer
your demaund, we thinke you haif tust cause to in-
uade England with fire, sword, and blood, gif ye be
not forgetfull, and withont you will heare dishonor
and reproch for euer. For ye know that this realme of
Scotland is our inheritance, as a portion of the
world allotted to our nation and auncellors, whome
we succeed. When there may there be better warre,
than

The duke of
Albanie rai-
seth an armie
to invade
England.

The words
of a counsellor.

The earle of
Arrane decla-
reth to the go-
uernour the
mound of the
lords.

The dukes
answer to the
earle of Ar-
rane.

1522.
The reple of
a wise coun-
sellor.

The gouer-
nours words
to the presi-
dents reple.

Means made
for peace.

The lord Ma-
rquis.

than
Is it
Eng
and n
dailie
the co
men.
natiu
quar
laun
intur
our p
tatio
weh
ted,
we a
lost o
was
than
mie
field
uen
oull
noz,
coun
fort
strik
are
And
figh
will
(as
for
milk
gre
king
gif
we
gre
real
hoir
fle
and
may
king
by v
A
iffa
inc
it n
fill
men
the
cer
twi
bein
din
no
pea
En
bpo
Ha
ma
can
tha
on
wa
the
En
wer
din
wea

than to mainteine this our naturall inheritance? Is it not daillie sene, the great inuasions that the Englishmen on vs make, the great manslaughter and murders, with thefts and spoiles that they do daillie? Is not this one cause of warre? To defend the countrie is the office of a king, the honoz of noble men, and the verie seruice of chivalrie, and the dutie naturall of the communalitie: for I thinke it a iust quarrell, gif we might conquer the realme of Englaund, and annex it to our owne realme, for the great iniuries and wrongs done by that nation to vs and our predecessors. For sene the begining of our habitation in this Ile of Britaine, the Englishmen and we haue euer bin enemies, and vs haif they euer hated, and yet haue we euer withstood them. Suppose, we at the last battell of Floddoun field by chaunce lost our soueraigne lard, & diuerse noble men, quhill was rather by treason of the lard chamberlaine, than otherwise, who would not relieue the kings armie when he might. And yet I thinke, we wan the field, quhill murder all we noble men ought to reuenge. Therefore I would that you suld courageously aduance your selues in this quarrell to get honoz, and to be reuenged.

Then one wise man that was president of the counsell, answered the gouernoz, saing: My lard, fortune of weir is led by him that all leides, and he strikes the stroke, we can warke no meracles, & heare are the lards of Englaund readie to incounter vs. And gif we innade their realme, suerlie they will fight, for their power shall increase daillie, and ours will diminish. And gif God graunt vs the victorie (as I trust he shall) yet haue we not wonn the field, for readie comming is the earle of Shrewsburie samibell deyd in France (as ye knawe well) with an great puissant armie, and there is no doubt, but the king of Englaund will send or bring another armie gif we suld chance to get the first battell. And gif we get the secound field, that will not be without great losse of manie nobles, by reason whereof, the realme shall be weaker. And gif we be overcome how manie suld be slaine, God knawes. They that are warlike to be reputed as traitors to the king, and so by wilfulnesse and fule hardinesse, the realme may be in ieopardie to be vndone. I say, while the king is within age, we ought to moue na weir, least by weir we may bring him to destruction.

Then said the valiant gouernoz: Here is an puissant armie of Scotland, gif we returne, we shall incourage our enemies. Therefore sene you thinke it not gude to innade, my counsell is that we campe still on the bordures, while we see what the Englishmen pretends to do against our realme. To the which the nobles consented, and laie still there in campe certeine daies after. After this conference had betwixt the nobles and the gouernoz, the quene as then being not with them, but aduertised of all the proceedings and determinations, sent word to the gouernoz, and desired him that there might be a treatie of peace had, and she promised to get the warden of the English marches to come to the gouernozs campe, upon pledges, wherunto the gouernoz condescended. Whereupon, the lord Dacres, warden of the west marches of England [with Thomas Bulgrau] came vnto the gouernozs campe, and thither also at that time was the quene hir selfe come, and so vpon the eleuenth of September, an abstinence of war was taken and couenanted, that in the meane time the duke and quene should send ambassadoz into England, to treat and conclude a resolute peace.

In the moneth of October next insuing, there were three ambassadoz sent into England, according to the agreement in the last treatie, but there were so hard and extreme conditions proponed on

the king of Englands behalfe, that the same could not be accepted, as being contrarie to the honoz and weale of the realme of Scotland, as the Scottishmen toke the matter. And so those ambassadoz returned without agreement or conclusion of peace; whereupon followed great trouble betwixt them of the borders of both realmes. The earle of Northumberland was made warden of the whole marches, but shortly after, he began to make sute to be discharged of that office, & ceased not till he obtained it: and then was the earle of Surreie made generall warden, and the lord marquess Dorset warden of the east & middle marches; the lord Dacres continuing still in his office of wardenship ouer the west marches.

About the first day of March, the said lords came to the borders, about which time, the duke of Albanie considering that the warres betwixt Scotland and England were trisome to the nobles of the realme, because the same wars were taken in hand chiefly to serue the French kings turne, therefore he passed by the west seas into France. And in the beginning of March, where he was verie hartlie and gladlie receiued of the king, his request was onelie to haue five thousand horsemen, and ten thousand footmen of Almainis, to be transported into Scotland: and doubted not, if he might haue this granted, but that with that power, and the assistance of the Scots, he should be able to ouerthrow the king of England in battell, or else to driue him out of his realme. But the French king neither beleued this vaine brag, nor yet might spare anie such power, hauing warre at that time both against England, and the emperoz: neuertheless, he promised him some aid, whereupon the duke abode and waited for the same a long season. In the meane while, the lords of Scotland caused certeine noble men to lie vpon the borders moneith, in defense of the same against the Englishmen, daillie looking for support from France. Curie companie remained their moneiths, and then departed home as the custome is, and thus they continued still till September following. Much hurt was done on either part, and diuerse houses were overthrowne and destroyed both in England and Scotland.

During which time, the king of France prepared certeine ships, with men, and munition, to passe with the duke of Albanie into Scotland. But the king of England, to catch him by the way, had laid a great nauie of ships in the pale on the seas, as he should make his course. But the duke imbarquing himselfe with his people at West in Britaine, sailed by the west parts of Scotland: and the one and twentieth day of September landed at Birkowbie in the west part of Scotland; he brought with him (beside a good number of Frenchmen) Richard de la Poole, a man of great parentage, borne in England, and banished his countrie. Whilest the duke was on the sea making saille toward Scotland, the earle of Surreie, with an armie of twentie thousand men, entered into Scotland, and comming to Edinburgh, burned the towne and the abbey. [But Lesleus, lib. 9. pag. 407. saith it was Jedworth which the earle burnt.] It was thought they ment to haue passed further, but the Scottishmen assembling themselves against their inuasions, they were constrained to returne with losse (as some Scottishmen haue written.)

* In this place, Buchanan (before he commeth to the parlement assembled by the duke of Albanie after his returne out of France) writeth in this sort. We haue shewed (saith he) how miserable the state of Scotland was the last summer (through the dissention which was amongst the nobilitie) by the English (with all kind of slaughter) spoiling the places bordering nere vnto them, and besetting the

The earle of Northumberland made lord warden.

The earle of Surreie. The lord marquess Dorset. The lord Dacres.

The duke of Albanie goeth over into France. His request.

His vaine brag.

1523.

The borders watched.

The duke of Albanie returneth into Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Surreie in uadeth Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan, lib. 14.

1523.
The reple of a wife counsellor.

The gouernozs words to the presidents reple.

Means made by peace.

The lord Dacres.

the sea on euerie side, whereby we might be out of hope of all forren aid. For the deuile of the enimie tended to compell the fierce minds of the Scots (abated with such euils) to conclude a league with him; wherewith the Scots were not behind (by reason of the French faction) that by the means of the quene there might be a perpetuall truce taken betwene them. For when the lord Hume was (by death) taken away, the Dowglasse banished, and all the rest of the nobilitie rather met for compani-
10
ons than leaders in battels; such as had withdrawen their mind from the French, applied themselves to the quenes faction.

Whereupon the (to gratifie his brother, and to wrest all the gouernement into his owne hands) did (dissembling his greedie desire to rule) persuaue them, to deliuer their sonne (almost now past childish peares) out of the hands of strangers, and them selues from the yoke of other mens bondage. For the quene did well foresee, that preparation and suc-
20
cor was made, and did come against his husband; whome before she had begun to hate extreamelie. The king of England also did commend and prefer to the Scots the counsell of his sister, by manie letters sent, and with faire promises offered; because he had none other mind, but that a perpetuall friend-ship might alwaies remaine betwene the adioined
30
kingdoms; the which, as he had at other times desired; so now he mostlie wished it, not for anie commoditie to himselfe, but to the end that all men might well perceiue that he would embrace, defend, and as much as rested within his abilitie, seeke the commoditie of his sisters sonne by all the means he might. And if the Scots would persuaue themselves to breake the league with the French, and ioine in amitie with the English; they should shortly well vnderstand, that the king of England did not seeke
40
after souereingtie, glorie, power, or honoz; but onelie studied for a concord amongst themselves, & a league betwene their nations. For which cause, he would bestow his onelie daughter Marie vpon James the king of Scotland; by which marriage, the Scots should not be subiect to the gouernement of England; but contrarie, the English vnder the rule of the Scots. For by that means, besides the quenching of great hatred betwene the nations (and intercourse of merchandise, exchange of mutuall courtesies and ioinings in affinitie) there should be an indissoluble knot made for the honoz of the whole Island.

And with this, they (for England) remembred the profit and disadvantage that might rise to the one
50
from other, by the friendship or hatred of either kingdom, and the benefit that they might looke for from their English neighbours, more than by anie possibilitie they might obtaine from their French confederats. For on the one side, the English and they were borne in one continent, brought vp vnder the same influence of the heauen, and so like in all things, in tong, in manners, in lawes, in decrees, in countenance, in color, and in lineaments of bodie, as that they rather seeme one than two na-
60
tions. On the other side, the French are not onelie different from them, by naturall soile and clemencie of the heauens; but more seuered from them in order and forme of lining, being further such a people, as if they were enimies vnto them, they could not greatlie hurt them; and if they be their friends they can not greatlie helpe them. But the English are at hand with men, munition, and monie; when the French, being so far off, are onelie with allurements, inforcements, and for their owne commoditie drawn to take their part. Besides which, there can be no succor from France but by sea, which the enimie may easilie stop; and so the Scots not able

to be succored by them. But from the English they may haue aid by land with speed, and no man can hinder them thereof. Wherefore they should consider how discommodious (for the dispatch of their affairs) and how vnapt (for the defense of themselves) it should be, to hang all the hope of their succor vpon the fauor of the wind, and to place the most suertie of their estate in the vnconstant friendship of the vn-
70
certeine elements. For (if neuer before) yet at this time the Scots might not onlie perceiue in thought but feele in deed what helpe is to be hoped (in present dangers) from absent friends, when that the English can not onelie helpe you now, but at this instant do also keepe away your promised and long expected aid, which they haue so besieged vpon the sea, that you can receiue no benefit or helpe from them.

After that these things were thus laid abroad for the knitting of the English league, as there were not a few which gaue consent to that motion, so were there manie that stille argued to the contrarie. For
80
in that assemblie, there were manie pensioners of the French faction, who (increasing their priuat commoditie by the publike detriment) did vtterlie abhor from all peace; besides whome, there were also some, which suspected the facilitie of promise in the English: especiallie, since the whole estate of England did then chieselie hang vpon the backe of Thomas Wolseie the cardinall, an euill and ambitious person, and who referred all counsels and consulta-
90
tions to the amplifieng of his owne priuat authoritie and dignitie; and for that cause, applied that and all other things to euerie blast of fortune. All our men although they were moued by diuerse reasons (as the varietie of diuerse wits bred diuerse minds) did yet with like endeuor tend vnto one end, which was alwaies to defend the French league; for they denied, that the same sudden liberalitie of the enimie, could anie way sort to their benefit; since this was not the first time that the English had vsed that policie to intrap vnwarie men: as did Edward the first, who (swearing and binding himselfe with all
100
bonds of law, when he was chosen an arbitrator to cease the strife of the kingdom of Scotland) did with great iniurie make a king of Scots at his pleasure: and of late also, Edward the fourth king of England (when he had promised his daughter Cecillie to the sonne of James the third) did (the maid being readie for the marriage) dissolve the same, by taking occasion of warre through our ciuill dissensions. According to which, the English do now also
110
seeke none other matter, than (casting a vaine hope before vs to gouerne them, to bring vs into right seruitude; and (when we are destitute of all forren helpe) to oppresse vs with all the power of their kingdom.

Neither is that true also (wherein the chieffest strength of their speech consisteth) that the aid of our neighbors nere at hand, is better or surer to vs than further friendship. For how may we looke for anie
120
good from those our neighbors, since commonlie amongst neighbors there neuer want occasions of dissention; which oftentimes chance bringeth forth, and the stronger (hauing small or no occasion) will manie times seeke to offer: at what time, he which is greatest in armes, must & will appoint lawes of agreement as seemes best to his liking. Beside, there was neuer yet so sacred or firme a bond of amitie betwene adioining kingdoms, which was not oftentimes broken, either by offered or sought occasions of displeasure & breach: neither is it to be hoped, that the English will abstaine from offering violence vnto vs; that haue not spared the blood of so manie of their owne kings. For the sanctitie of leagues, & the religion of an oth, and the faith of compacts
130
and

where the English haue killed one, the Scots haue murdered ten as the course of their histories will well proue.

David Car. warre castell besieged.

The earle of Surrie with an armie of fiftie thousand men. The marquis Doflet appointed to keepe Berwick.

The earle of Surrie with an armie of fiftie thousand men. The marquis Doflet appointed to keepe Berwick.

The Scots and French retire backe our the water.

and com-
amon
are ne-
be offe-
intur-
boun-
mane

An
yet th
fores
spend
ment
other
new
say;
not be
ment
nessli
done
Fren
thus
speak
med
were
opini

Eden
real
the g
bare
ring
fied
same
mem
part
dit w
his d
sem
down
with
rance
armi
fenti
and f
Two
great
and s
got o
was
uing
ozs,
neces
kin
may
ging

The
Eng-
men
and
com-
least
mean
barn
as th
fell
artill
Two
the s
lacke
Grea
does
adail
next
and

and covenants, are in truth firme bonds of amitie amongst the good: but amongst the wicked, they are nets to intrap others, if occasion of commoditie be offered for breach of them. All which benefits and injuries, doe dwell in people, whome nearnesse of bounds, conuersation of language, and not unlike manner of life hath ioined together.

And if all these things should be far otherwise, yet there be two things which we ought speciallie to foresee and provide for; whereof, the one is, that we spend not our time in baine by chiding and disagreement, as persons drawn into diuerse factions; the other, that we reject not our old friends (for this new alliance) before we haue heard what they can say; especiallie in such a cause (as this) which may not be determined, but by the consent of the parliament. Upon which, the French followers did earnestlie stand, that there should not arise thing be done therein; and therefore sent certaine of the French aid as ambassadors about the cause. This thus ended, and the coming of the gouernour spread abroad, the same made manie glad, confirmed the doubtfull thereof, and withdiu others (that were inclined to the English part) from the same opinion they were of.]

The duke immediatlie after his arrivall came to Edinburgh, where he caused all the lords of the realme to assemble in that towne, where he declared the great loue and affection that the king of France bare to the realme of Scotland, inso much as hearing of the slaughters, murders and burnings, practised by the Englishmen, he thought that he felt the same done vnto him, reputing himselfe one of their members. And for reuenging thereof, he would be partner with them as their member: for more credit whereof, he shewed the kings letter, confirming his declaration. He therefore exhorted them to assemble an armie, in reuenge of injuries & wrongs done to them and their countrie; for he had brought with him monie, men, and artillerie to the furtherance thereof. Hereupon it was concluded, that the armie should assemble at Dowglasdale the eightieth of October: the which conclusion they kept, and from thence they marched to Caldreame vpon Tweed, and sent ouer the water certaine of their great artillerie, with a companie of Frenchmen and Scots, by the guiding of David Carr, and being got ouer, they lay siege to the castell of Marke, which was kept by sir William Lile capteine thereof, hauing with him a strong garrison of English soldiers, and great provision of artillerie, and all things necessarie: yet at the first assault, the vtter barke him was wonne, and the said companie of Scottishmen and Frenchmen lay within the same, indamaging the castell in all they might.

The earle of Surrie and diuerse others of the English nobilitie, with an armie of fortie thousand men, were at Antwoike, not far distant from Marke, and the marquesse Dorset was sent with a great companie to keepe the towne of Bertwoike, for doubt least the same should haue bene besieged. Also in the meane time, a new assault was made to the inner barnekin of Marke, and the same wonne likewise as the other had bene before. After this was the castell assailed, and part of it beaten downe with the artillerie lieng on the Scottish side of the water of Tweed. At which breach, the assault was giuen, and the same continued, till that through darkness and lacke of light, the assailants were driuen to retire. Great slaughter was made at that assault on both sides, but especiallie of them within the house. The assailants went to haue giuen a fresh assault the next day, being the fourth of November: but a boie and vehement storme and tempest of rain & thunders

that night, so that they were constrained to leane off that enterprise, and to get themselves ouer the river againe vnto the armie, leaſt by the rising of the water of Tweed, they might haue bene cut off by their enemies, before they could haue bene succoured.

In the meane time, whilst this siege continued, a number of Scottishmen made a road into the countrie of Glendale within the English marches, and burnt and spoiled diuerse townes, cast downe sundrie piles, and returned without anie resistance: for the earle of Surrie would suffer none of his people to depart from the armie, nor breake order, for feare of more inconuenience. The duke of Albanie lieng on the Scottish side of Tweed, sent an herald vnto the earle of Surrie, willing him to call to remembrance, how in his absence he had invaded Scotland with fire and sword: for the which cruell dealing, he required him vpon his honor to come forward, and he would meet him in the confines of both the realmes, and giue him battell. To the which message the earle answered, that he had no commission to invade Scotland at that time, but it onlie to defend. And (as some haue reported) he caused a secret messenger to passe to the quene, as then lieng a good way distant from the armie, to moue for some abstinence and truce, and further to persuaſe the duke to retire home; which he did, so that by his labor, a truce was taken for that instant, and afterward confirmed for a longer time: and thus the duke returned with honor (as the Scottishmen report.) This truce was well kept all the next winter following, and no invasion made, till the moneth of Maie: and then was the earle of Surrie sent againe to the English borders, and the lords of Scotland on the other part monethlie laie on their borders by quarters, for defense of their countrie, as the use is.

On Trinitie sundae, being the one and twentieth of Maie, five hundred Scots entered England, to surprize the English merchants, and others, going that day vnto Bertwoike, where pærelie on that day the faire is kept; and so by reason thereof they met with diuerse of them that went to this faire, and toke to the number of two hundred prisoners, whom they led with them into Scotland. But Hall saith, that by the coming of the young lord of Fulberie to the succors of the Englishment, the Scots were chased, and lost two hundred of their numbers. On the first of Iulie, sir William Fenwike, Leonard Pulgrau, & Bastard Heron, with diuers other, to the number of nine hundred Englishmen, entered into the Herts, and began to spoile and rob the countrie: but they were shortly compassed about with Scottishmen, & so hardlie assailed, that although they fought valiantlie a good while, yet by fine force they were compelled to giue ground, and ſake to ſaue themselves by flight, in which two hundred of them were taken prisoners, and Bastard Heron with diuerse other slain. Amongest the prisoners, were sir Rafe Fenwike, Leonard Pulgrau, and diuers other gentlemen of good calling.

On the ſeuententh of Iulie, the lord Marwell, and sir Alexander Fordeir, with diuerse other Scottishmen in great numbers, entered England at the west marches by Caerleill, with displayed banners, and began to harrie the countrie; and burne diuers places. The Englishmen assembled on euerie side, so that they were farre more in number than the Scottishmen, and there vpon set fiercelie vpon their enemies, inso much that for the space of an houre, there was a foie fight continued betwixt them: But the lord Marwell like a right politike capteine (as of all that knew him he was no lesse reputed) ceased not to encourage his people: After that, by the taking of

Glendale
burned by
the Scots.

In herald
sent.

A truce.

See more of
this matter in
England.
1524.

Scots enter
into England

Englishmen
invade Scots
land.

English men
discomfited.
Bastard Heron
slaine.

1524.
Foure thou-
sand saith Hal,

The lord
Marwell in-
uaded Eng-
land.

David Carr,
warke castell
besieged.

The earle of
Surrie with
an armie of
fortie thou-
sand men.
The marquesse
Dorset appoint-
ed to keepe
Bertwoike.

warke as-
saulted.

The Scots
and french
retire backe
ouer the
water.

re the
with haue
d one, the
to haue
thered ten
e course
eir hist-
will well
ic.

of Alexander Fordein & diuers others, they had bin put backe, he brought them in araine againe, and beginning a new skirmish, recovered in maner all the prisoners, toke and slue diuerse Englishmen, so that he returned with victorie, and led about three hundred prisoners with him home into Scotland.

After this iourneie, there was an assemblie of the lords in Edinburgh, with the duke of Albanie, where some of the lords were of mind that the warre should continue: other thought it not reason, that for the pleasure onelie of France, the realme should suffer such damage, as it had done by those three last yeres wars now passed, and therefore they persuaded peace. Moreover, there was also much debating of the matter, touching the age and gouernement of the king; some of the lords holding that he was now of age to take the rule vpon himselfe, and that the guardianship or tutorie of a king expired sooner than of another private person. The duke of Albanie perceiving how the lords were diuided amongst themselves, and neither content with his gouernement, nor willing to mainteine the warres which he had so earnestlie persuaded for the pleasure of France, he declared to them that he wold returne into France, and so taking his leaue of the nobilitie, went to Striueling where the king was, of whome he toke leaue, also giving vnto him such louing and faithfull counsell, as to his knowledge seemed expedient, and so went into the west countrie, where he toke the seas in September, and sailed forth into France, [never to returne into Scotland.]

The king of England [before the rumoz of the departure of the duke of Albanie] hauing in the moneth of June sent ouer into France, vnto Archembald earle of Angus, that remained there vpon the commandement of the duke of Albanie, persuaded him to come from thence secretlie into England, which accordingle he did; and being safelie arriued in England, king Henrie procured him to passe into Scotland, that with the assistance of such lords as would be readie to take his part, he might raise war against the duke of Albanie, which sought by all meanes (as the king of England was informed) to destroye him & his: but per the earle could come into Scotland, the duke was departed toward France. On the fir and twentieth of Iulie, the king by the aduise of his mother, and certeine young lords, came from Striueling vnto Edinburgh; and three daies after, the queene toke the whole gouernment of the king vpon hir, and entered into the castell of Edinburgh with the king, where they sojourned the most part of the next winter. The prouost of Edinburgh was discharged, whom the towne had chosen, and the lord Marcell was appointed by the queene, prouost in his place. For the performance thereof, there was a parlement also summoned to be holden at Edinburgh the third day of Februarie next ensuing (and the bishop of saint Andrews and Aberdeen (as saith Buchanan li. 14.) were cast into prison, who after gathering armes (and cursing all others) within the space of a moneth following were reconciled to the king.)

The king of England glad to heare that the duke of Albanie was departed into France, sent into Scotland in ambassage one maister John Pagnius, and Roger Ratcliffe esquier, to declare vnto the queene and lords, that he would be content that a truce might be accorded betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, now that the duke of Albanie was returned into France, who had bene the onlie procurer of the warres. Herevpon they agreed to take truce to indure for one yere; and in the meane time they appointed to send ambassadoys into England to treat vpon a continuall peace, all

ance, and amitie to be had betwixt both the realmes. In this meane while, the earle of Angus came into Scotland: and because of the displeasure which the queene bare him, there ensued occasions of great diuisions within the realme. Notwithstanding the queene by aduise of certeine lords, sent the lord Gilbert earle of Cassels, Robert Cocksborne bishop of Dunkeld, and doctor Wille abbat of Cambuskenneth, ambassadoys into England, in the moneth of December; the which were receiued at Greenwich by the king of England the foure and twentieth of the same moneth: where the bishop of Dunkeld made an eloquent oration in Latine, declaring the cause of their coming, the which in effect was for intreatment of peace, loue, and amitie betwixt the two realmes: and for the more sure establishment thereof, they required that a mariage might be concluded betwixt their king & the ladie Marie, daughter to the king of England.

This request was well heard by the king, who therevpon appointed commissioners to common thereof with the said ambassadoys. Diuerse articles were proponed by the said commissioners on the king of England his behalfe, and in especiall one; which was, that the king of Scotland should renounce the league with the king of France; and that further he should come into England, and remaine there till he came to perfect age to be married. Because the ambassadoys had not commission to conclude so farre, the earle of Cassels returned into Scotland, to vnderstand the minds of the lords and counsell in these points, the other remaining at London till his returne to them againe. * Upon All saints day there was a great motion of wind, with such stormes and tempests of thunder and lightning which suddenlie arose, that the same (ouerthrowing manie priuat houses in Edinburgh, and the pinnacle of the tower of David in the same castell) entered into the queenes lodging with a great flame, which burnt so vehementlie, and went so farre, that it had almost consumed the same; which stozme (ouerthrowing the buildings about the chamber of the bishop of Whitchurch) the bishops lodging did yet remaine safe not touched with the violence of the flame.)

When the day of the parlement appointed to be holden in the Tolbuth of Edinburgh was come, the king, queene, and lords, fearing some tumult in the towne to be raised by the earle of Angus, would not passe forth of the castell, but kept the parlement within the same. Archembald Dologlas earle of Angus, and John Stewart earle of Lennox, with diuerse others, to the number of two thousand men, came in the night season vnto Edinburgh, because they durst not enter the towne in the day time, for feare of the gunnes that laie in the castell. The next day, being the fourteenth day of Februarie, the said earles with the archbishop of saint Andrews, the bishop of Aberdeen, that by the queenes appointment had bene kept before in ward, the bishop of Dunblane, Calene Campbell, the earle of Argile, and diuerse other lords and barons being in the towne, sent to the castell, alledging that the king was kept as prisoner by the queene, and iustice suppressed, with great damage of the common wealth; and therefore he desired, that the king might be deliuered vnto them, to be gouerned by the aduise of the three states, and if they refused to deliuer him, they would besiege the castell, and if they won it, all their liues within should rest at their pleasures, the kings onelie excepted.

The queene, by the counsell of the earles of Ar. rane and Murray, refused not onelie to deliuer the king, but sent them word, that except they did depart the towne, they would suerlie discharge all the

Ambassadoys
into England

Fr. Thin.
1525.
Lesseus lib. 9.
pag. 414.

Candida Casa.

The earle of
Angus his
request.

He forseteth
the castell of
Edinburgh.

The parties
are agreed.

Counsellors
appointed.

Truce re-
newed.

Lesseus lib. 9.
pag. 417.

The king not
in his owne
power.

The queene
mother in
armes.

artillerie
great sea-
burchesse
that trau-
was tak-
meane t
to be for-
be suffer-
might so-
person. &
the foure
came vnto
most hon-
states, &
before his
abbie, &

In the
to be of
gouern-
these: &
cote, &
earles of
queene
whose ad-
lement
swore to
the ninth
knowle-
battell
tie of n-
daught-
affirme-
the bassado-
ring of
mariag-
queene
died the
Lesseus
of the k-
out the
vpon the
king, &
toke the
and his
Dologlas
necessar-
his bzo-
nor, &

drewe:
rep. re-
ged the
earle o-
they se-
him. &
swore h-
of Ang-
his ha-
sundre
red, &
an arm-
that th-
they ra-
lithge-
they n-
his ha-
and o-
came
and by
gainst
The
in the
kings

An assemblie
of the lords.

The duke of
Albanie re-
turneth into
France.
Fr. Thin.

The earle of
Angus com-
meth into
England.

The queene
taketh the go-
uernment in-
to hir hands.

A parlement
summoned,
Fr. Thin.

A truce taken
for one yere.

artillerie of the castell against them. Hereupon, great feare rose in the towne, spectallie among the burgesles, but by the diligence of certeine persons that trauelled betwene the parties, an assurance was taken on either side for certeine daies. In the meane time, the earle of Angus caused the castell to be forset, that neither meat nor other thing might be suffered to be conueied into it, except so much as might serue for the sustentation of the kings owne person. At length, all the parties were agreed, so that the foure and twentieth day of Februarie, the king came vnto the parlement holden in the Colbuth in most honozable wise, with the assistance of all the estates, hauing the crowne, scepter, and sword borne before him, and from thence he was brought to the abbey, where he remained.

In this parlement, there were eight lords chosen to be of the kings priuie counsell, the which toke the gouernement of the king and realme vpon them, as these: the archbishops of saint Andrews and Glasgow, the bishops of of Aberdeen and Dunblane; the earles of Angus, Argile, Arrane, and Lennor: the queene was adioined to them as principall, without whose aduise nothing should be done. From this parlement also was the earle of Castles sent, with answer to the king of England; who came to London the nineteenth of March. But because the king had knowledge that the French king was taken at the battell of Baue, he would not proceed in the treatie of mariage betwixt the king of Scotland and his daughter, till he had the emperors aduise, whome he affirmed to be his confederat friend: and so renewing the truce for thre yeers and six moneths, the ambassadors returned into Scotland about the beginning of Aprill next ensuing, without any contract of mariage at that time. The agreement betwixt the queene and lords continued not long; for anon after died the bishop of Dunblane or Dunkeld (as faith Lesleus) whose benefice the earle of Angus obtained of the king for his brother William Dowglas, without the aduise of the queene and other lords. Whereupon the queene departed and went vnto Striueling, leaving the king with the earle of Angus, who toke the whole rule and gouernment of the realme and king vpon him, and made his vncle Archembald Dowglas treasurer of the realme, and bestowed benefices, offices, and all other things, by the aduise of his brother George Dowglas, and the earle of Lennor, who assisted him.

In this meane time, the archbishop of saint Andrews, and the earles of Arrane, Argile, and Murray, remaining with the queene at Striueling, alleged that the king was withholden from them by the earle of Angus for against his will: and therefore they sent vnto the earle, requiring him to deliuer him. But the earle caused the king to giue the answer himselfe, that he would not come from the earle of Angus, albeit he would gladlie haue bene out of his hands if he might; as by secret messages sent to sundrie of the lords, and likewise at that time it appeared, for he willed them by priuie meanes to assemble an armie, and to come & fetch him out of their hands that thus detained him. Hereupon shortly after, they raised a power, and comming therewith to Linlithgow, purposing to passe into Edinburgh, that they might get the king out of the earle of Angus his hands: the said earle, with the earle of Lennor and other his assistants being thereof aduertised, came to the field with the kings banner displayed, and brought the king with him, although partly against his will.

The queene and such lords as were with her there in the armie, for the reuerence they bare vnto the kings person, and also fearing the danger that might

chance to them if they buckled together in a fough-ten field, they withdrew themselves to Striueling, and from thence the queene went into Murray land with the earle of Murray, and there remained a long time after. The earles of Arrane and Argile went into the west countrie, and the bishop of saint Andrews to Dunfermling: and then the earle of Angus took vpon him more boldlie the gouernment of the king and realme, and sent to the bishop of saint Andrews (who was chancelor) for the great seale, which was deliuered to them that were so sent for it. The nobles of the realme remaining thus at variance, and diuided among themselves, there was small obedience of lawes & iustice. Diuerse slaughters in sundrie parts were committed, great thefts & robberies made by the borderers vpon the inland countries. Moreover, a diuorse this yeere (as some haue said) was sued before the archbishop of saint Andrews, betwixt the queene, and the earle of Angus her husband, and then afterwards she toke to husband one Henrie Stewart, sonne to the lord of Arundale, the which Henrie was after created by the king lord of Methuen.

On the foure and twentieth of Iulie, the king being accompanied with the earle of Angus, the lord Hume, the Barres & others, rode vnto Jedburgh, in purpose to haue reformed the misgouernance of the borderers; but after that they had remained there thre daies with little obedience shewed towards them, they all returned. And vpon the 29 day of Iulie, at the bridge of Melrose, the lord of Wocclough, accompanied with a thousand horsemen, began to shew himselfe in fight, whose principall purpose was to haue taken the king from the earle of Angus and his assistants, being requested and commanded by the king himselfe so to do. The earle of Angus incontinentlie sent an herald vnto the lord of Wocclough, to know what his intention was to do; who answered, that he came to do the king honor and seruice, and to shew his friends and power as the vse is of the borderers.

The earle of Angus, with the lord Hume, and the rest, not being content with this answer, because of the great feud betwixt him and the Humes, and the Barres, sent vnto him a commandement in the kings name to depart, and not to approach nere to the kings presence, vnder paine of high treason. Wherevnto he answered, that he knew the kings mind well enough & would not spare for this commandement to come to his graces presence. Which answer receiued from him, incontinentlie the earle of Angus, the lords Fleming and Hume, the Barres, the lord of Selsford, with their friends, alighted on foot; the king remaining on horsebacke, accompanied with the earle of Lennor, the lord Marwell, George Dowglas, and Sirian Crichton, tutor of Sainquhar.

The lord of Wocclough lighted also on foot, but because the most part of his men were of the theues and outlatres of the borders, commonlie called broken men, vpon their first comming to ioining with their speares, they fled, leaving the lord of Wocclough with a small number of his owne seruants about him in all the danger: yet they defended themselves verie manfullie, and slue the lord of Selsford and diuerse other, on the earle of Angus his side: but finally, oppressed with multitude, they were put to flight, and foure score of Woccloughes men slaine in the chase. After this, the king returned to Jedburgh, and remained there the space of foure daies, and then returned to Edinburgh.

All this while, the king was gouerned and holden against his will, by the earle of Angus and his assistants, although he did not outwardlie shew so in countenance, but dissembled the matter as well as he might,

G. j.

The great seale deliuered

A diuorse betwene the queene and the earle of Angus.

1526.

The lord of Wocclough his enterprize, to take the king from the earle of Angus.

The lord of Selsford slaine. The lord of Wocclough put to flight.

The earle of
Lennor ga-
thereth a pow-
er.

The earle of
Arrane ga-
thereth a
power.

The earle of
Lennor slaine
Fr.Thin.
Buchan.lib.14.

might, yet perceiuing two enterpises to haue qual-
led that had bene attempted for his deliuerance, he
thought to assaie the third; and hereupon, procured
the earle of Lennor to assemble an armie, with as-
sistance of the quene and hir friends, to helpe to de-
liuer him from the hands of his enimies. The earle
of Lennor did so, and came with such power as he
could raise from the west parts vnto Linlithgo. The
earle of Angus being aduertised, that the earle of
Lennor was gathering men, sent to the earle of Ar-
rane for aid, requiring him to come with such power
as he could make, and to meet him at Linlithgo. The
earle of Arrane immediatlie here with gathered a
power, and with the same came to Linlithgo before
the earle of Lennor came thither, who shortly after
comming with his people, approached that towne, vnto
whome the earle of Arrane sent a messenger, re-
quiring him to turne and saue his enterpise, assu-
ring him, that albeit he was his sisters sonne, he
would not spare him, if he held forward vpon his
iournie. The earle of Lennor herewith answered in
a great rage, that he would not staie, till he came to
Edenburgh, or else die for it by the waie. The earle
of Arrane therefore not staing for the earle of An-
gus his comming from Edenburgh, issued forth of
Linlithgo at the west end of the towne, and incoun-
tered the earle of Lennor and his companie, where
there was a cruell onset giuen on both sides, but sud-
denlie the earle of Lennor his companie fled, and he
himselfe with the lord of Hunsdon and diuerse other
gentlemen were slaine.

* The death of which Dowglas the king did great-
lie lament, and hearing the clamor and noise that
was made in that conflikt, did send forth (but all too
late) Andzeu Wood (his familiar) to haue succored
the Lennor, if by anie meanes he could. After this
victorie, the faction of the Dowglases (to the end
that striking a feare in those that were eniuous a-
gainst them, they might make them alwaies to be
in danger to them) began to moue questions and
sutes in law, against such as had boine armor a-
gainst the king: for feare whereof some bought their
peace with monie, some took part with the Dow-
glases, some followed the Hamiltons, and some
stille standing in the matter, were followed and cal-
led into the law. Of which number Gilbert earle of
Castles (when he was earnestlie pressed by James
Hamilton the bastard, to yeld himselfe to the part of
the Hamiltons) being a man of great stomach, gaue
this answer, that the old league of friendship, which
was betwene their grandfathers (in which his
grandfather was alwaies the more honorable and
first named) should not make him now so forgetfull
of the honor of his familie, that he would seeme to
degenerat from his ancestors, and willinglie grant
to be vnder defense (which is the next degree of
seruitude) of them, whose head in making an equall
league and couenant was contented with the second
place of honor.

Wherefore, when the said Gilbert appeared in the
law at the day appointed, for the deciding of his
cause: Hugh Kennedie his kinsman answered for
him, that he was present in that battell, as sent thi-
ther by the king, and not as enemie to the king, and
he would (if need required) bring forth the kings let-
ters therfore, notwithstanding the Hamiltons frow-
ning and fretting against his boldnesse: for the king
had writtten as well to Gilbert (going home) as to
manie others, to ioine with John Steward earle of
Lennor, who seeing the battell at hand, and that he
had not time left to call together his friends and fol-
lowers, did with his present companie (taking his
iournie out of the waie) turne to Striueling. Where-
fore (the power of the Hamiltons in that cause some

what supposed) James Hamilton the bastard stirred
with great hatred against Kennedie, did procure
Hugh Campbell thiriffe of Aire to dispatch him out
of the waie, which he shortly after did in his returne
home. Afterward this Hugh, to the end he might dis-
semble his conscience or knowledge of this kill (the
execution whereof he had committed to his fellowes)
was remaining at the day and tyme of the same
murder, with John Areskine, whose sister was the
wife of Gilbert Kennedie.

But the (as soone as the heard of that deed) did with
manie bitter words lay the fault vnto him, because
by that fact the noble house of the Kennedies had al-
most bene brought to utter subuersion, had he not
left a yong sonne behind him. This yong earle,
after the death of his father, fled to his kinsman Ar-
chibald Dowglas then the kings treasurer, to
whome he committed the defense of himselfe and his
familie. This done, Hugh Campbell was called in
to law for the said deed, who being manifestlie conui-
cted thereof, was banished into an other place. Nei-
ther did the Dowglases with lesse bitter nesse ex-
cuse their anger against James Beton, for bringing
their power to saint Andzeu, which they spoiled, as
after appereth.)

In the meane tyme, the earle of Angus bringing
the king with him, arrived, and had come to the bat-
tell, but that the king was not willing to come forth
of Edenburgh in that quarrell (as some haue writ-
ten) and therefore made excuses, as he did also by the
waie, faining himselfe sicke: but George Dowglas
droue and called vpon his horse verie sharpe, and
constrained him to ride forth with faster pace than he
would haue done, giuing him manie iniurious
words, which he remembred afterwards, and would
not forget them. They went that night to Striue-
ling, and shortly after passed through Fiffe, searching
for the quene, and the bishop of saint Andzeu, and
because they were kept secretlie in their friends hou-
ses, so that they could not be heard of, they spoiled the
abbete of Dunfirmeling, and the castell of saint An-
dzeu, taking a waie all the moueables which the
archbishop had within the same.

* In the north parts also, the two families of the
Lelles and the Forboises, intangled with mutuall
hatred, raised great flames of tumults and parts ta-
king: which enimities did after grow to be the grea-
ter, because there were daile manie slaughters of
the nobles: other people committed in Spar, War-
reoth, and Aberdeen, whilest ech faction labored to de-
send it selfe against the others. For which cause (when
the common-wealth was much deformed thereby,
and all iustice seemed almost vnto the ouerthrowne
in those parts) the earle of Angus and other of the no-
bilitie (which were of the kings priue counsell) did
not cease, vntill they had made vnitie betwene those
two families. But in the end (the heire of the For-
boises, & the lord Lentrake, hauing by wait killed the
noble baron Meldrum, which sauaged the Lelles)
those buried contentions began againe to be raised
from the dead; whose enimities being once againe
knowne to the nobilitie (and what hurt might inue-
nient to the common state) they attempted all pos-
sible means once more to quench that deable flame,
and afresh to ioine their minds together in amitie,
with this promise, that the murderers of Meldrum
should (for punishment of their offense) be banished
into France, where the greatest part of them died,
after manie miseries and reproches sustained in their
pitifull life. Which last league so sincerelie vnitied be-
twene the Forboises and the Lelles, was embraced
with such faith ech to other, by renewing thereof with
continuall marriages & other courties, that it conti-
nueth most firme even vnto this day.

The death of
the earle of
Castles.

The quene
sought for.

Fr.Thin.
Lelles lib.9.
pag.423.

1526.

1520.
Lelles lib.9.
pag.423.
14, &c.

Rochmurcose

New tumults
in that fami-
ly.

The familie
of Againt of
the raile scot-
tions.

lie follo-
erred so
all thin-
other of
tell and
spakin
familie
was su-
kindred
spakin
excele-
great
ers wh
her's t
He bea-
sed the
of man
James
after t
of the
spakin
insue
Rochm
But the
part su-
king t
manie
nesse
die, f
feare
subie
brothe
che) to
yong
the g
that i
the ra
that i
nie tr
of hir
that i
gildin
shoul
cepts
was
subiti
that
he at
again
salue
some
and l
child
that
ther
men
gram
him
mean
deter
by an
liam
they
spoil
rie;
ging
cruel
misc
and
batu

In which north parts also, the inhabitants (partly following their naturall disposition, and partly created by the example of the former times long suffered to be viced in like sort ouerrun and spoile all things, by reason of ouermuch libertie. But of all other this raised in those parts, that was the greatest and most troublesome, which was raised by the Makintoshes. Of which vnicillie people, the one familie was called the Glencatheris, and the other was surnamed Makintoshes after the head of that kindred; in which, the chiefe was called Lachlan Makintosh a man of great possessions, and of such excellencie in singularitie of wisdome, that with great consideration he did containe all his followers within the limites of their dieties, more than others did. Which constraints (when they could hardly beare (as loth to live in order) having so long passed their time licentiouslie) did withdraw the hearts of manie men from him. Amongest whome was James Maccolmeson his kinsman (who thirsting after the desire to rule) took occasion (by the intrie of the time) traitorouslie with deceit to kill this Makintosh; after which (fearing further trouble to insue towards him) he fled to the Ile (at the lake Rothmurcosie) as a sanctuarie or defense for him. But the rest of the familie of the Makintoshes did pursue him with such eager minds, that by force taking him in the Ile, they worthilie killed him, and manie of his confederats, guiltie of that wickednesse. After which (because the sonne of Makintosh, for his tender yeares, was not sufficient with feare & punishment to brydle the minds of his fierce subiects) by common consent they chose the bastard brother of the slaine man (called Hector Makintosh) to be head and leader of that familie, untill this young nephew might grow to yeres, and might wield the gouernement of his owne tribe.

Now when the earle of Murray perceived that if the sonne of Makintosh were committed to the rashnesse of a people somewhat fierce and cruell, that he should (on euerie side) be oppressed with manie troubles, he did most goble (for the care he had of him his nephew being his sisters sonne) provide, that he should be caried to an other place, to the Agilues, the childes kin on the mothers side, where he should be well instructed and imbued with the precepts of all learning and vertue. Whereat Hector was greatlie offended, to see that the child should so subtilie be taken from him. Wherefore (affirming that much of his authoritie was thereby diminished) he attempted (euerie way he might) to get the child againe into his possession, that thereby he might salue and recouer his credit and authoritie. But some there were, which supposed that the great care and labor which he so much employed (for getting the child into his hands) was to none other intent, but that he might make him awaie, and prepare a path whereby to lead his owne sonne to the gouernement of that familie. Which conceipt being deeplie graven in the mind of the earle of Murray, caused him to seeke the preservation of the child, that by no means he might fall into the hands of Hector.

Wherewith Hector being highlie incensed (and determining to spue out his choler, seeking reuenge by anie kind of means) he did cause his brother William & other of his kindred, that joining their force, they might stronglie ber the earle of Murray, and spoile his possessions: which they did with so great furie, that ouerthrowing the fort of Dikes, and besieging the castell of Tynnehaie, they executed manie cruelties, slaughters, spoiles, burnings, and other mischiefs vpon all sorts of people, men, women, and children, and all such as fauored them. For their hatred not limited against the earle of Murray, ex-

tended further against the familie of the Agilues, amongest whome the child was left in custodie for education cause. With which mind this Hector and his complices placing their campe at the castell of Bertens, which belonged to the lord of Durness (one of the familie of the Agilues) they did so furiously besiege the same; as the people of the same were in the end forced to yield the fort: which when they had entred, they killed foure and twentie of the Agilues; whome they found therein. Whereupon (their miens being now aduanced with spoiles and happie successes) they became so proud, as (trusting ouermuch to prosperous euent in all their actions) they neuer set end to their wicked crueltie, untill the erle of Murray did with force execute iust judgement vpon them. For when the earle beheld their immoderate reioysing, in spoiling his lands; and committing other excessiue evils; he obtained of the king and his counsell, that he might be made the kings deputie and gouernor in that battell, to handle the rage and boldnesse of those in that order spoiling the common-wealth.

Wherefore the earle assembling an armie, did with such speedie valure come vpon them and their countrie, that at the first he took almost two hundred of their capitains, and committed them to the gallows. All whose faith was so true to their captainie, as (when life was scuerallie promised to euerie one man as he was alone lead to the gallows) there would not anie one of them confesse where their capitaine Hector had hidden himselfe. For euerie one answered (with bold spirit) that they knew not where he was become; and if so be they did, that yet they would not (by anie paine or terrore of death) be induced to breake their faith and to betraie their maister. But hanging not being thought a sufficient reuenge (for such capitains as the earle had taken) there were more grauous punishments laid vpon William Makintosh (brother to Hector) because in the beginning he nourished those coles of choler for his brothers cause. For after that this William was hanged, his head was chopped off and fastened vpon a pole at Dikes, and the other foure parts of his bodie were sent to the towne of Elgin, Forresse, Inuernesse, and Alderne, there to be set vpon publikelie to the reproch of them, and the example of others.

Now, after all these sturs, Hector (seeing his men were thus disperfed and executed, and that himselfe was excluded from anie other succor) fled to the faithfull helpe of Alexander Dunbar deane of Murray, by whose aduise he goeth humbly and secretlie to the king, beseeching his mercie and fauor to be extended vnto him: for he supposed it better, rather to craue the doubtfull mercie of his lord, than to make triall of the earle of Murrays certaine reuenge. Whereupon the king (seeing his humble submission) receiued him into his fauor; and did with all his heart louinglie after embrace him, because he was valiant and wise in warre, and in counsell. But God, whose iustice is alwaies shewed in punishing of wickednesse, would not suffer this filthinesse of crueltie, theft, murder, & spoile (wherein Hector did wickedlie defile his life) to go vnuenged with most grauous paine vpon the said Hector. For in the citie of Saint Andrews, sudden death (than which there can be no greater punishment) was laid vpon him by one James Spense a priest, who was himselfe afterwards beheaded.

When the earle of Murray had shewed such reuenge vpon the friends of Hector and their companions; the people of the prouince of Glencatherie did from thenceforth keepe themselves within the limits of their dietie: untill that the sonne of Lachlan

Eg. ij.

wonderfull
faith of euill
men to their
captaine.

1520.
Tallus lib. 9.
pag. 423.
11. &c.

Rothmurcosie

How tumults
in that fami-
lie.

The familie
of Makintosh
the cause sedi-
tions.

lane Makintosh came to manhood and full age. Which young man was in his first yeares imbued with such learnings and policie of life conformed thereunto, that when he was implored about the common-wealth, all the capitaine of them (who naturally speake Irish in the furthest part of Scotland) did embrace him as a perfect paterne of all vertue, and an excellent workemaster to frame a well ordered state. Wherefore certeine (not able to susteine the brightnesse of his vertue) did joine in counsell with such as were nearest of blood unto him, and had before laid violent hands on his father, to take his life away by forceable means. Whereof we shall more liberallie intreat in an other place.]

This yeare the king by counsell of the earle of Angus, Arrane, and others, went with eight thousand men unto Jedburgh, to set some order amongst the borderers, for the keeping of better rule; and so on the eight of June, the principals of all the surnames of the clans on the borders, came to the king, binding themselves, and delivering pledges for their good demeanors. The seventeenth of July, there was a great assemble of the lords at Holie rood house, at what time, there came a simple fellow (to looke upon) servant and housekeeper sometime to the earle of Lennox, who in the midst of a great companie of people in the abbete close, strake sir James Hamilton knight verie desperatlie with a short pike or dagger in the bellie three severall stripes up to the haist, and yet the said sir James died not of those hurts.

The man being taken, by & by confessed the deed without repentance, saying; Why on the feeble hand quike wald not do that thing the heart thought, and was determinat to do. And being inquired what he was, and who caused him to do the same; he answered that he was a servant of God, sent by him to do that deed. And albeit he was put to great torture and paines daillie by the space of a moneth, yet would he neuer giue other answer, and so he was hanged, and his head set over one of the gates of Edinburgh towne. About the same time, there came out of Germanie master Patrike Hamilton, abbat of Ferne, brothers sonne to the earle of Arrane, who had bene scholer to Martin Luther, & others there. This man being conuenced and examined upon certeine articles, as of iustification, predestination, of free will, and such like, contrarie to the doctrine taught by the church in that time, because he did as firme, and constantlie defend them, he was declared an heretike and burned.

The eighteenth of March, the king besieged the castell of Edinburgh, the quene and hir husband Henrie Steward, with James his brother being within it. But as soone as the quene understood, that hir sonne the king was there in person, she caused the gates to be set open, and upon hir knees besought him of grace for hir husband and his brother, and would not rest, till she had obtained the same; but yet they were kept in ward within the castell, till the king afterwards released them. In the yeare following, the king being now come to the age of seuentene yeares, and of good discretion and wit for his time, would not longer remaine under the gouernement of the earle of Angus and his companie. Thereupon he assembled diuerse noble men of Striueling, & by their counsell sent an herald vnto the earle of Angus & his assistants resiant as then in Edinburgh, commanding them on paine of high treason, that they should depart forth of that towne, & that none of them should come within foure miles of the court, wheresoeuer the same chanced to lie.

Shortlie after, the king himselfe with two thousand men, followed the herald: whereupon the earle of Angus, both being charged by the herald, and ad-

uertised of the kings coming toward the towne, departed thence immediatlie. And shortly after, the same herald was sent vnto him againe with commandement from the king, that he should remaine prisoner within ward in the countie of Murray, till the kings pleasure were further knowne: which he would not obeie; wherefore both he and his adherents were summoned to appeare in parlement to be holden at Edinburgh, in September next following. In this parlement begun at Edinburgh the first of September in this yeare 1528, the earle of Angus, with his brother George Dowglas, his uncle by his father Archibald Dowglas, Alexander Drummond of Carnocke, and diuerse other, were by decre of parlement attainted, and forfeited for diuerse offences, and speciallie, for assembling the kings people to haue assailed the kings person; and because he had detained the king against his will with him the space of two yeares and more, all which time he stood in feare of his life.

In this parlement Henrie Steward the quenes husband was created lord of Methuen, and made master of the ordinance. Besides which, in place of earle Dowglas was Gavin Dunbar, the kings scholemaster made chancelor, a god and a learned man, and one in whome manie did desire more ciuill policie; and in the place of Archibald Dowglas the treasure was admitted Robert Carnicruce, more famous for his monie than his vertue. In this parlement there was onelie one found, called John Bannatine, who fauoring the Dowglas, did boldly there protest, that whatsoeuer was therein done, ought by no means to be hurtfull to the earle Dowglas; since iust feare of his appearance there, was a iust cause to force him to be absent from thence. With in a few daies after, a brother of the earles called William, abbat of the monastirie of Holiroud died, partlie by sicknesse, and partlie by griefe of mind, being wearied with the present state of things; whose place Robert Carnicruce, a man of base birth, but well monted, did obtaine of the king: who had granted vnto him the auoidance of the next spirituall liuing. At length, the Dowglas out of hope of all good successe, burnt the towne of Constandie and Cranfune, and so fled to the castell of Tantallon.]

In October following, the king assembled a great companie of men, with artillerie, and diuerse kinds of munition, to besiege the castell of Tantallon, which the earle of Angus did hold, who aduertised of the preparation made for the same siege, furnished the castell with men and all kind of necessaries, and went himselfe into England. When the siege then was laid about the castell, it was so strong and so well provided, that it might not be wone for all that could be done at that season; in somuch that after David Fauconer, principall gunner of the kings side was slaine, the king caused the siege to be raised; yet at length (though not till a long time after this) it was deliuered to the king by appointment. Before the deliuerie whereof, the king depelie swore that he would not leaue one alieue to succeed in the inheritance and name of the Dowglas, so long as he liued and was king.

Whereupon he came to Edinburgh, where (to the end he might distresse them the more) he determined by the aduise of his counsell to send a daillie companie (though no great number) to Coldingham, which should defend the husbandmen from the spoile. Which office appointed to Bothwell chiefe of Louthane, he did vtterlie refuse; either fearing the power of the Dowglas (whereunto all the other strength of Scotland did of late not seeme to be equal) or that he would not (being then young) imbue his hands with the destruction of so famous a familie. Whereupon,

1528.

The earle of Angus forfeited.

The earle of Angus attainted by parlement. Henrie Steward created erle of Methuen.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 14.

1529.

The earle of Cathnes passed over into Denie.

The earle of Cathnes slaine. The blindness of the Denie men.

An assemble of the lords.

King of thames.

Execution.

The earle of Bothwell conuict.

Fr. Thin. Sanctified the realm.

Fr. Thin. Other lords conuict, and put in ward.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 14.

John Scot taken forty daies without receiving any food.

1531. Buch.

1527. Lesle.

Sir James Hamilton hurt by a desperat person.

The abbat of Ferne burnt.

Edinburgh castell besieged. 1528 Lesle.

The king being seuentene yeares of age, refuseth to be longer under gouernement.

since the king durst not trust the Hamiltons (as friends to his enemies, & being offended with them for the death of John Stewart earle of Lennox, nor durst commit the matter to anie of the adioyning nobilitie) at length the same came so about, that Calene Campbell (dwelling on the furthest borders of the kingdome, being a man of good estimation for his wisdom, and approved experience in feats of warre, and for his iustice & delicatoued of the people) was sent by the king (with great authoritie) to the rebels. Whereby the Dowglasles (being forakers of the Hamiltons and their other friends) were brought to those extremitie, that they were enforced to depart into England to Is. Henrie the eight, who honorable and liberallie received and entertained them. After this, the king (as is said) getting the castell of Cantillone by composition, did scarce keepe all the covenants of his grant thereof in writing; although he performed this, that Alexander Dymman at the request of Robert Bretton, had licence to returne home into his countreie, a little before which (as it seemeth) when James Colquille and Robert Carnicruse were removed from the court (as persons suspected to fauor the Dowglasles) their offices were bestowed upon Robert Bretton, then in great fauor with the king and courtiers, and advanced to the gouernement of manie places.)

The eighteenth of Maie, in the yere 1529, the earle of Cathness and the lord of Sinclair, with a great armie by sea passed into Orkenie, to haue taken that Ile into possession; but the people of the countreie assembled at the commandement of James Sinclair of Kirkwall their capitaine, who gaue battell to the earle and his armie with such courage, that he discomfited the enemies: the earle with five hundred of his men was slaine, and drowned in the sea, vnto the which they were druen. The lord Sinclair and all the residue were taken. The Orkenie men held opinion, that their patrone saint Magnus was seene that day to fight in the field on their side against their enemies. In the same moneth on the fiftenth day, there was a great assemble of the lords in Edenburgh, where the king himselfe sat in iudgement. The lord of Winderland called Cockburne, and one Adam Scot of Tushlaw, who was named king of theues, were accused of theft, and of receiuing and maintaining of theues, slaughters, and other crimes; of the which being conuict, they lost their heads, which were set ouer the Tolbuith of Edenburgh.

On the same day, the earle of Bothwell was also conuict, for maintaining them and their crimes, and his life, lands, and goods, were in the kings hands. He was therefore kept in ward within Edenburgh castell, and after sent into Murray land, & lastlie banished the realme during the kings daies [and remained at Venice.] Also, the lord Partnell, the lord Hume, the lords of Balglueth, Fernihurst, Dollart, Holmton, Parke Bar [with the earle Bothwell] and other principall men of the borders, were conuict by assise, and put in ward: by reason whereof, the borders kept better rule euer after, during the kings reigne. [Few moneths after, the king commanded the noble men (before imprisoned, and then to be banished) to be restored to libertie, taking pledges for their allegiance. Of which companie, one Walter Scot (killing Robert Johnstone a thafe of noted crueltie, therewith to gratifie the king) began deadlie eninitie with that familie, to the great hurt of both those kindreds.]

About this season, a landed man named John Scot, that had travelled abroad in the world [ouer England, France, Italie and the holie land, as saith Lelous] who now being returned into Scotland, (because it was byted in other countries that he

had fasted 40 daies without either meat or drinke) was for triall therof put in Davids tower in Edenburgh castell, and diligent watch set vpon him to see that he had no sustenance to relieue him withall, and kept for fortie daies, he fasted all that time without anie kind of nourishment, to the great wonder of the people. In the summer of this yere 1529, Archembald Dowglas, that had bene forsaken (as ye haue heard) came alone to the king while he was on hunting in Striueling parke, & besought his grace of pardon, which he had obtained fullie at his hand; because he fauoured him more than anie of that surname, if he had not bene (as he was indeed) altogether determined that none of them should remaine within the land at that time, and so he banished him into France, where shortly after through griefe of mind he departed this life.

In the moneth of June, the king with an armie went to the borders to set order there for better rule to be kept, and to punish such as were knownen to be most culpable. And hereupon he caused fentie and eight of the most notable theues, with their capitaine John Armstrong to be apprehended; the which being conuict of murther, theft, & treason, were all hanged on growing trees, to the example of other. There was one cruell thefe amongst the rest, which had burned a house with a woman and his children within it: he was burned to death. George Armstrong, brother to John, was pardoned, to the end he should appeach the residue, which he did; so that they were apprehended by the kings commandement, and punished for their misdoings, according as they had deserved. In August following, manie meruellous sights were seene about Striueling, as candels burning on the tops of hills in the nights, and in the morning afore sunne rising. Diuerse armed men appeared fighting vpon the ground, which was taken to be a forgetoken of some trouble to insue in those parties. The fiftenth day of August, a great number of people being assembled at the market in Campscenneth, fiftie & two persons were drowned in the ferrie bote; amongst the which were diuerse honest men and women of the countreie.

The first of March, in the yere 1530, the abbat of Culrose called James Inglis, was cruellie murdered by the lord of Tullallan and his seruants, amongst whom there was a priest called sir William Louthien, for the which they were apprehended, and the said sir William the twentieth and twentieth of the same moneth, vpon a publike scaffold in Edenburgh was degraded (the king, queene, and a great companie of people being present) and after his degradation, he was deliuered to the earle of Argile high iustice, and the next day the said Tullallan and the same priest were beheaded. This yere the college court of iustice called the sessions was instituted in Edenburgh by the king, with consent of the three estates in parliament assembled, and after confirmed in Rome; in the which are fiftene counsellors ordinarie, eight of them being spirituall persons, of the which the most ancient is president, and seven temporall men, but so as by this number the chancellor of the realme is above the president, when he is present. There are also foure counsellors extraordinary, remouable at the princes pleasure. In the yere 1531, I find little done to make account of, for the erle of Angus remaining in England, could not persuade the king of England in his fauor to breake the peace with Scotland, though the same earle earnestlie laboured to bring that to passe.

The earle of Bothwell, for that he went priuie into Engl and (being supposed to haue had secret conference with the earle of Northumberland) he was the 16 kalends of Februarie committed to the castell

1529.

Archembald
Dowglas
banished.The king com-
meth to the
borders.Theues
hanged.Thefe burnt
to death.wonders
seene in the
firmament.A ferrie bote
drowned.

1530.

An abbat
murdered.The sessions
instituted.

1531.

Fr. Thin.
Buch., lib. 14
1532.1528.
The earle of
Angus for-
saken.
The earle of
Angus at-
tainted by
parlement.
Henrie Ste-
ward created
le of Weth-
ern.Thin.
uchanan,
b. 14.

1520.

The earle of
Cathness pas-
sed ouer into
Orkenie.The earle of
Cathness
slaine.
The blindness
of the Orkenie
men.An assemble
of the lords.King of
theues.

Execution.

The earle of
Bothwell
conuict.Fr. Thin.
Banished the
realme.Fr. Thin.
Other lords
conuict, and
put in ward.Fr. Thin.
Buchan., lib. 14.The castell of
Cantillon
besieged.Dault for-
warder slaine.Fr. Thin.
uchanan,
b. 14.John Scot
fasted fortie
daies without
receiving any
food.

1531. Buch.

castell of Edinburgh, & sir John Sandland knight was sent with authoritie to the hermitage (a castell in Liddelvale) to repress the spoiles and robberies committed there. When of ancient time there had bene no certeine daies and place appointed for the deciding of monie, contentions, or debts amongst the citizens and people of Scotland, John duke of Albanie obtained from the bishop of Rome, that a yarelie summe of monie (as much as should be sufficient to paie the stipend of a few iudges that should be appointed theretofore) should be leued of the cleargie, of euerie one according to his estate and substance. Whereupon Calvin Dunbar bishop of Aberdeen for himselfe in the name of the cleargie, appeared to the said bishop of Rome. Which controuersie continued from the first Ides of March, untill the tenth kalends of Maie, at which day the college of the iudges of Edinburgh was established, of whom in the beginning there were many profitable things done, and law was equallie ministred; but yet the same end did not follow which was then hoped amongst them. For since in Scotland there be almost no lawes but such as are decreed by parlement, which are not commonlie perpetuall, but made for a time; and that the iudges as much as in them lieth do hinder the making of such lawes: the goods of all men were committed to the arbitrement of fiftene men, which haue perpetuall power theretofore, being in truth but tyrannicall gouernment, since their one lie arbitrements must stand for law. Thus much Buchanan.

But because Lesleus treateth in moze ample and other sort of that matter; and for that I will not deprive the reader of the feuerall writings of them both touching one thing: I will also set downe Lesleus words, writing in this order. In this parlement (saith he) by the consent of the states, it seemed good that the forme of iudgement used by our ancestors should be taken away. For where certeine of the cleargie, of the barons, and of the citizens, were chosen euerie yere to trauell ouer the foure parts of the realme, to giue iudgement of ciuill causes (as they terme it) and of other things intangled with the controuersie of law; and that then it oftentimes happened, either by the ignorance of the iudge that did not attaine to the perfection of the law, or by the malice of them which were corrupted with bribes, that the weaker part had vniustlie the upper hand against the righter; to which discommoditie this was also ioined, that no cause could be well examined to the vttermost by one man at one time, because the iudges were so often changed; whereby it must needs follow, that seuerall iudges (hauing seuerall minds and wits) must for one matter giue inconstant & contrarie iudgements. Wherefore to take awaie this varietie of iudgements and other discommodities, theretowith the common-wealth was afflicted; it pleased the parlement by the perswasion of the king, that a certeine defined number of senators (being persons of the greatest knowledge in law) should haue a permanent place at Edinburgh, to decide all matters of controuersie, the maner & order whereof we haue set downe in our former booke, saith Lesleus. And I for my part thinke not vnnecessary for the moze explaining thereof, to set it downe in this place out of the same Lesleus.

The companie (saith he) of these men (whom we call the senat of the publike wealth) receiue none but such, whose praise of vertue and sharpenesse of wit (especially in matters of law) doth aduance them to that place. This court is so apted of the cleargie and secular nobilitie (as a man may fearme them) that the one part of the laitie doth answer the other number of the cleargie. Which we thinke to be

done by the great benefit of God, that the religion and simplicitie of the cleargie may temper the singular wisdom of the temporalltie, obtained by the experience of worldlie causes; and againe, the iudgement of the laitie may further and moderate the pure religion and ancient simplicitie of the cleargie.ouer all these is one chiefe and head (which is a spirituall man) who hath the highest place in sentence and pronouncing of iudgement; except the iudgement of the chancelor of the kingdome happen to come in place; for then therunto the Scots giue the chiefeest preheminance in all the affaires of the common-wealth. Thus much he.)

In the yere 1532, sir Arthur Darcie was sent to the borders, who being at Berwick, by the counsell of the earle of Angus then being there, they made a rode into Scotland, and burned certeine places; whereupon the Scots assembling themselves to defend their countrie, made towards the Englishmen, who retired themselves to Berwick againe. After this were diuerse inuasions made on euerie side by the borders, and ships likewise taken by sea, and yet no warre was proclaimed. In September, in the yere 1533, certeine commissioners of either realme were at Berwick, to intreat for a redress and recompense to be made for burning of townes and villages, taking of goods, casting downe of piles, taking of ships, slaughters of men, and diuerse other spoiles and iniuries done, as well by the sea as by the land, from the 23 day of Aprill in the yere 1532, unto the day of the meeting of the same commissioners; which dowings were little lesse in effect than had bene used in time of open warre, although the same was not proclaimed. Because therefore that the scathes & iniuries fell out to be so great on both sides, that particular redresse could not be had, the order thereof was referred to the pleasure of both the princes.

Further it was agreed, that for a perpetuall peace to be concluded, certeine commissioners should be appointed to treat therof at London, as afterwards they did. For the king of Scotland there were sent as commissioners about this treatie, William Stewart bishop of Aberdeen, Robert Reid the abbat of Binlos, and sir Adam Sterburie knight (as saith Lesleus li. 9. pa. 439.) Adam Otterburne (the which accompanied with diuerse other knights, barons, and gentlemen, came to London, and were there right honorablie receiued the 25 of March. After they had bene before the kings presence, there were certeine commissioners appointed by him to treat with them of peace, the which agreed vpon certeine conditions and articles for a peace to continue betwixt both kings during their naturall liues, and one yere after the decease of that prince which first chanced to depart this world: and so the commissioners returned into Scotland in the moneth of Maie next ensuing.

About the same time were sent into France Dauid Beton abbat of Arbroth, and James Erskine secretary, as ambassadoys to require the duke of Wandalines sister in marriage for the king: with which motion the ladie and hir friends were verie well contented. Neuertheless (as afterwards shall appeere) the king himselfe passing secretlie into France in proper person, when he had once sene the ladie, he liked hir not; & so became a sutor to the French king his eldest daughter Magdalen, whome he obtained: wherefore the duke of Wandalines sister would neuer after match hir selfe with anie other in marriage, but professed hir selfe in a house of religion, where she remained the residue of hir life time. The king of England sent ambassadoys into Scotland, the bishop of Duresme, sir Thomas Cliford, the prior of W

The peace concluded with Eng-land.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 439. 1534.

1534. Sir Arthur Darcie sent to the borders. He maketh a rode into Scotland.

Justice ministred.

English fugitives receiued into Scotland.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan li. 14.

1534.

1534. Lesle.

Fr. Thin.

A peace concluded.

Ambassadors into France.

The king himselfe passing secretlie into France.

1535. The pope sent into Scotland.

1536.

1533. Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 437, 438.

Lesleus lib. 1. pag. 79.

refine
recei
peace
don,
there
of bo
ces
*
no: a
bali
o: na
Eng
the e
and
the c
whic
arm
to b
with
whic
part
nist
po
mal
we
the
ster
An
no
uer
we
hel
the
So
*
les
rik
sec
th
the
au
ser
lin
the
tra
ue
do
M
M
of
rie
M
ha
m
bu
gr
ca
m
hi
m
of
be
of
th
S
ge
an
li
de
th
th
se

refine, and one doctor Maginus, who were honorable received in the moneth of Iulie: and then was the peace before concluded by the ambassadoys at London, confirmed by the king himselfe, and the charter thereof interchangable sealed, with the great scales of both the realmes, during the liues of both the princes (as before ye haue heard.)

* The king in those daies did shew such hope of honorable vertue in him, that the wisest and the most ballant princes of the world did honor him with the ornaments of their orders: for first Henrie king of England adopted him into the order of the garter; the emperor made him a fellow of the golden fleece, and shortly after the French king clothed him with the order of saint Michaele. In remembrance of all which (for a note to be left to posteritie) he caused the armes of Scotland, honored with these three orders, to be set vp ouer the gate of his palace of Litchquoe, with the ornaments of the honor of saint Andrew, which are proper to the kingdome of Scotland.)

The same yere, the king passed through the north parts of his realme, and caused iustice dulle to be ministered in places where he came, against offenders. Moreover, in Edinburgh was great inquisition made, and punishment exercised against such as were detected to hold opinions against the religion then used, the king himselfe assistant thereto. Master Rozman Corleie that was abiured before, and Andrew Stratton that would not renounce his opinion, were burned. The shiriffe of Linlithgow, and diuerse other, that were fled for feare of punishment, were conuict of heresie. Diuerse Englishmen that held against the diuorce betwixt king Henrie, and the ladie Katharine Dowager, fled this yere into Scotland, and were receiued.

* About this time (to conclude a league with Charles the first, emperor) his Charles sent Godscall Erieke (to the end the matter might be handled more secretlie) from Toledo (by Ireland) into Scotland, who when he had declared his message to him from the emperor [containing the injuries done to his aunt Katharine queene of England, & to his daughter by Henrie the eight, king of England: the calling of a generall councill: the ouerthrow of the Lutherans heresie (to vse Buchanans word) and for contracting of marriage] the said ambassadoy did deliuer to the king the emperors letter, wherein was set downe the offer and choise of which of those three Charles the king would take to wife: which were Marie (the sister of Charles) a widow by Lodowike of Hungarie, his husband slaine by the Turke: Marie of Portingale his neere by his sister Leonara: or Marie of England his cosine germane by his aunt Katharine. Whereunto the king answered, that the marriage with England should be most profitable, but the same was a thing of vncertaine hope, of greater danger & labour, & of longer delate than his carefulnesse (being the onelie man left of that line) might well indure. Wherefore of all the emperors kinred, that marriage by manie reasons should be most benefitfull for him, to take to wife the daughter of Christern, king of Denmark, begotten vpon Isabel sister to the emperor. Whereunto for deniall thereof, Charles did shortly make answer (at Paduie) that he was affianced to another.)

In the yere 1535, the pope sent a messenger into Scotland, requiring king James to assist him against the king of England, whome he had decreed an heretike, a schismaticke, a wedlocke breaker, a publicke murderer, and a sacrileger; and therefore he had declared him to be depriued of the said kingdome, the which he would bestow vpon him, and other catholicke princes. In the yere 1536, the king took the sea with five ships, without knowledge of the most

part of the lords of his realme, and sailed about the Isles of Skie and Lewis, and the other Isles, and by Forne was byuen to take land at saint Pinfans in Galloway, & so returned to Striueling, from thence he passed on foot in pilgrimage vnto our ladie chappell of Lauret beside Haskelburgh, and afterward sent for diuerse of his lords, and by their counsell took his voyage againe by sea with five ships, to passe into France, as he was minded to haue done the first time: but that caused him to alter his purpose then, we find not. This second time he embarked at Birchehalbie the last of August, and with good and prosperous wind he shortly after arriued in France, there being with him in companie the earles of Argile, and Arrane, the lords Bold and Fleming, with diuerse other barons, knights, and gentlemen; and before him there were in France the earles of Murray, Lennox, and Castles, the lord Erskine, the abbat of Arbroth, and others.

Immediately after his arriual, he rode in secret manner disguised vnto Wandosme in Picardie, taking with him but one seruant named John Tennent, whome he caused to take vpon him as he had bene maister; and so comming to the duke of Wandosme his place, got sight of the ladie who shuld haue bene his wife, but not liking hir, he returned againe without talking either with hir or hir friends: and comming to Rouen where his companie were abiding for him, he passed from thence towards Paris, where the Dolphin of France was appointed by the king his father to meet him seuen leagues from the citie, who brought him to the king, who receiued him in such hartie manner, as if he had bene his owne sonne, and with as much honor as might haue bene shewed to the greatest prince in earth. There were iustices, tournets, and other princelie pastimes practised and set forth, in which iustices and other exercises of warlike feates, he shewed himselfe as hardie, cunning and ballant, as anie other person within all the realme of France, for the which he was passing great praise.

In the meane time, he caused his ambassadoys and the noble men that were with him, to declare vnto the king of France, that the cause of his comming was for marriage to be had betwene him and the ladie Magdalen, eldest daughter to the king, whome he loued & fauoured aboue all other within his realme. The French king was glad hereof, that the ancient band betwixt Scotland and France might thus with new alliance be confirmed, and therefore declared that he would willingly giue him his daughter in marriage. But herewith he let him vnderstand, that his daughter was much subiect to sicknesse, and therefore he referred that vnto the king of Scotland his owne pleasure, whether he would haue hir, or his yongest daughter the ladie Margaret, who was after married to the duke of Sauoy. This offer of choise being reported to the king of Scotland, he continued in his former purpose, which was, to match with the ladie Magdalen, who was in deed a pleasant yong ladie, beautifull, of good fauour, lowelie countenance, and comelie manners, aboue all others within that realme.

Where vpon the marriage was contracted betwixt them, and an hundred thousand crownes of the sun promised with hir in dowrie, with thirtie thousand franks of pension, during the life of king James: which monie was deliuered vnto him at his returne homewards, besides manie rich hangings, cupboards of plate, sumptuous apparell, and rich iewels giuen to him and his wife, farre aboue the summe of an other hundred thousand crownes, with two great ships (the one called the salamander) and great plenty of artillerie, powder, and other munition. Moreover,

The king's voyage about the Isles.

The sailer the king to France.

The rideth to Wandosme.

He is receiued into Paris.

He is a suitor for marriage.

The marriage contracted betwixt the king of Scots and the ladie Magdalen.

The peace concluded with England.

Fr. Thin. Lelcus lib. 9. pag 439. 1534.

Justice ministered.

English fugitives receiued into Scotland.

Fr. Thin. Buchan li. 14.

1534.

4. Lesle.

Thin.

peace com-

ed.

ambassadors France.

the king him passeth sea into France.

1535. The pope sendeth into Scotland.

1536.

uer, all his charges and expenses were borne by the French king, during his being within the realme of France. At the same time also, was the ancient league and bond of amitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France renewed, and the day of the solemnization of the marriage appointed to be holden the first of Januarie.

In the meane time, great preparation for the same was made, and all the nobles of France sent for to be there at that day. On the which within the church of Notre dame in the citie of Paris, the king of Scotland openlie married the said ladie Magdalen, in presence of the king his father, the king of Navarre, seven cardinals, and diuerse great dukes, marquesses, earles, lords, barons, bishops, & others. After the solemnization of the marriage, king James remained in France, till the moneth of Maie, passing the time with all kind of pleasure and disport that might be deuised for his honorable interteinement. Finally, the king and his wife quene Magdalen took their leaue of the king of France their father at Paris, about the latter end of April, and so rode to Rouen, where they were receiued with great triumph, and from thence they passed downe the river to Pelohauen where they imbarcked, being accompanied by the admerall of France, and manie other noble men of the realme, appointed by the French king to attend vpon them into Scotland, & so they sailed forth with pleasant wind and prosperous weather, though the seas, till they came into the Forth, and there landed at the peare of Leth hauen, the 29 of Maie, in the yeere 1537, where a great number of earles, bishops, barons, & other noble men & gentlemen of Scotland were readie to receiue them with passing ioy and gladnesse, & from thence with great triumph they were conueied to the abbey of Holie rood house.

This noble ladie with hir louelie countenance and seemelie demeanour, at hir first arrivall wonne the loues and hartie good wils of all the nobles & people of the realme, and withall contented so highlie the mind and fantasie of the king his husband, that there was neuer more hope of wealth and prosperitie to succed within the realme, than at that present. But fortune enuieng so great felicitie, would not suffer them to continue anie longer time together: for about the end of June the fell sick of a vehement fever, whereof she departed this life the tenth of Iulie next ensuing, and was buried in the church of Holie rood house, for whose death the king was verie sorrowfull, & stirred not abroad of a long time after: whose death (saith Buchanan) was so lamented of all men, that then (as he supposeth) began the first use of mourning garments amongst the Scots, which yet at this day, not being past fortie yeeres, is not verie common, though publike orders and manners doe uerie day grow worse and worse.]

In the summer of this yeere, Jane Dowglas the ladie of Glames, sister to the earle of Angus, was apprehended, and likewise hir husband David Lion, and both of them brought to Edinburgh, where they were accused and conuict by an assise, for conspiracie of the kings death: the said ladie was burned, and hir husband hanged. Hir son the lord Glames was also conuict for mispissio and concealment of that crime, and therfore forsaiking all his lands, was condemned to die: but because he was young and of tender yeeres, the king pardoned him of life, and commanded him to perpetuall prison, in the which he remained so long as the king liued. [This yeere was Bothwell, for that he was ouer familiar with the English, banished into France (as saith Buchanan.) Shortly after, John maister of the Forbois, and eldest sonne to the lord Forbois, who had married a si-

ster of the said ladie Glames, was at Edinburgh likewise indicted and conuict by an assise, by procurement of the earle Huntley, for the like conspiracie of the kings death; for the which he was beheaded and quartered, and his head and quarters set aloft vpon the gates of Edinburgh. His father the lord Forbois, vpon suspicion of the same conspiracie, was long after kept in prison within the castell of Edinburgh: but at length when nothing might be proued against him, he was released and set at libertie.

This yeere, the king in September caused iustices to sit in the north parts of the realme, and likewise in October; and in the winter following he caused the like to be done in the south and west parts. The king himselfe was often times present, assisting the lords whome he had appointed his commissioners for the furtherance of iustice, and maintenance thereof thorough all parts of his realme. * The king appointed an assemblie of the nobles, by whose consent an edict was made to confirme the former law, in which all his grants made at Roane in his minority were voided and of no authoritie. At what time also by the said persons it was brought to passe by great labor, that the kings patrimonie should be augmented with manie possessions. Wherefore when they perceiued that the kings charge and dignitie could not be maintained with so small reuenues, they advanced his foure sonnes (borne of diuerse women) to the rich abbeies & priories of Melrose, Kelso, Coldingham, Holie rood, and of saint Andrewes, whose reuenues they transferred to the kings coffers so long as he liued: by which (perhaps) there came no lesse monie (saith Lesleus) into his coffers, than did arise of his kinglie inheritance.

The king by the aduise of these noble men of his realme, thinking it necessarie for him to match againe in marriage with some noble princeesse, sent in to France unto the earle of Murray, and David Beaton abbat of Arbroth [whome (as saith Lesleus lib. 9. pa. 447) Paule the third had made a cardinal, & they of France had made bishop of Airopeuse] his ambassadors there resident, willing them by the aduise of the French king to treat for a marriage to be had betwixt him and the ladie Marie de Lorraine, dutchesse of Longuile, widow, daughter to the duke of Guise. And being aduertised from his said ambassadors, that the king of France, the ladie hir selfe, and hir friends, were well contented therewith, he sent in the beginning of Maie the lord Robert Sparwell, and the maister of Glencarne, well accompanied in to France, to ioine with his other ambassadors for the contracting of that marriage, the which according to their commission treated thereof, and concluded vpon resolute articles, and so espoused hir by procurators, as she is amongst such estates, with great triumph in the citie of Paris, whereat the king and manie noble men were present.

After this she was conueied to Pelohauen, and there taking the seas, passed through the same till she came to Carell in Fife, where she landed the tenth of June; and from thence she was conueied to the new palace in the abbey of saint Andrewes, being honorable prepared for the receiuing of hir. And there the king accompanied with manie noble men, openlie solemnized and confirmed the foresaid marriage with the said ladie in the abbey church, with great ioy and triumph. The king with his quene remained there the most part of that summer. And within a few moneths after the marriage, she conceived with child, to the great comfort of the king and the whole realme, for the hope of succession thereby; and therefore general processions and publike prayers were made thorough all parts of the realme, for the prosperous successe of the same. After that the king had pacified the borders

1539.
The marriage contracted.

1537. Lesle.

The king with his quene returned into Scotland.

Quene Magdalen departed this life.

Fr. Thin.

The ladie Glames and hir husband conuict of treason.
1537. Lesl.

Fr. Thin.

The maister of Forbois beheaded.

Iustices appointed to sit in diuerse parts of the realme.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 14.
pag. 447.

1538. Lesle.

The king is a suitor for marriage to the dutchesse of Longuile.
Fr. Thin.

The marriage solemnized.

Great quietnesse in Scotland.

1539.

The king with northwards to the city of Edinburgh.

The out brought to god of the

Fr. Thin.

The quene delivered sonne.

The quene mother ted this

Certain long bay for relig

Great quiet-
nesse in Scot-
land.

1539.

The king sail-
eth north-
wards to the
Iles of Orkney
and others

Thin:
uchan, lib. 74,
pg. 447.

538. Lelle.

The king is
autoz for ma-
riage to the
uthele of
Longuile.
Fr. Thin.

The out Iles
brought to
god order.

Fr. Thin.

The quene
delivered of a
sonne.

The marriage
solemnized.

The quene
mother depar-
ted this life.

Certaine per-
sons burnt
for religion.

borders and all other parts of his realme, by exerci-
sing of iustice, and travelling about the same in his
owne person through all places (where need requir-
ed) so that there was as great quietnesse, rest, and
policie used in Scotland, as ever was in anye kings
daies before him; yet nevertheless there were cer-
taine disobedient persons in the Iles.

The king therefore, to bring them to order, caused
to prepare a good number of ships, and in the moneth of
Maie went aboard the same in the roade of Leth, ha-
ving with him the earles of Arrane, Huntlye, Ar-
gyle, and diuerse other earles, lords, and barons, with
whome he sailed forth by the coasts of Fife, Angus,
Aberden, Murray first, Southerland, and Cath-
ness, till he came to Orkney, where he landing and
all his companie with him, were receiued verie ho-
norable by the bishop Robert Sparwell. Here they
furnished themselves with fresh vittels, and other
such things as were necessarie; and taking the seas
again, sailed to the Iles of Skie and Lewis, where
Mac Cleod of the Lewes, a principall clan of his
kin, was brought unto the king, who sent forth also
a companie to Mac Cleod Haugh, who came like-
wise out of his Ile, and presented himselfe to the
king.

From thence the king sailed by the coast of Koss
& Kintail, to the Ile of Tranterness, where diuerse
of the Macdonalds, such as the lord Dlagarrie, John
Moidart, and others (who alledged themselves to be
of the principall blood, and lords of the Iles) were
brought also to the kings presence. From thence tra-
uelling through the residue of the Iles, Macclane and
James Macdonald of Kintail, being the two principall
captains of the small Iles, came likewise to the king
who at length landed at Dunbretton, and sent the
captains and ships with prisoners to passe the same
waie he came round about the coast, so to come to
Edinburgh, where the same prisoners being arri-
ued, the chiefe heads of them were kept in ward as
pledges for good rule in their countries, and were not
suffered to depart so long as the king lived, whereby
there followed great quietnesse, and as good obedi-
ence to the lawes throughout all the Iles, as there
was in anye part of the realme; and as good account
and payment made to the kings controller in his ex-
chequer for the lands of the same Iles pertaining to
the crowne, as for anye part of the revenues belong-
ing thereunto within the maine land. [In this yeare
(saith Buchanan lib. 4.) were manie taken for Lu-
theranisme, wherof some were burnt; nine recanted,
and manie were banished; amongst whom, George
Buchanan was one, who escaped by a rope out of a
window of a chamber.]

Whilist the king was in this bondage, the quene
was delivered of a sonne at saint Andzeus, where
of the king being aduertised at his landing, hastied
with all possible diligence to the quene, and shortly
after was the child baptised, and called James. The
archbishop of saint Andzeus, and the earle of Ar-
rane were godfathers, and the quene the kings mo-
ther was godmother. For the birth of this prince,
there were bounties made through all parts of the
realme, with great triumph and giuing of thanks to
God for the same. After this the quene, mother to the
king, returned unto Orkney, where after she had
remained a certeine time, a sicknesse took hir, of the
which shortly after she departed this life, and was
buried in the Charterhouse church of saint Johns
towne, by the towe of king James the first. The
king himselfe and manie nobles of the realme were
present at the funerals, which were kept in most so-
lemne and pompous manner.

The same yeare were burnt at Edinburgh for
hereise (as it was then taken) a regular canon, two

blacke friers, and a secular man. Also two priests
were degraded, and condemned to perpetuall prison.
The same time there was a graie frier in the citie of
Glasgow burnt for the like cause, and manie other
summoned; and because they would not appeare,
they were denounced heretikes. About the same
time, James Beton archbishop of saint Andzeus,
a man of great age departed this life, and was bu-
ried in saint Andzeus. Before his departure, he
had provided successors to all his benefices, first to
his archbishops see; and to the abbey of Arbroth,
maister David Beton, afterwards cardinal; and to
the abbey of Dunfermling, maister George Du-
rie, that was archdeacon of saint Andzeus. These
men, without anye gainesaying of the king, entered
with his good will into the same benefices; immedi-
atly after his deceasse. This James Beton builded
a great part of the new college of saint Andzeus,
and left great summes of monie and treasure to go
through to make an end of the same worke.

This yeare in the moneth of August sir James
Hamilton of Finhart knight, remaining as then
in the towne of Edinburgh, was arrested by Da-
uid Wood controller to the king, who charged him
in the kings name to go to ward within the ca-
stell of Edinburgh. Which commandement he wil-
lingly obeyed, thinking himselfe sure enough, as
well by reason of the good service he had done to the
king, specially in repairing the palaces of Strine-
ling and Linletgew; as also for that the king had
him in so high fauor, that he stood in no feare of him-
selfe at all. Nevertheless, shortly after he was
brought forth to iudgement, and conuict in the Col-
bush of Edinburgh, of certeine points of treason
laid against him, which he would neuer confesse; but
that notwithstanding, he was beheaded in the mo-
neth of September next ensuing [after that he had
liberally confessed at the place of execution, that he
had neuer in anye sort offended the kings maiestie,
and that this death was yet worthily inflicted vpon
him by the diuine iustice; because he had often of-
fended the lawe of God to please the prince, thereby
to obtaine greater countenance with him. Where-
fore he admonished all persons, that (moued by his
example) they should rather follow the diuine plea-
sure, than vniuersallye like the kings fauor, since it is
better to please God than man.]

This summer the quene remaining at Strine-
ling, was delivered of an other prince, which was
baptised in the chappell of Striueling, and called Ar-
thur; but within eight daies after, the said prince de-
ceased at Striueling asforesaid. On the verie same
daie, prince James the kings eldest sonne being at
saint Andzeus departed this life also, in such wise,
that there was but onlie six houres betwixt the time
of their departures out of this world; which caused
no lesse lamentation through the whole realme, than
there was ioy at their births. After this, the quene
went vnto saint Johns towne, where she was hono-
rably receiued with great triumph made by the
towne. She was accompanied with the principall
men of the countrie, and from thence she roade to
Aberden, the king then being come vnto hir, where,
by the towne and vniuersitie they were receiued
with great ioy, triumph, pageants, verses, & plaies,
set forth in the best maner for their pastime. They
remained there the space of sixtene daies, and were
highly interteined by the bishop of that place.

There were exercises and disputations held in all
kind of sciences in the colleges and scholes, with
diuerse orations made in Greeke, Latine, and other
languages, to the high praise and commendation of
the maisters & students in that vniuersitie. From
thence the king with the quene returned to Dun-
dee,

1539. Lelle.
The death of
James Beton
archbishop
of saint An-
dzeus.

1540.
Sir James
Hamilton ar-
rested.

Sir James
Hamilton be-
headed.

Fr. Thin.
Lelleus lib. 9,
pag. 451.

The quene
delivered of
another son.

The two
young princes
departed this
life.

The king and
quene at A-
berden.

Captaine
Worthwike
accused of he-
resie.

die, where a coslie entre was prepared for him at
so, and after they had bene right princelie interter-
ned there, they came to Falkeland. In the moneth
of Maie, sir John Worthwike, commonlie called
capitaine Worthwike, suspected, defamed, and accu-
sed of heresie, was summoned to appeare in saint
Andrews before the cardinall, and diuerse other bi-
shops and prelats there present, where (notwithstan-
ding his absence) the same being proued by suffici-
ent witnesse against him (as was thought) he was
condemned and declared an heretike. An image was
made to resemble him, and at the market crosse of
the said citie, as a signe and memoriall of his con-
demnation, it was burned, to the feare of others,
but he himselfe escaped their hands and got into
England, where he was rescued.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 9.
pag. 453.

¶ The king of Scots (hearing of the maner of the
king of England) and how he honozed himselfe)
toke in euill part; that the king of England in all
generall assemblies of the states of Ireland did call
himselfe king of Ireland; when all his pdecessors
before were onelie intituled by the names of lords
of Ireland. For by that new title, king James his
authoritie did seeme to be diminished, when the king
of England did write himselfe king of all Ireland;
whereof a portion by manie ages was under the
rule of the king of Scots. Yet at length k. James
did yeld thereto; and that the rather, because the
king of England vnder this title and authoritie, did
not dispossesse the heires of the Scot Mackeronell;
and other his Scots of those lands which they there
inioied in that countie.]

A small por-
tion in deed.

1541.
The king of
England sent
both to the
king of
Scots.

This yeare the king of England aduertised of the
meeting of the emperor, the French king, and pope,
at the citie of Price, doubting some practise to be de-
uised there against him, sent to the king of Scot-
land the bishop of saint Dauids, & the lord William
Howard, desiring him as his most tender kinsman
and nephue, to meete him at the citie of Porke in
England, where he would communicat such things
with him, as should be for the weale of both the
realmes. And therewith the king of England, tru-
sting that the king of Scotland would haue fulfilled
his desire, caused great preparation to be made at
Porke for the receiuing of him. But albeit the king
of Scotland was willing of himselfe to haue passed
into England, to haue met and seene his vnckle; yet
after long reasoning and deliberation of his coun-
cell and prelats [especiallie James Beton bishop of
saint Andrews, and George Crichtoune bishop of
Aberden (as saith Buchanan. lib. 14.)] assembled for
that purpose, casting in their minds (as they toke it)
that danger might fall to him and his realme, if he
should passe into England, in case he should be staie-
ed and holden there, contrarie to his will, as king
James his pdecessor was, hauing no succession of
his bodie.

Fr. Thin.

And againe, for that it was certeinlie knowne,
that the principall cause, why the king of England
required this meeting or interuiew, was to perswade
the king of Scotland to vse the like order in Scot-
land, as he had done within his realme of England,
in abolishing the popes authoritie, making himselfe
supreme head of the church, expelling religious per-
sons out of their houses, and seizing the iewels of
their houses, their lands and rents, and such like in-
formation. And if it chanced the king should attempt
the like, they should lose the friendship which was
betwixt him, the pope, the emperor, and French king,
that were his great friends and confederats. Here-
vpon they perswaded him to staie, and by their aduise
sent pleasant letters & messages vnto the said king
of England, desiring him to haue him excused, for
that he could not come into England at that time,

hauing such lets and causes of abiding at home, as
hostlie he should vnderstand by his ambassadors,
whom he ment to send to him, as well for this mat-
ter as other causes. And shortly after sir James
Leirmouth was appointed to go as ambassador in-
to England, as well to make the kings excuse for
his not comming to meet the king of England at
Porke; as also to make complaint vpon certeine
inuations made by the borderers of England into
Scotland, and also for the vning of the debatable
ground betwixt the two realmes.

Sir James
Leirmouth
ambassador
into England

But the king of England fore offended that the
king of Scots would not satisfie his request, to
meet him at Porke (as before is recited), would ad-
mit no excuse, but determined to make warre into
Scotland, albeit as the Scotchmen allege, he would
not suffer the same to be vnderstood, till he had pre-
pared all things in a readinesse. In the meane time he
sent commissioners to meet with the Scots commis-
sioners vpon the debatable ground, to talke for re-
passe to be made of harmes done vpon the borders,
but no good conclusion could be agreed vpon by these
commissioners, neither touching the debatable land,
nor yet for repairing of wrongs done by the inua-
sions. ¶ But that the truth concerning the causes of
this war, moued at this present by that noble prince
king Henrie the eight, may the better appeare; I
haue thought good here to set downe the same, as
they were drawen forth and published in print to the
whole world by the said king in a little pamphlet, vn-
der this title.

1542.
The king of
England
meaneth to
make warre
into Scot-
land.

A declaration containing the iust causes
and considerations of this present warre with
the Scots, wherein also appeareth the true and
right title that the kings most roiall maiestie
hath to his souereignie of Scotland; and thus
it beginneth.

Being now inforced to the war which we
haue alwaies hitherto so much abhorred
& fled, by our neighbour & nephue the k.
of Scots, one who aboute all other for our
manifest benefits toward him, hath most iust cause
to loue vs, and to reioise in our quietnesse; we haue
thought good to notifie vnto the world his doings and
behaviour in the prouocation of this war, & likewise
the meanes & waies by vs to eschew & auoid it, & the
iust & true occasions wherby we be now prouoked to
prosecute the same, and by utterance and discul-
ging of that matter, to disburden some part of our
inward displeasure and griefe: and the circumstan-
ces knowne, to lament openlie with the world the
infidelitie of this time, in which things of such enor-
mitie do burst out and appeare.

A declaration
of the iust cau-
ses of the war
against the
king of
Scots.

the king of Scots our nephue & neighbor, whom
we in his youth and tender age preserved and main-
teined from the great danger of others, and by our
authoritie and power conducted him safelie to the
rosall possession of his estate, he now compelleth
& inforceth vs (for preservation of our hono: & right)
to vse our puissance & power against him. The like
unkindnesse hath bene heretofore shewed by other
in semblable cases against Gods law, mans law, &
all humanitie; but the oftener it chanceth, the more
it is to be abhorred, and yet in the persons of prin-
ces, for the raritie of them, can so happen but seldome
as it hath now come to passe. It hath bene verie
rarelie & seldome seene tofore, that a king of Scots
hath had in marriage a daughter of England. We
cannot nor will not reuehend the king our fathers
act therein, but lament and be sozie that it toke no
better effect.

The king our father in that matter minded loue,
amicit,

amitie, and perpetuall friendship betwene the posteritie of both: which how soon it failed, the death of the king of Scots, as a due punishment of God, for his unjust inuasion into this our realme, is and shall be a perpetuall testimonie of their reproch for ever. And yet in that present time could not the unkindnesse of the father extinguish in vs the naturall loue of our nephue his sonne, being then in the miserable age of tender youth. But we then forgetting the displeasure that should haue worthilie prouoked vs to inuade that realme, nourished and brought up our nephue, to attayne his fathers possession and gouernement, wherein he now so unkindlie vseth and behaueth himselfe towards vs, as he compelleth vs to take armes and warre against him.

It is speciallie to be noted, vpon that grounds, and by that means we be compelled to this warre, wherein among other is our chiefe greefe and displeasure, that vnder a colour of faire speach and flattering words, we be indeed so iniuried, contemned and despised, as we ought not with sufferance to permit and passe over. Words, writings, letters, messages, ambassages, excuses, allegations, could not more pleasantlie, more gentlie, nor more reuerentlie be deuised and sent, than hath bene made on the king of Scots behalfe vnto vs: and euer we trusted the tree would bring forth good fruit, that was of the one part of so good a stocke, and continuallie in appearance put forth so faire buds: and therefore would hardlie belaeue or giue care to other, that euer allegeded the deeds of the contrarie, being neuertheless the same deeds so manifest, as we must needs haue regarded them, had not we bin so loth to thinke euill of our nephue, whome we had so manie waies bound to be of the best sort toward vs.

And therefore hauing a message sent vnto vs the yere past, from our said nephue, and a promise made for the repairing of the said king of Scots vnto vs to York, and after great preparation on our part made therefore, the same meeting was not onelie disappointed, but also at our being at York in the lieu thereof, an inuasion made by our said nephue his subjects into our land, declaring an euident contempt and despite of vs. We were yet glad to impute the default of the meeting to the aduise of his counsell, and the inuasion to the lewdnesse of his subjects, and according thereto gaue as benigne and gentle audience to such ambassadoys as repaired hither at Christmas afterward, as if no such cause of displeasure had occurred, speciallie considering the god words, sweet words, pleasant words, exsponses proponed by the said ambassadoys, not onelie to excuse that was past, but also to perswade kindnesse and perfect amitie to insue.

And albeit the king of Scots hauing (contrarie to the article of the league of amitie) receiued and intertained such rebels as were of the cheefe and principall, in stirring the insurrection in the north against vs, with refusall before time, vpon request made to restore the same; yet neuertheless, vpon offer made, the said ambassadoys to send commission to the borderers, to determine debates of the confines in the same, with so great a pretense of amitie, and so faire words as could be in speach desired, we were content for the time to forbear to presse them our extremelie in the matter of rebels. Albeit we neuer remitted the same, but desiring to make triall of our said nephue in some correspondence of deeds, condescended to the sending of commissioners to the borders, which to our great charge we did, and the king of Scots our said nephue the semblable.

Where after great trauell made by our commissioners, this fruit ensued, that being for our part challenged, a peece of our ground plainlie vsurped by the

Scots, and of no great value, being also for the same shewed such euidence, as more substantiall, more authenticke, plaine and euident, cannot be brought forth for any part of ground within our realme: the same was neuertheless by them denied, refused, and the euidence onelie for this cause reiected, that it was made (as they allegeded) by Englishmen: and yet it was so ancient, as it could not be counterfeited now, and the value of the ground so little, and of so small weight, as no man would haue attempted to falsifie for such a matter. And yet this default being in this wise made vnto our commissioners, they neuertheless by our commandement departed as friends from the commissioners of Scotland, taking order as hath bene accustomed, for good rule vpon the borders in the meane time.

After which their recess, the lord Marwell wariden of the west marches of Scotland, made proclamation for good rule; but yet added therewith, that the borderers of Scotland should withdraue their goods from the borderers of England; and incontinent the Scottishmen borderers, the fourth of Julie entered into our realme suddenly, and spoiled our subjects contrarie to our leagues, euen after such extremitie as it had bene in the time of open warre, whereat we much marvelled, and were compelled therefore to furnish our borders with a garrison for defense of the same. Whereupon the king of Scots sent vnto vs James Leirmouth maister of his household, with letters deuised in the most pleasant manner, offering redresse & reformation of all attempts. And yet neuertheless, at the entrie of the said Leirmouth into England, a great number of the Scots then not looked for, made a forraie into our borders, to the great annoiance of our subjects, & to their extreme detriment. Wherewith, and with that unseemelie dissimulation, we were not a little moued, as reason would we should; and yet did we not finally so extremelie prosecute and continue our said displeasure, but that we gaue benigne audience to the said Leirmouth, and suffered our selfe to be somewhat altered by his words and faire promises, tending to the perswasion that we euer desired, to find the king of Scots such a nephue vnto vs, as our proximity of blood (with our gratuitie vnto him) did require.

In the meane time of these faire words, the deeds of the borderers were as extreme as might be, and our subjects spoiled: and in a roade made by sir Robert Bowes for a reuenge thereof, the same sir Robert Bowes, with manie other were taken prisoners, and yet deteined in Scotland without putting them to fine or rancome, as hath bene euer accustomed. And being at the same time a surseilance made on both sides, at the sute of the said Leirmouth for a season; the Scots ceased not to make sundrie inuasions into our realme, in such wise as we were compelled to forget faire words, and onelie to consider the king of Scots deeds, which appeared vnto vs of that sort, as they ought not for our dutie in defense of our subjects, we could not in respect of our honor, be passed over vnreformed: and therefore put in a readinesse our armie, as a due meane whereby we might attaine such a peace, as for the safeguard of our subjects we be bound to procure.

After which preparation made, and knowledge had thereof, the king of Scots ceased not to vse his accustomed meane of faire words, which in our naturall inclination wrought efficacies their accustomed effect, euer more desirous to find in the king of Scots such regard & respect to be declared in deeds, as the correspondence of naturall loue in the nephue to such an uncle, as we haue shewed our selfe toward him, doth require. Therefore vpon new request and sute made vnto vs, we determined to staie our armie

Mr James
Leirmouth
ambassador
into England

1542.
The king of
England
writeth to
make warre
into Scot.
and.

A declaration
of the just
causes of the war
against the
king of
Scots.

mie at Pozke, appointing the duke of Norfolke our lieutenant, the Lord pryncle Seale, the bishop of Durham, and the maister of our hostes, there to comen, treat, and conclude with the ambassadoys of Scotland, for an amitie and peace, vpon such condicions, as by reason and equitie were indifferent, whereby the warre might be eschewed, being by sundrie inuasions of the Scots then opened & manifest.

In this communication betwene our and their commissioners, after diuerse degrees of commission shewed by the Scots, and finallye one that was by our commissioners allowed, matters were proposed for conclusion of amitie, nothing difficult or hard of our part, but so agreeable to reason, as the commissioners of Scotland said they doubted not, but if it might be brought to passe that the king of Scots our nephue might haue a meeting with vs, all matters should easilie be compounded and determined: whereupon they left speaking of anie articles of amitie, and the ambassadoys of Scotland made much outward ioy in communication of meeting. They shewed themselves in words, fashion, and behauior much to delight in it, to reioise in it, and therewith thought it easie and facile to be concluded and accomplished, and for their part they took it then for a thing passed, a thing concluded, and most certeine to take effect, and onelie desired six daies to obtaine answer from their maister, and our armie, from that tunc to staie and go no further: wherevnto our commissioners then agreed.

After these six daies was sent a commission out of Scotland, with power to conclude a meeting precise at such a place, as they knew well we should not, nor could not in winter obserue & keepe. Where with when our commissioners were discontent, the ambassadoys of Scotland to relieue that displeasure, and to temper the matter whereby to win more time, shewed forth their instructions, wherein libertie was giuen to the ambassadoys to exceed their commission in the appointment of the place, and to consent to anie other that by our commissioners should be thought conuenient. Which manner of proceeding when our commissioners refused, alledging that they would not conclude a meeting with men hauing no commission therevnto: the ambassadoys of Scotland vpon pretense to send for a more ample and large commission, agreeable to their instructions for appointment of the place, obtained a delaye of other six daies, to send for the ample commission without restraint of place.

Now after these six daies they brought forth a new commission, made in a good forme, and without exception: but therewith also they shewed new instructions, containing such a restraint as the former commission did containe, so as the libertie giuen to the commissioners in the commission was now at the last removed and taken away by the instructions, with addition of a speciall charge to the ambassadoys, not to exceed the same. And thus, first the ambassadoys of Scotland seemed to haue a will and desire to conclude on a place seemelie and conuenient, which for want of commission they might not do, and at the last might haue concluded a meeting by vertue of their commission; and then for feare of the commandement in their second instructions they durst not. And so they shewed their first instructions partlie to excuse their king, who should seeme secretlie to will more than in the commission he did openlie profess.

Then with an ample commission from the king, they shewed their secret instructions for defense of themselves, why they proceeded not according to their commission, not caring how much they charged therein the king, whose fault they disclosed to dis-

charge themselves, trusting that by the benefit of the winter approaching, and the time lost in their communication, their maister should be defended against our power for this yeere, without doing for their part that by honor, right, law, and leagues they be obliged and bound to do. And in this meane time our subiects being taken prisoners in Scotland, could not be deliuered vpon any rancome, contrarie to all custome and vsage of the borderers in the time of peace and warre: and in this meane time staied a great part of our armie already pressed, and in our wages to go forward.

In this time ambassadoys (as ye haue heard) assembled to talke of an amitie, but concluded none. The treating of amitie was put ouer by communication of a meeting. The communication of meeting was so handled by alteration of commission and instructions on their behalfe, as it appeareth a plaine deuise onelie inuented for a delaye, which hath giuen vs light, whereupon more certeinly to iudge the king of Scots inward affection toward vs: whose deeds and words well weied and considered, do vs plainlie to vnderstand, how he hath continually labored to abuse vs with sweet and pleasant words, and to satisfie the appetites of other at home and abroad with his vnkind and displeasing deeds. In his words he professeth an indissoluble amitie, he allegeth kintred, he acknowledgeth benefits, onlie the fault is, that he speaketh another language to all the world in deeds, and thereby so toucheth vs in honor and denegation of iustice, as we be enforced and compelled to use the sword, which God hath put in our hands as an extreme remedie, whereby to obtaine both quietnesse for our subiects, and also that is due to vs by right, pacts, and leagues.

We haue patientlie suffered manie delusions, and notablie the last yeere, when we made preparation at Pozke for his repaire to vs. But should we suffer our people and subiects to be so oft spoiled without remedie? This is done by the Scots, whatsoeuer their words be. Should we suffer our rebels to be detained contrarie to the leagues without remedie? This is also done by them, whatsoeuer their words be. Should we suffer our land to be vsurped contrarie to our most plaine euidence, onelie vpon a will, pride and arrogancie of the other partie? This is done by them whatsoeuer their words be. All these be ouer presumptuouslie done against vs, and giue such signification of their arrogancie, as it is necessarie for vs to oppresse it in the beginning, least they should gather further courage, to the greater displeasure of vs and our posteritie hereafter. And yet in the intreating of this matter, if we had not euidentlie perceived the lacke of such affection as proximity of blood should require; we would rather haue remitted these iniuries in respect of proximity of blood, to our nephue, than we did tofoze his fathers inuasion.

But weeing that we be so suerlie ascertained of the lacke thereof, and that our blood is there frozen with the cold aire of Scotland, there was neuer prince more violentlie compelled to war, than we be by the vnkind dealing, vnkind behauior, & vnprincelie demeanour of him, that yet in nature is our nephue, & in his acts and deeds declareth himselfe not to be moued therewith, nor to haue such earnest regard to the obseruation of his pacts & leagues, nor such respect to the intertainment of the administration of iustice, as naturall equitie bindeth, & conseruation of equitie requireth. Which we much lament & be sore for, & use now our force and puissance against him, not for reuengement of our priuate displeasure (being so often deliuered as we haue bene) but for recouerie of our right, the preservation of our subiects from iniuries, and the obseruation of such leagues

as haue passed betwene vs, firmelie trusting, that almightie God, vnder whome we reigne, will assist & aid our iust proceedings herein, to the furtherance & aduancement of the right, which we doubt not shall euer preuaile against wrong, falshood, deceit, and dissimulation.

Hitherto appeareth how this present warre hath not proceeded of anie demand of our right of our superiortie, which the kings of Scots haue alwaies knowledged by homage and fealtie to our progenitors euen from the beginning: but this warre hath bene prouoked and occasioned vpon present matter of displeasure, present iniurie, present wrong mistred by the nephue to the vnkle most vnnaturallie, and supported contrarie to the deserts of our benefits most vnkindlie, if we had minded the possession of Scotland, and by the motion of warre to attaine the same, there was neuer king of this realme had more opportunitie in the minority of our nephue, nor in anie other realme a prince that hath more iust title, more euident title, more certeine title, to any realme that he can claime, than we haue to Scotland.

This title is not deuised by pretense of marriage, nor imagined by couenant, nor contriued by inuention of argument, but lineallie descended from the beginning of that estate established by our progenitors, and recognised successiuelie of the kings of Scotland, by dedes, wordes, acts, and writings continuallie almost without interruption, or at the least intermission, till the reigne of our progenitor king Henrie the first, in whose time the Scots abused the ciuill warre of this realme, to their licence and boldnesse, in omitting of their dutie: which for the portemittie of blood betwene vs, we haue bene slacke to require of them, being also of our selfe inclined to peace, as we haue euer bene alwaies glad, rather without prejudice to omit to demand our right if it might conserue peace, than by demanding thereof to be seene to moue warre: speciallie against our neighbour, against our nephue, against him whome we haue preserved from danger, and in such a time as it were expedient for all christendome to be in vnitie and peace, whereby to be more able to resist the common enemie the Turke.

But for that considerations we haue omitted to speake hitherto of the matter, it is neuertheless true, that the kings of Scots haue alwaies acknowledged the kings of England superior lords of the realme of Scotland, & haue done homage and fealtie for the same. This appeareth first in histories written by such, as for confirmation of the truth in memorie haue trulie noted and signified the same. Secondly, it appeareth by instruments of homage made by the kings of Scots, and diuerse notable personages of Scotland, at diuerse & sundrie times sealed with their seales, and remaining in our treasure. Thirdlie, it appeareth by registers and records indiciallie and autenticallie made, yet preserved for confirmation of the same. So as the matter of title being most plaine, is furnished also with all manner of euidences for declaration thereof.

First, as concerning histories, which be called witnesses of times, the light of truth, and the life of memorie, and finally the conuenient way & meane whereby the things of antiquitie may be brought to mens knowledge, they shew as plainlie this matter as could be wished or required, with such a consent of writers as could not so agree vpon an vntruth, containing a declaration of such matter as hath most euident probabilitie and apparance. For as it is probable and likelie, that for the better administration of iustice amongst rude people, two or more of

one estate might be rulers in one countrie, vnited as this Ile is: so it is probable and likelie, that in the beginning it was so ordered for auoiding dissention, that there should be one superior, in right of whom the said estates should depend.

According thereto we read, how Brute, of whome the realme then called Britaine toke first that name (being before that time inhabited with giants, a people without order or ciuilitie) had three sonnes, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, who determining to haue the whole Ile within the ocean sea to be after gouerned by them three, appointed Albanact to rule that now is called Scotland, Camber the parties of Wales, and Locrine that now is called England: vnto whom (as being the eldest sonne) the other two brethren should do homage, recognising and knowledging him as their superior. Now consider, if Brute conquered all this Iland, as the historie saith he did, and then in his owne time made this order of superiortie as afore; how can there be a title deuised of a more plaine beginning, a more iust beginning, a more conuenient beginning, for the order of this Iland, at that time speciallie, when the people were rude: which cannot without continuall strife and variance containe two or three rulers in all points equall without any manner of superiortie, the inward conscience and remorse of which superiortie should in some part dull and diminish the peruerse courage of resistance and rebellion.

The first diuision of this Ile, we find written after this sort, without cause of suspicion why they should write amisse. And according hereto we find also in historie set forth by diuerse, how for transgression against this superiortie, our predecessors haue chastised the kings of Scots, and some deposed, and put other in their places. We will here omit to speake of the rudenesse of the antiquitie in particularitie, which they cared not dissindlie to commit to writing. But some authors, as Antonius Sabellicus, amongst other, diligentlie searching what he might trulie write of all Europe and the Ilands adioining; our and besides that which he writeth of the natures, manners, and conditions of the Scots, which who so list to read, shall find to haue bene the verie same in times past, that we find them now at this present: he calleth Scotland, part of England, which is agreeable to the diuision aforesaid, being in deed as in the land continuall without separation of the sea, so also by homage and fealtie vnited vnto the same; as by particular declarations shall most manifestlie appere, by the testimonie of such as haue left writing for profe and confirmation thereof.

In which matter, passing the death of king Humbar, the acts of Dunwald king of this realme of England, the diuision of Weline and Wren two brethren, the victories of king Arthur; we shall begin at the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred, which is six hundred forty two yeeres past, a time of sufficient antiquencie, from which we shall make speciall declaration and euident profe of the execution of our right and title of superiortie euer more continued and preserved hitherto. Edward the first, before the conquest, sonne to Alured king of England, had vnder his dominion and obedience the king of Scots. And here is to be noted, that this matter was so notorious and manifest, as Marian a Scot, writing that storie in those daies, granteth, confesseth, & testifieth the same: and this dominion continued in that state three and twenty yeeres.

At which time Athellfane succeeded in the crowne of England, and hauing by battell conquered Scotland, he made one Constantine king of that partie, to rule and gouerne the countrie of Scotland vnder him, adding this princelie word, that it was more honorable

honorable to him to make a king, than to be a king. Twentie foure yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lord 947, king Edred our progenitor Athelstanes brother, took homage of Trise then king of Scots. Thirtie yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 977, king Edgar our predecessor took homage of Malcolme king of Scots. Here was a litle trouble in England by the death of saint Edward king and martyr, destroyed by the deceit of his mother in law. But yet within memorie, fortie yeres after the homage done by Malcolme to king Edgar, that is to say, in the yere of our Lord 1018, Malcolme king of Scots did homage to knute our predecessor.

After this homage done, the Scots uttered some pece of their naturall disposition: whereupon, by warre made by our progenitor saint Edward the confessor, twentie nine yeres after homage done, that is to say, the yere of our Lord 1056, Malcolme king of Scots was vanquished, and the realme given to Malcolme his sonne, by our said progenitor saint Edward: to whome the said Malcolme made homage and fealtie, within eleven yeres after that William Conqueror entered this realme, whereof he accounted no perfect conquest, untill he had likewise subdued the Scots. And therefore in the said yere, which was in the yere of our Lord 1068, the said Malcolme king of Scots did homage to the said William Conqueror, as his superior by conquest king of England. Twentie five yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 1092, the said Malcolme did homage and fealtie to William Rufus, sonne to the said William Conqueror: and yet after that was for his offenses and demerits deposed, and his sonne substitute in his place, who likewise failed of his dutie: and therefore was ordeined in that estate (by the said William Rufus) Edgar, brother to the last Malcolme, and sonne to the first, who did homage and fealtie accordingly.

Seuen yeres after, that was in the yere of our Lord 1100, the said Edgar of Scots did homage unto Henrie the first our progenitor. Thirtie seuen yeres after that, David king of Scots did homage to Mathild the emperesse, as daughter and heire to Henrie the first. Wherefore, being after required by Stephan, then obtaining possession of the realme, to make his homage, he refused so to do, because he had before made it to the said Mathild, and thereupon forbore. After which Davids death, which ensued shortly after, the sonne of the said David made homage to the said king Stephan. Foureteene yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord, a thousand one hundred and fiftie, William king of Scots, and David his brother, with all the nobles of Scotland, made homage to Henrie the seconds sonne, with a reservation of their dutie to Henrie the second his father. Twentie five yeres after, which was in the yere of our Lord 1175, William king of Scotland, after much rebellion & resistance, according to their naturall inclination, king Henrie the second then being in Normandie, William then king of Scots knowledgged finally his error, and made his peace and composition, confirmed with his great seale, and the seales of the nobilitie of Scotland, making therewith his homage and fealtie.

Within fiftene yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lord 1190, the said William king of Scots came to our citie of Canturburie, and there did homage to our noble progenitor king Richard the first. Foureteene yeres after that, the said William did homage to our progenitor king John, upon a hill betwix Lincoln, making his oath upon the crosse of Hubert then archbishop of Canturburie, being there present, a marvellous multitude assembled

for that purpose. Twentie six yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 1216, Alexander king of Scots married Margaret, the daughter of our progenitor Henrie the third, at our citie of York, in the feast of Christmasse, at which time the said Alexander did his homage to our said progenitor, who reigned in this realme fiftie six yeres. And therefore betwix the homage made by the said Alexander king of Scots, and the homage done by Alexander, sonne to the said king of Scots, to Edward the first at his coronation at Westminster, there was about fiftie yeres: at which time the said Alexander king of Scots repaired to the said feast of coronation, and there did his dutie, as is aforesaid. Within twentie eight yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 1282, John Balliol king of Scots made his homage and fealtie to the said king Edward the first our progenitor.

After this began Robert Bruce to usurpe the crowne of Scotland, and to moue sedition therefore against them of the house of Balliol, which made for a season some interruption in the said homage; but yet no intermission without the termes of memorie: for within fortie foure yeres after, which was the yere of our Lord 1326, Edward Balliol after a great victorie had in Scotland against the other faction, and intising the crowne of Scotland, made homage to our progenitor Edward the third. And twentie yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 1346, David Bruce, who was ever in the contrarie faction, did neuertheless in the title of the crowne of Scotland, whereof he was then in possession, make homage to our said progenitor Edward the third.

Within nine yeres after this, Edward the third, to chastise the infidelitie of the Scots, made warre against them: when after great victories, Edward Balliol, having the iust and right title to the realme of Scotland, surrendered clearlie the same to our said progenitor, at the towne of Roxburgh in Scotland, where our said progenitor accepted the same, and then caused himselfe to be crowned king of Scotland, and for a time intertained it, and intied it, as verie proprietarie and owner of the realme: as on the one part by confiscation acquired, and on the other part by free will surrendered unto him. And then after the death of our said progenitor Edward the third, began seditions and insurrections in this our realme, in the time of our progenitor Richard the second, which was augmented by the alteration of the state of the said Richard, and the deuolution of the same to Henrie the fourth: so as the Scots had some leasure to plaie their bagues, and follow their accustomed manner. And yet Henrie the first, for recovery of his right in France, commanded the king of Scots to attend upon him in that iorneye.

In this time, the realme of Scotland being descended to the house of the Stewards, of which our noble dircallie commeth: James Stewart king of Scots, in the yere of our Lord 1423, made homage to Henrie the first at Windesore, which homage was distant from the time of the other homage made by David Bruce, thre score yeres and more, but farre within the fresh memorie of man. All which homages and fealties as they appere by storie to have bene made and done at times and seasons as afoze, so do there remaine instruments made thereupon, and sealed with the seales of the kings of Scotland, testifying the same. And yet doth it appere by storie, how the Scots practised to steale out of our treasure diuerse of these instruments, which neuertheless were afterward recovered againe.

And to the intent ye may know of what forme and tenure the said instruments be, here is inserted the

the effect
which we
ued ena
haue be
which is
burnt in
And the

lord of
to you
kingdom
claim
to you
and w
faithfu
to you
of Sc
and th

pot
fers,
rionist
ring th
corrob
& repor
we hau
progen
of Sco
compet
Holand
chia, V
Robert
trictus
nes de
de Bal
gle.

Fit
ture de
propom
tle of
realme
mage
it appe
titors
proger
same,
to be g
red tha
& temp
pose,
tion th
the sai
said pa
(if the
presse

At
appear
of the
sed: I
wittin
rectifi
said p
tie, a
lie an
clame
doin
bell.
genit

the effect in word and sentence as they be made; which we do, to meet with the cavillation and contrived evasion of the Scots, alleging the homage to have bene made for the earledome of Huntingdon, which is as true as the allegation of him that is burnt in the hand, to say he was cut with a sickle. And therefore the tenure of the homage is this.

The forme of the homage.

I John R. king of Scots shall be true and faithfull unto you lord Edward by the grace of God R. of England, the noble & superiour lord of the kingdome of Scotland, as unto you I make my fidelitie of the same kingdome of Scotland, the which I hold & claime to hold of you. And I shall beare to you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worlde honoz, against all men; and faithfullie I shall knowledge, and shall do to you service due to you of the kingdome of Scotland aforesaid: as God so helpe and these holie euangelists.

Now for the third part, touching records and registers, we haue them so formall, so autenticall, so seriouslie handled, and with such circumstances declaring the matters, as they be and ought to be a great corroboration of that hath bene in stories written & reported in this matter. For among other things we haue the soleme act and iudiciall processe of our progenitor Edward the first, in discussion of the title of Scotland, when the same was challenged by competitors (that is to saie) Florentinus comes Holandie, Patricius de Dunbar comes de Perthia, Willielmus de Wesci, Willielmus de Kelle, Robertus de Winkent, Nicholans de Soules, Patricius Galightlie, Rogerus de Dundeville, Joannes de Comin, D. Joannes de Hastings, Joannes de Balliolo, Robertus de Bruce, Ericus rex Norwegie.

Finallie, after a great consultation and mature deliberation, with discussion of the allegations proponed on all parts, sentence was giuen for the title of Ballioll, according whereunto he intoid the realme. But for confirmation of the dutie of the homage before that time obserued by the R. of Scots, it appeareth in those records, how when those competitors of the realme of Scotland repaired to our progenitor, as to the chiefe lord for discussion of the same, inasmuch as the authoritie of the iudgement to be giuen depended thereupon; it was then ordered that the whole parlement of Scotland, spirituall & temporall, & of all degrees assembled for that purpose, and considering upon what ground & foundation the kings of Scotland had in times past made the said homages and recognition of superiourtie, the said parlement finding the same good & true, should (if they so deemed it) yeeld and giue place, and by expresse consent recognise the same.

At which parlement was alleged unto them, as appeareth in the same records, not onelie these acts of the princes before those daies, and before rehearsed: but also besides the testimonie of stories, the writings and letters of forein princes at that time reciting and rehearsing the same. Whereupon the said parlement did there agree to this our superiourtie, and insuing their determination did particularlie and severallie make homage & fealtie with proclamation, that whosoever witholdeth himselfe from doing his dutie therein, should be reputed as a rebel. And so all made homage and fealtie to our progenitor Edward the first. And the realme of Scot-

land was in the time of the discussion of the title ruled by gardians deputed by him. All castles and holds were surrendred to him, as to the superiour lord in the time of vacation. Benefices, offices, fees, promotions passed in that time from the mere gift of our said progenitor, as in the right of this crowne of England. Sherriffes named and appointed, writs, and precepts made, obeyed, and executed.

Finallie, all that we do now in the duchie of Lancaster, the same did our progenitor for the time of the contention for that title in the realme of Scotland, by the consent of an agreement of all estates of the realme assembled and consulted with for that purpose. At which time the bishops of saint Andrews and Glasgow were not (as they now be) archbishops; but recognised the archbishop of Yorke, which extended ouer all that countrie. Now if the Scots will take exception to the homage of their princes as made in warre, and by force, which is not true; what will they say, or can they for shame allege against their owne parlement, not of some but of all confirmed, & testified by their writings and seales; whereunto nothing inforced them but right and reason, being passed in peace and quiet without armoz & compulsion? If they say they did it not, they speake like themselves; if they say they did it, then do they now like themselves, to withold their dutie, not so much to be blamed, as to be amended.

Thus appeareth unto you the beginning of the right of superiourtie, with a perpetuall continuance, without intermission within memorie. Certaine commissions and forbearings vpon the grounds and occasions before specified we denie not, whereby they haue manie times sought and taken their opportunities to withold the doing of their dutie in knowledge of our superiourtie ouer them; which to auoid, they haue not cared what they said or alleged, though it were neuer so vntrue, lieng alwaies in wait when they might annoie this realme, not without their owne great danger & perill, & also extreame detriment. But as they detracted the doing of their dutie, so God granted unto this realme force to compell them thereunto within memorie, and notwithstanding standing anie their interruption by resistance, which unto the time of our progenitor Henrie the first neuer endured so long as it made intermission within time of mind, whereby the possession might seeme to be empaiued. From the time of Henrie the first, unto the seventh yeare of our reigne, our realme hath bene for a season lacerat and torne by diuersitie of titles, till our time; and since also by warre outwardlie bered and troubled. The storie is so lamentable for some part therof, as were too tedious to rehearse.

Since the death of our progenitor Henrie the first, our grandfather Edward the fourth reigned, who after great trauels to attaine quietnes in his realme, finallie in the time of preparation of warre against Scotland died. Richard the third, then usurped for a small time in yeares, whome the king our father by the strength of Gods hand ouerthrew in battell, and most iustlie attained the possession of this realme, who neuertheless, after the great tempestuous stormes, finding all matters not yet brought to perfect quiet and rest, ceased and forbore to require of the Scots to do their dutie; thinking it policie rather for that time to assaie to tame their nature by pleasant conjunction & conuersation of amitie, than to charge them with their fault, & require dutie of them, when oportunitie serued not by force & feare to constrainde and compell them. And thus passed ouer the reigne of our father without demand of this homage. And being our reigne now fourty & thirtie yeares, we were one and twentie yeares letted by our nephew his minoritie, being then more careful how to bring him

him out of danger, to the place of a king, than to receive of him homage, when he had full possession of the same.

Wherefore being now passed, since the last homage made by the king of Scots, to our progenitor Henrie the first, 122 yeares, at which time the homage was done at Windsor by James Stewart, then king of Scots, as before 56 of these yeares the crowne of this realme was in contention, the trouble wherof ingendred also some businesse in the time of the king our father; which was thre and thirtie yeares: and in our time one and twentie yeares hath passed in the minority of our nephew. So as finally, the Scots resorting to their onelie defense of continuance of possession, can onelie allege iustlie but 13 yeares of silence in the time of our reigne, being all the other times since the homage done by James Stewart, such as the silence in them (had they bene neuer so long) could not haue ingendred prejudice to the losse of anie right that may yet be declared and proued due. For what can be imputed to king Edward for not demanding homage being in strife for that estate, wherunto the homage was due? What should Richard the third search for homage in Scotland, that had neither right ne leasure to haue homage done vnto him in England? Who can blame our father, knowing the Scots nature neuer to do their dutie but for feare; if he demanded not that of them, which they would eschew if they might, seeing his realme not cleavelie then purged from ill seed of sedition, sparkled and scattered in the cruell ciuill warres before.

Law and reason serueth, that the passing ouer of time not commodious, that the purpose is not allegeable in prescription for the losse of anie right. And the minority of the king of Scots hath indured twentie one yeeres of our reigne, which being an impediment on their part, the whole prescription of the Scots, if the matter were prescriptible, is thus deduced evidently to thirtene yeere, which thirtene yeere without excuse we haue ceased and forborne to demand our dutie, like as the Scots haue likewise ceased to offer and tender the same: for which cause neuertheless we do not enter this warre, ne minded to demand anie such matter now, being rather desirous to reioice and take comfort in the friendship of our nephew as our neighbour, than to moue matter vnto him of displeasure, whereby to alienate such naturall inclination of loue as he should haue towards vs: but such be the works of God superiour ouer all, to suffer occasions to be ministered, whereby due superiority may be knowne, demanded, and required; to the intent that according therunto all things governed in due order here, we may to his pleasure passe ouer this life to his honor and glorie, which he grant vs to do in such rest, peace, and tranquillitie, as shall be meet and conuenient for vs.

When therefore the king of England had set forth this declaration of the causes that moued him to make warre against Scotland, he prepared to prosecute the same both by sea and land, and hauing rigged and furnished diuerse ships of warre, he sent the same forth to the sea, that they might take such Scottish ships as were to returne from their voiajes made into France, Flanders, Denmarke, and other countries, whether they were gone for trade of merchandise, with which the English ships incountred, took 28 of the principall ships of all Septland, fraught with all kind of merchandize and rich wares, which they brought with them into the English ports.

The king of Scotland aduertised thereof, sent with all speed an herald, desiring restitution of his ships, as he thought should with reason, seeing no war was

proclaimed: but the king of England thought it no reason to depart with them so soone, till other articles of agreement might be concluded, and therefore refused not onelie to deliuer their ships, but also sent sir Robert Wolues with men to the borders, giuing him in charge to invade Scotland, who according to his commission, with thre thousand men rode into Scotland, and began to burne and to spoile certeine small towncs: whereupon the state being raised in the countrey, George Gordon the earle of Huntley, who was appointed to remaine as lieutenant vpon the borders, for doubt of such sudden inuasions, immediately gathered a number of borderers, and set vpon the Englishmen, and put them all to flight; sir Robert Wolues, and his brother Richard Wolues, with diuers other, to the number of six hundred, were taken prisoners; and the said sir Robert Wolues and other the principall landed men were kept still in Scotland till after the kings death. This victorie chanced to the Scots, at a place called Balveny in the Mers, vpon saint Bartholomewes day, which is the twentieth fourth of August.

After this, the king of England sent the duke of Norfolk with the earles of Shrewsburie, Darbie, Cumberland, Surreie, Hertford, Angus, Rutland, and the lords of the north parts of England, with an armie of fortie thousand men, as the Scots esteemed them, though they were not more than aboute twentie thousand, who entered into Scotland the one and twentieth of October, and burnt certeine towncs vpon the side of the water of Tweed: but the earle of Huntley, hauing with him ten thousand of the borderers and other, so waited vpon them, giuing them now and then skirmishes and alarms, that they came not past two miles from the water of Tweed within the Scottish bounds at that season.

In the meane time, the king of Scotland being aduertised hereof, gathered a great armie through all the parts of his realme, and came to Solway hedge, where they mustered, and were numbred to be thirtie six thousand men, with the which he came to Falla Murie, and there incamped, determining to giue battell to the Englishmen, as he pretended: howbeit, if the duke had taried longer, as it was thought he would haue done, if the time of the yeere and prouision of vittels had serued, the Scots would yet haue bene better aduised, before they had joined with him in a pight field. But true it is, that after the duke had remained there so long as vittels might be had and recovered from anie part, he retired with his armie backe into England, not without some losse of men, horses, and spoiles, which the Scots vnder the earle of Huntley and others took from the Englishmen in that their retire, speciallie as they passed ouer the river of Tweed.

After the Englishmen were thus departed and withdrawing home forth of Scotland, king James being of an high and manlie courage, in reuenge of harmes done by the Englishmen within his countrey, thought good that his whole armie should passe forward and invade England, himselfe to go there with in proper person. And herein he requested the consent of his nobilitie, who after long reasoning, and good aduicement taken in the matter, gaue answer [by the earle of Murray] to the king in this sort, that they could not thinke it good that they should passe within England, and to seeke battell, the king himselfe being with them, considering that his two sons were lately deceased, so that he had no succession of his bodie: for in case that they lost the field, as in chance of battell is most uncerteine, then the king of England hauing great substance, might therewith follow the victorie, and put the realme of Scotland in great hazard.

Therefore

Sir Robert Wolues inuaded the borders.

The earle of Huntley gathered an overthrow to the Englishmen. 1542. Lest.

The king breaketh by his armie.

The king goeth to the west borders. 1541. Lest.

Oliver Shindler.

The lord wharton.

The emite of the lords against Oliver Shindler.

The Scots discomfited by the Englishmen.

The king for the overthrow of his men.

Scottish ships taken.

Therefore they thought it sufficient to defend their owne bounds, and to constraîne the ennemie for feare to leaue the inuasion thereof, as presentlie they had done; and declared that they were determined to haue giuen battell to their enemies, if they had continued within the realme, and doubted not by the helpe of God, they hauing so iust a cause, and being inuaded in their countrie, but that they should haue obserued the victorie. The king hearing their determination, albeit his high courage pressed him to inuade; yet the appoynted wit of his nobles and counsellors caused him to follow their aduise, and so returned with his armie backe againe, the first of Nouember, the armie of England being first discharged, and the duke of Suffolke in his returne towards London.

Shortlie after, the king of Scotland went himselfe in person to the west marches of his realme, where the lord Marwell was warden, whome together with the earles of Caillies, and Glencarne [the lord Fleming] and certeine other lords there with him, the king appointed to inuade the English marches on that side, taking with them the power of the borders, and sent also with them Oliver Sinclair [the brother of Roseline Comarck] and the residue of the gentlemen of his household. These earles and lords entering into England on saint Katharines euen, being the foure and twentieth of Nouember, began to burne certeine townes vpon the water of Elke. But as soone as the scrie was raised in the countrie, the lord Wharton warden of the west marches of England, suddnlie raised the power of the countrie, and came to a little hill, where they shewed themselves in sight vnto the Scottish armie.

The Scottish lords perceluing the Englishmen gathered, assembled themselves together, and inquired who was lieutenant generall there by the kings appointment; and incontinentlie Oliver Sinclair was holden vp on two mens shoulders, where he sheweth forth the kings commission, instituting him lieutenant to the king of that armie. But howsoeuer that was read, the earles and lords there present, thought themselves imbased too much, to haue such a meane gentelman advanced in authoritie aboue them all, and therefore determined not to fight vnder such a capteyne, but willinglie suffered themselves to be ouercome, and so were taken by the Englishmen; not shewing anie countenance of defense to the contrary, and without slaughter of anie one person on either side.

This rode was called Solowate Mofle, at the which were taken prisoners men of name; these persons following: the earle of Caillies and Glencarne, the lord Marwell, the lord Fleming, the lord Somerville, the lord Oliphant, Oliver Sinclair, the lord of Craggie, and sundrie other gentlemen; the which were led prisoners to London, where they remained till after the king was dead. The king being in Carlauerke, vpon the borders, not farre from Solowate Mofle, when this misfortune fell vpon his men: after he heard thereof, he was meruelouslie amazed, the more; in calling to remembrance the refusal made by his nobles, assembled with him in campe at Ffalia vpon his request to inuade England. Where, with such an impression entered his mind, that he thought with himselfe that all his whole nobilitie had conspired against him, and there vpon took such a vehement and high displeasure, increased with a melancholious thought, that he departed suddnlie from thence to Edenburgh, and after remained in Falkeland, where he remained as a man desolate of comfort, being sore bereaved in spirit and bodie; and would not permit anie manner of person to haue access to him, his secret & familiar seruantes onelie excepted. Now, as he was thus disquieted; newes were

brought him that the queene his wife was brought to bed of a faire yong princesse the seventh day of December, the which newes he liked verie well; and added the grieve thereof to his former displeasure, inso much that he perceiued the end of his life to approach, and withall said, that he foresaw great trouble to come vpon the realme of Scotland, for the pursuit which the king of England was like to make therevpon against the same, to the end he might bring it vnder his subiection, either by marriage, or by some other meane. It was reported that he was disquieted with some unkinde medicine: but howsoeuer the matter was, he yielded vp his spirit to almightie God, and departed this world the foureteenth of December, in the yere of our redemption, 1542, the thirtie three yere of his age, and thirtie two of his reigne.

Shortlie after his departure, his bodie was conueied into Falkeland vnto Edenburgh in most honorable wise; the cardinall, the earles of Arrane, Argle, Mothes, Marshall, and diuerse other noblemen being present, and with all funerall pompe (as was requisite) it was buried in the abbey church of Holyrood house, beside the bodie of queene Margarete, daughter to the king of France, his first wife. There was great lamentation and mone made for his death throughout all parts of his realme, for he was verie well beloued among his subiects. He was of sweet countenance and courteous speech, graciously eied, hauing a diuine mind in all whatsoeuer, neither certeine in doubtful things, nor doubtful in things of certaintie, auoiding dangers with graue counsels, performing hard matters with great nobilitie of mind, and foresaking what might followe with an incredible iudgement: in such sort that he was neuer improuided against the danger of anie thing, or was drauene from it by the difficultie thereof, or was hindered by the obscuritie therein; whereby he might incur the note either of a rash, fearefull, or slow person.

All which singular commendations seemed to flow out of this spring, that he did not by heat of youth (rashlie) but with great deliberation (soundlie) manage the whole affaires of the common-wealth. For as he did chieflie labor that his table might not exceed for gluttonie, nor be ouersparing for miserie: so if his apparell were decent, he esteemed not the shew of womanish attyre after the courtlie fashion. He was so farre from pride, that he alwaies shewed himselfe offended with the vses thereof. He was an obseruer of iustice, a defender of the law, and a sharpe shield for the innocent and poore: for which cause he was of the nobilitie called the king of the commoners. For he set at libertie the poore oppressed with the tyrannie of the rich, and repressed the rich from spoiling of the poore: all which he did with a certeine severity, but yet such, as in the same there appeared a wonderfull gentleness of his naturall disposition, because he seldom put anie of them to death, but did either by prison or mult punish the offense. For he was wont to say, that he would neuer take life from anie, but onelie to keepe the law sound, and for the example of others: and to keepe downe the boldnesse of such as dwelt about the borders. With these conditions he left the realme plentifully furnished with riches, and his owne treasure not emptie, but abundantly stored with gold, silver and other furniture: for which cause it should not seeme strange, that his death was greatly lamented of his subiects, to whom he was a perfect patrone, and a loving father.

Of whome also Buchanan lib. 14 writeth, that his vices did almost equall all his great vertues; but that they were rather to be imputed to the iniquitie of the time than the inclination of his nature,

Fr. Thin,
Lefleus lib. 9,
pag. 460.

The birth of
the Scottish
quene.

The king
brought by
his armie.

The king
went to the
west
borders.
1541. Lefl.

Oliver Sin-
clair.

The lord
Wharton.

The ennemy
of the lords a-
gainst Oliver
Sinclair.

The Scots
defeated by
the English-
men.

The wife of
the king for
the ouerthrow
of his men.

for the libertie of althings had then dissolued the public discipline, which could not be staied but by great severitie of correction. And this made him moze covetous of monie, because that he was kept extreme hard when he was under the government of others. Whereby, when he came to be at libertie, he was anew to furnish all his courts with household stuffe, finding his houses emptie, and all things consumed atwaie: for his tutors had consumed the kinglie patrimonie upon those whome he willingly would not to have received it. Besides, for his excess of women the fault grew by such as were his tutors, who gave him libertie thereto, supposing therby to keepe him the longer in their danger. The nobilitie did not greatly take his death grievouslie, because he had fined manie, imprisoned moze, and caused no small feiw (for avoiding his displeasure) to flie into England, and rather to commit themselves to the enimie than to his anger.)

Queene
Marie.

1542.

The lord Levingston.

David Beton
cardinal.

Disforging
of a will.

The prote-
stants espied
the cardinals
crafting.

1543 Lesle.
Fr. Thin.

The eternall God calling to his mercie James king of Scotland, the first of that name, Marie his onelie daughter and heire began hir reigne over the realme of Scotland, the eighteenth day of December, in the yere of our Lord 1542, Francis the first of that name then reigning in France, & Henrie the eight over the Englishmen. She was not passing seven daies old when hir father departing this life, left unto hir his kingdome, hir mother lieng in childbed in the castell of Lithquo, of which place the lord Levingston being capteine, had the charge committed to him, both of the daughter & mother, with the mothers good agreement and free consent.

Whereover, immediatlie after the kings death (because he deceased without making anie will, or taking anie direction for the gouernement either of the realme, or custodie of the yong queene his daughter) David Beton, cardinal and archbishop of S. Andrews, the speciall minister & factor of the French causes, to the advancement and continuance thereof, invented and forged [by Henrie Balsore] a will and testament of the late king now departed, in which (amongst other things) he established himselfe chiefe regent, adioining with him the earles of Murray, base brother to the king deceased, Huntley and Argyle, not once mentioning the earle of Lennox then absent in France, nor yet James Hamilton earle of Arrane his cousine, being there present in Scotland.

Those that professed the reformed religion, being then called protestants, to whome the said cardinal was ever a cruell enimie and sharpe scourge, espied forth his uniuert dealing in this behalfe, and trusting by the gentle nature and good inclination of the said earle of Arrane, to haue some libertie to embrace the gospell, set him against the cardinal: so that by the helpe of his owne and their friends, he removed the cardinal and his adherents from the usurped come and authoritie, and therewith was the said earle of Arrane proclaimed gouernor and protector of the realme. [And thereupon shewing his authoritie, he entereth the kings palaces, as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 464. and vseth the kings treasure, and calleth the officers of the treasure to account, whereof he reteteth some, and changeeth others at his pleasure.]

This earle of Arrane made a title to haue and inioie that office and rone, as next in blood to the yong queene, as descended from a sister of h. James the third, married to his grandfather lord Hamilton, in the yere 1475, by reason of which marriage he was created earle of Arrane, as by act of parlement holden the same yere at Edinburgh, it was agreed and ordeined. The king of England that noble prince Henrie the eight, aduertised of the death of the king of Scots, considered with good aduise, that

now there was offered a most readie meane and iust occasion, whereby the two realmes of England and Scotland might be brought into one entier monarchie, without warre or bloodshed, by the marriage of his sonne prince Edward, being then little past six yeres of age, with the yong queene of Scotland.

He therefore being resolved fullie to bring the same to passe, either by quiet meanes or by force, and sending for the earles of Castles, and Glencarne, the lords Marwell, and Fleming, and other prisoners that had bene taken at Soloway mosse, caused them to be conueied unto Hampton court, where the seuen and twentieth of December they being right courteously interteined, he made unto them an ouerture of his purpose and whole intent, proponing the whole matter unto them, requesting them for their parts, to helpe (with their consents) that a contract of marriage might be made betweene his sonne the prince, and their yong queene, promising to them libertie without ransom, besides other pleasures and benefits, if they would do their indenor to persuade the gouernor, and other the nobilitie of Scotland to be agreeable hereunto.

The Scottish earles and lords accepted the kings offer, and withall promised to do their diligence to persuade the rest of the nobilitie in Scotland at their comming home: whereupon they were licenced to depart, and so comming to Newcastle, remained there with the duke of Suffolke, then the kings lieutenant of the north parts, till he had received forth of Scotland certeine pledges of the chiefest of these lords, for performance of their promises. Likewise the king of England sent with them the earle of Angus, and his brother sir George Dowglas with his letters to the gouernor, requesting effectually, that they might be restored to their romes, lands and possessions in that realme.

These lords arriving at Edinburgh, about the midst of Januarie, declared to the gouernor their message and proposition made by the king of England, with such efficacie, that the gouernor being persuaded thereto by their words, sent for the lords and nobilitie of the realme to come to Edinburgh, to a convention there, to be holden the seuen and twentieth of that present moneth: where they concluded that a parlement should be kept in March next ensuing. And doubting lest the cardinal (being there present) should go about to persuade the nobilitie not to consent to their desires, they caused him to be put in ward within the castell of Warketh: the lord Beton being appointed to haue the custodie of him. About the same time, sir Robert Bowes, and all other the Englishmen that were prisoners, and had bene taken at Halding rig on saint Bartholomewes day (as before ye haue heard) were sent home by the gouernor into England, and sir Rafe Sadler was sent ambassadour from king Henrie unto the said gouernor, and other the lords of Scotland, and came thither before the said parlement, to persuade the lords to agree unto the king his masters motions, travelling so diligentlie in the matters whereabout he was thus sent, that it was concluded by act of parlement, to send ambassadours into England, for the better satisfaction of king Henries desires.

And so the earle of Glencarne, sir George Dowglas, sir William Hamilton, sir James Leirmouth, and the secretaire being named and appointed thereto, departed in the moneth of March, and comming into England unto the king, remained there till the latter end of Iulie. In which meane time, such covenants, contracts, and promises were had and concluded, passed and sealed interchangeably, as stood with the pleasure and good liking of king Henrie, so as the marriage

The king of
England tal-
keth with the
lords of Scot-
land prisoners
for a marriage
betwixt his
son and their
queene.

1543. Buch.

Duke of
Suffolke
Buchanan.

The earle of
Angus sent
home into
Scotland.

1543. Lesle.
1542.

A convention
of the Scottish
nobilitie.

The cardinal
committed to
ward.

Halding rig.

Sir Rafe
Sadler.

Ambassadors
sent into
England.

The marriage
confirmed.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus. lib. 10.
pag. 465.

The French
king misliketh
of the match
with Eng-
land.
Matthew
earle of Len-
nox.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 15.

The marriage
confirmed.

marriage was fullie contracted, and a peace concluded for ten yeeres, by authoritie of the aforesaid parliament. Herewith also the lord gouernour shewed himselfe to embrace the reformed religion, causing one frier Guiliam to preach against images, and fruitlesse ceremonies, and gaue libertie that the bible called The new and old testament, should be had in English, & vniuersallie publisht through the realme of Scotland.

Also he commanded not onelie the cardinall (as before ye haue heard) but also ordeined that the quene mother should remaine in Lthgow with the yong quene hir daughter, vnder some manner of safe custodie, and the cardinall to be removed vnto his owne castell of saint Andrewes, with warders about him to see him safelie kept. * Not long after, the cardinall was restored to vnhoped libertie, and the earle of Angus, George Dowglas, and the lord Claines, the heire of James Hamilton, with manie others, by the content of the thre estates, were wholie restored to all their goods, and deliuered from the sentence of banishment.

John Hamilton abbat of Passelet, brother of the gouernour, returning out of France (where he had imployed himselfe to studie) did (with certeine learned men, as David Panter, and others, whom he had in his companie) visit the king of England, of whome they were most courteously entertained. After which this Hamilton returning into Scotland, was made treasurer of the kingdome, which office he discharged with great commendation, so long as his brother kept the gouernement, whom he did not onelie helpe in counsell for ordering of the kingdome, but also shewed him selfe a valliant and industrious man in the warres against the English, for defense of the kingdome of Scotland. About this time, the earle Bothwell, which was banished, and had remained long at Venice, did returne into Scotland, whither he was honorablie welcommed, as a person much desired of his friends and kindred.)

The realme being thus brought in quiet, and vnder god gouernement, the French king soze mistliking this new coniunction of the Scots with England, and doubting least the old former bond of alliance betwixt France and Scotland might thereby be vtterlie dissolved and shaken off, he sent for Matthew Stewart earle of Lennox, then abroad in his seruice in the wars of Italie, and vpon his comming backe from thence to the court, he declared to him the decrease of the late king of Scots, the intrusion of Arrane, and the attempts in that realme begun, with all the circumstances from point to point as he knew; and further discoursed with him what wrong he had to be set aside, and displaced from his right of gouernement; and therefore exhorted him to repaire home to recouer the same, offering not onelie to assist him with men, monie, and munition, but also to soine his friends in Scotland with him in aid to attaine the place of regiment, and to remove Arrane and others from it.

The earle of Lennox herevpon with commission and instructions deliuered to him by the French king, had also letters from him directed to the lords that were of the French faction, wherin the said king requested them to remaine and continue in their former good meanings towards him, and to assist the earle of Lennox in all things, as should be thought expedient. * Now, before the earle of Lennox returned out of France, the cardinall had used manie persuasions against the English, as well that the Scots set at libertie by the king, should breake their faith with him, as also to draw them to the French faction, and rather to suffer their pledges to receiue what king Henrie would vse vnto them, than by kee-

ping promise to the English, to conueie the yong quene vnto them.

Wherevpon, when the greater part of those nobles (whome the matter touched, could easilie find anie color for the excuse of their fault) had consented to the cardinals perswasion, onelie one amongst the rest would not yeld thereto, which was Gilbert Kennedy earle of Cassles, who could not be drawn from that constancie (in obseruing his faith) either by bribes, flatteries, or threats. For he (hauing two brothers pledges for him in England) did openlie protest, that he would returne to prison, and by no feare laid before him commit such a fault, as that he would redeme his life with the blond of his two brothers: for which cause he went forthwith to London, although euerie man spake against it. Wherevpon, the king of England did singularlie commend the constancie of the yong man, and further (to the end that his vertue might be knowne to all men) did set him at libertie with his two brethren, and sent him home honorablie rewarded.

Now the realme of Scotland being thus in great bypazes by means of the quenes and cardinals factions, whereof the last dyed all (such as he could) to support the French league, they sent ambassadors into France, to request the French king to send home Matthew Stewart earle of Lennox, as one that was not onelie emulous against Hamilton, but also his deadlie enimie for the slaughter of his father at Linmuche: which yong Stewart (beside his beautie and comelincesse of bodie, in the verie flower of his youth; the innocencie, carefulnesse, and dangers of his father, a verie popular man, and beloued of the people; the worthinesse of that familie brought almost to an end, and that the same was of great power, and linked in marriage with manie nobles) did win and draw the minds of manie men, desirous to helpe him, for the great saue they bare vnto him.

To the which further procurement of the peoples loue also, there might be ioined, that he was next heire to the crowne by the kings appointment, if he died without issue male; the which king James, if he had liued, would haue established by parlement: besides which likewise, there wanted not flatterers, which did not onelie flatter by his noble mind (now gaping after great things, and vndefended against deceit) to the hope of gouerning of the kingdome for these one and twentie yeeres and more, during the quenes minority, and to the rule and power ouer his enimies, whereby he might vse reuenge vpon them: but also they promised him to marrie the quene Dowager: and in the meane time (if anie thing happened otherwise than well to the yong quene) that he should obtaine the crowne, whereby he should both be king, and the next lawfull heire of James Hamilton latelie deceased, since the gouernour was a bastard, and could not onelie by law not looke or hope for the kingdome, but also not so much as hope to be heire to his owne familie. To all which were added the persuasions of the French before mentioned. Wherevpon, the yong man (whose mind was credulous, being tickled and intised with these hopes) determined to go into Scotland.)

The earle therefore fullie instructed by the French king, how to deale and proceed, took his leaue, and with all speed taking the sea, directed his course into Scotland, where (after his arriuall) he came to Cherriburg, in which towne all the lords being assembled together with the gouernour, he declared to them the effect of his commission from the French king, his request to them, & good affection to mainteine them against England, if in case they would continue the old league with him, and not seeke to make anie new alliance with the king of England.

The earle of
Lennox passeth
into
Scotland,

But

Fr. Thin.
Lesseus. lib. 10.
pag. 465.

The French
king mistliketh
of the match
with Eng-
land.
Matthew
earle of Len-
nox.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 15.

But perceiuing that the gouernour and his friends were minded to satisfie the king of Englands desires, he would not carrie for a resolute answer, but by the counsell of the earle of Argile, William earle of Glencarne, and others of the French faction, he suddenly departed south of Edinburgh toward the west countrie, highlie displeased (as should seme) with the gouernour, and taking Liffgow in his way, he conferred with the quene Dowager (as they termed hie) deniuing how to assemble the noble men of the French side, to bring hir and hir daughter to libertie, out of the danger of the lord gouernour: because it was supposed that he ment to conuie hir into England.

About the same time, through practise of the abbat of Valleie, brother to the gouernour, and others, the castell of Edinburgh was got out of the hands of sir Peter Creighton, and the keeping thereof committed by the gouernours appointment vnto James Hamilton lord of Stanehouse. But the erle of Lennor, with the assistance of the earles of Huntlie, Montrossie, Pentife, Argile, and others of the French faction in August following, conuicted the yong quene with hir mother from Liffgow vnto Striueling. The cardinall also was there with them latelie before, having corrupted his keepers, & gotten abroad at libertie. Herewith was a day appointed and proclaimed for the coronation of the yong quene. The earle of Arrane then gouernour, with the earles of Angus, Castles, the lords Marvell, Somerville, and diuerse others, called the English lords, remaining still at Edinburgh, aduertised the king of England of all the doings of Lennor, and other of that faction, requiring his aduise and counsell how to deale for disappointing of their purposes, that sought to continue the amitie still with France, to the prejudice of peace with England.

The king of England aduertised hereof, as well thus from the gouernour, and other the Scottish lords, as also from sir Rafe Sadler, his maiesties ambassador there, doubted greatlie least these lords, in whose hands the quene then was, in respect of the fauour which they bare to the French king, should conuie hir ouer into France: whereupon he requested the gouernour, and the other lords that fauoured his side, so to deale, that the night be sent into England, there to remaine, till the marriage might be consummate betwixt hir and his sonne prince Edward: having in the meane time such lords of hir countrie about hir to attend vpon hir, and to see to hir bringing vp, as should be thought expedient. To conclude, his maiestie not onelie sent his princelie comfort by waie of counsell and good aduise, but also according to their desire, and as by the duke of Suffolke (his highnes lieutenant then in the north) it was thought expedient.

Thomas lord Wharton, with two thousand men from the west marches, and the lord Guers with other two thousand from the east borders, were appointed to enter Scotland, and to ioint themselves with the gouernour and his friends, to assist them against their aduersaries. But as they were in readiness to march, through the secret labors of the cardinall, withing the aquancement of the earle of Arrane his kinsman (whome he thought he should well enough frame to be at his appointment rather than Lennor that was knowne to be of a greater stomach, the matter was so handled; that by the cardinall and the earle of Huntlie of the one part, and the quene Dowager on the other, that the earle of Arrane reuolting from the king of England, came in to the Dowager, and joined himselfe with the cardinall, and other the lords of the French faction: by reason whereof, they all concluded to mainteine him

in the estate of lord gouernour, and not to place Lennor, as their purpose was to haue done, if Arrane had continued faithfull to the king of England.

Shortlie after, the yong quene was crowned at Striueling, the cardinall taking vpon him to order things as he thought good, appointing the gouernour to beate the crowne as chiefe person, & next in blood to the quene, and the earle of Lennor to beate the scepter. After the coronation, a parlement was called and holden at Edinburgh, at the which, in presence of the patriarch of Apuleia the popes agent, and of the French kings ambassadours, monsieur la Brosse, and monsieur Penage, latelie before come into the realme, the earle of Arrane was newlie confirmed gouernour. And for the sure preservation (as they pretended) of the yong quene, it was agreed by the gouernour and the estates, that the shuld remaine with the old quene hir mother in Sterling castell, during hir minority, and certeine rents of that seignorie were assigned for maintenance of such traine as was thought expedient to be attendant about hir: and further, the lords Levingston, Erskin, and Fleming (as saith Buchanan) the lord Grams, John Arskine, John Lindesie, & William Levingston were appointed to abide continuallie with hir, for the better safeguard of hir person.

Thus was euerie thing ordered as seemed to stand with the pleasure of the cardinall. Whereupon the earle of Lennor, perceiuing how vncourteouslie he was vsed, to haue his aduersarie thus confirmed in authoritie by the French side, and himselfe reiecte, he first sent to the French king, informing him thoroughly of the iniuries to him done, putting him in remembrance of the promises made to him when he departed from him; also the constantnesse of his seruice, the hazard he had put himselfe in for his sake: and notwithstanding how he was yet vnkindlie dealt with, that through trust of his promised aid and assistance, he was brought out of credit in his countrie, and subiecte vnder the commandement and authoritie of his enemy, and wrongfullie disappointed of his right, which he looked to haue recouered, and to haue bene mainteined therein by his support.

In consideration whereof, he renounced his seruice, willing him from thenceforth not to looke for the same any more at his hands. Herewith Lennor iointing himselfe with the earles of Angus, Castles, and Glencarne, the lords Marvell, and Somerville, the thiriffe of Aire, the lord of Dumbairig, and other of that side, called the English lords, set himselfe against the gouernour, the cardinall, and others of that faction, so that the residue of this yere was spent in ciuill dissention betwene them; And here is to be noted, that a little before that the earle of Arrane reuolted to the French part, there was arriued in the mouth of the riuer of Cloide on the west coast, five ships, which the French king had sent to the aid of his friends in Scotland, vnder the conduction of James Stewart of Cardonold, and of the forenamed monsieur de la Brosse, & monsieur Penage, the French kings ambassadours.

There came with them also the patriarch of Apuleia, of whome ye haue likewise heard before. They had brought aboard in these ships fiftie thousand crownes, and munition to the value of ten thousand crownes. The earle of Lennor therfore, when he first resolved to turne to the English part, with the aduise of his confederats, seized vpon those ships, got the fiftie thousand crownes, and the most part of the munition into his hands, and brought it to the castell of Dumbreton, reseruing it to his owne vse, where it was sent to haue bene imploid to the maintenance of the French faction, against the king of England, and the lords that leaned to his side.

The coronation of quene Marie.

A parlement.

The patriarch of Apuleia.

Order for the custodie of the quene.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Lennor his displeasure.

He renounceth his seruice to the French king.

Ciuill dissention in Scotland.

French ships arriuing in the riuer of Cloide.

The earle of Lennor seized vpon the French ships.

The

The earle of Lennor conferreth with the quene Dowager.

1543. Lesle.

The castell of Edinburgh recovered to the gouernours vse.

The yong quene conuicted to Striueling.

The king of Englands doubt.

The lord Wharton. The lord Guers.

The earle of Arrane a faith breaker.

The earle of Lennor raiseth an armie.

An appointment taken. Pledges deliuered.

The earle of Lennor cometh to the gouernour. He departed from him a game. He fortifieth Glasgow. Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 468. 1543. Lesle.

The men of faction vnto the duke of Huntlie. Geo. his brother. The earle of Lennor cometh to the gouernour. He departed from him a game. He fortifieth Glasgow. Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 468. 1543. Lesle.

The earle of
Lennor rais-
eth an armie.

The coronation
of queene
Marie.

A parliament.

The patri-
arch of Aps-
lita.

Order for the
custodie of the
queene.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of
Lennor his
displeasure.

He renoun-
ceth his ser-
vice to the
French king.

Civil dissen-
sion in Scots
land.

French ships
arriving in
the river of
Cloude.

The earle of
Lennor seized
upon the
French ships.

An appoint-
ment taken.
Pledges deli-
vered.

The earle of
Lennor com-
meth to the
gouernor.
He departed
from him a-
gaine.
He fortifieth
Glasgow.
Fr. Thin.
Lesseus lib. 10.
pag. 468.
1543. Lesle.

The earle of Lennor therefore, raising a power of men of warre with the assistance of the lords of his faction, came with them unto Leith against the gouernor that was then in Edinburgh: but through the diligent trauell of the cardinall, the earles of Huntley, Murray, and Argyle, the matter was taken vp, and an appointment accorded: so that sir George Dowglas was deliuered as a pledge for his brother the earle of Angus, the maister of Glencarne for his father the earle of Glencarne, the abbat Cassaghole for his brother the earle of Cassiles, to remaine in safe keeping where it pleased the gouernor to appoint. The earle of Lennor came vnto Edinburgh to the gouernor, but within six daies after, they went both to Lthquho, from whence the earle of Lennor secretly departed from the gouernor without bidding him farewell, and comming to Glasgowe, fortified the castell.

When the gouernor had receiued true intelligence that the earle had taken Glasgowe, he assembling such power as he could make, as well of his friends and followers, as of others, especiallye of the lord Boid) went vnto Glasgowe, in which place the earle of Glencarne had before placed his armie, to the end there to trie the matter with his enemies. But before the battell, the earle of Lennor had withdrawn himselfe vnto Dunbretton, to gather a greater assemblee, shortly after to returne to Glasgowe. The earle of Glencarne, with Tilbarne, Housstone, Buchanan, Macfarlane, Drumquhassile, and other barons and nobles of the Lennor, Kamfric, and other places adioining, with the citizens, ecclesiasticall persons of all orders, and the other sort of common people, departed out of the towne to the plaine thereof (being a mile from the towne) there to trie the event of battell (before the comming of the earle of Lennor) more in haste than good speed. Whereupon the gouernor (perceiuing himselfe to be drawne forward to battell) commanded the trumpets to sound to the alarmes. Whereupon the battels ioined, the hofes began to fight violently, and the conflict grew to be extreme on both parts: in which (with great slaughter) they long time fought with vncertaine victorie.

But in the end (that with the force of his armie, and the encouragement of the capteine) the full conquest fell to the gouernor, who put his enemies to flight. At what time, of the fauourers of the Lennor there were manie slaine, partlie of the nobles (as the sonne of the earle of Glencarne, and Monniepennie capteine of the footmen) and partlie of the common sort (as the citizens of Glasgowe, and manie ecclesiasticall persons.) Besides all which, there had manie more perished, if the gouernor (through his naturall clemencie) had not (when the victorie began to leane towards him) giuen a signe of retreat, & with much speed saued manie of them. On the gouernors part were few missing, except Cambusketh (the head of that familie) and the baron of Argentine. The gouernor pursuing this victorie, entered the towne of Glasgowe, where he vled (by the persuation of the lord Boid) wonderfull fauour towards the citizens, (farre beyond their deserts) although that he depriued some (of the chiefest condition amongst them) from all the vse and benefit of their goods.

The earle of Lennor remaining at Dunbar, receiued into the castell the earle of Glencarne, and others, which had escaped the battell, who sometime after did rest (being feared with the overthrow) from a nie further turmoiles or troubles. But in the end, they which fauoured the Lennor, do afresh stirre him to take weapon against the gouernor: whereupon he doth strengthen the towne and steeple of Glasgowe, determining to gather a new supplie, and once

more to cast the dice of war. But the gouernor (minding to preuent all his inuencions by wise counsell) did (being accompanied with the cardinall) call to him about Glasgowe, all the nobilitie of the south parts, and (bringing forth the hired souldiours) commanded the great peeces to be planted against the enimie. Whereupon (entering the towne) he besieged the castell and steeple of the church (in which place were both Scots and Frenchmen) and in the end (after a slaughter of some of them) enforced the other to yield their forts. After that the castell was thus come into the gouernors hands, he hanged eightene of the chiefest and best loued vnto Lennor, and permitted the rest to depart at libertie. The earle of Lennor (vnderstanding that his affaires began to wauer, and to obtaine such euill successe) doth send the earle of Angus and the lord Marwell to the gouernor, to treat of peace betwene him and the earle of Lennor, the which they laboured with great diligence, according to the trust reposed in them.]

But the gouernor caused them both to be secretly conueied from the counsell by the backside of the blacke friers of Glasgowe, vnto the castell of Hamilton, and from thence the earle was sent to Blackenelle. The lord Marwell was kept still in hold at Hamilton, and George Dowglas, and the maister of Glencarne in Edinburgh castell. These persons thus imprisoned stood in great doubt of their liues (as some supposed:) but as diuerse other did suspect, they were rather committed for a colour, than for a nie euill that was meant towards them. Howsoeuer it was with them, the earle of Lennor by the aduise of his friends sent the earle of Glencarne, and a gentleman called Thomas Bishop, vnto the king of England with offer of his seruice, and request to haue in marriage the ladye Margaret Dowglas daughter to the Earle of Angus, and niece to the said king.

Wherevnto the king granted. For the performance thereof (and the dispatch of other things) he sent the lord Wharton and diuerse others. And on the earles part, the bishop of Cathnes his brother and the earle of Glencarne were appointed, who met at Carleill to performe the agreement. The queene, the cardinall, and the other of the French faction, did helpe the gouernor all they might, with counsell, power, and monie; because they perceiued that he repented such friendship with England as he had taken in hand by the counsell of Angus and of others. In the meane time there was a parliament assembled at Striueling, in which by common consent, the earle of Lennor was condemned of treason; wherefore the sentence of banishment was erected against him, and all his goods with his patri-monie were confiscat to the queene. Whylest the French king was ascertained that Lennor had forsaken his faction, & committed himselfe to the king of England, he suddenly committed to prison John Stewart lord of Aubigne baron in France, brother to the earle of Lennor, and depriued the said John Stewart of all such honours and offices as he possessed in France. For he was generall capteine of all the Scottish lands in France, being either such as had garrard of the kings bodie, or bowmen, or men at armes: for the king of France hath Scots in wages of all the orders.

But let vs now returne to the Patriarch, who was honorablie receiued by the cardinall and the bishop of Scotland into the citie of Glasgowe: during whose abode there, great contention arose betwene the cardinall and the archbishop of Glasgowe, who should in that citie be of greatest authoritie and honor. Which in the end came to this issue, that both families fell together by the eares, which of them should goe for

The earle of
Angus and
the lord Mar-
well commit-
ted to ward.

Mens opini-
ons for the
imprisoning
of the earle of
Angus.

1544.
The earle of
Lennor sen-
deth to the
king of Eng-
land.

Fr. Thin.
Lesseus lib. 10.
pag. 470.

foze with his crosse bozne uprigh. For the cardinall archbishop of saint Andzewis and pimat of the kingdome, did affirme that the archbishop of Glascow should not haue his crosse bozne in his owne church, so long as the cardinall was present. Which the seruants of the archbishop of Glascow toke in such disdain, that they plucked downe the cardinals crosse and threw it to the ground. Wherevpon, the gouernor (vnderstanding the whole matter, and that it was now come from words to swordes) made hast to appeale this factious commotion, & caused the Patriarch therewith to be brought to Edinburgh accompanied with the clergie, where he remained all the winter following. In which towne he was honozable entertained and feasted of the quene, the gouernor, and other of the nobles, whome he requited with the like courtesie.

Amongest these of the nobilitie, the earle of Murray had the Patriarch on a day to a banquet, in which this Murray did shew an honozable thing not accustomed amongest others. For where he abounded in store of silver vessels, yet he commanded his seruants to furnish a great cupbord with chissall glasses brought from Venice, & that in the midst of dinner he should ouerturne the cupbord as it were unwillinglie. Which the seruant at the time appointed did performe. The noise of breaking of which glasses did suddenlie fill the eares of all the companie: and the Patriarch seeing the hurt, was somewhat moued. But the earle making no account of this thing, commanded his man afresh to furnish the same cupbord with as manie and fairer vessels of glasse than the former were, to the Patriarchs great admiration. For the Patriarch affirmed that the glasses of Murray and Venice did not anie way excell these. Cruelie this earle of Murray was honozable, wise, iust, and famous amongest manie princes for his manifold vertues, & manie ambassages most happlie performed amongest them. Who shortly after this, departing the court, died of the stone at his castle in Turnwaie.

This Patriarch shewed to the gouernor (besides other priuileges that he had from the see of Rome) his great authoritie, in that he was legat from the popes side, amongest the Scots, as long as he remained there. Which office, when he departed to Rome, he procured to be transferred to the cardinall; at what time the Patriarch also in the name of the pope, did promise much helpe, and monie to be sent to Scotland against England. For he studied by all means he could, to hinder the mariage of those two kingdoms: because he suspected thereby, that some alteration might be made in Scotland touching the religion; with the ouerthrow of churches and monasteries. Now, after that the Patriarch had remained all the winter in Scotland, he departed from thence in March, who as he was honozable entertained in all places, so he spared not to recount to the French king and other princes (whome he visited in his iourneie) the humanitie he found in Scotland, which he also imparted to the bishop of Rome, to the other cardinals, & to the senat of Venice; not without singular praise and honor to the Scottish nation.]

They that were sent, so solicited the earles cause, that in the end the king was persuaded that Lennor ought of right to haue the gouernement of the realme of Scotland, and to be second person in the same. And herewith, in consideration how vniustlie not onelie his maiestie had bene dealt with, but also how vnthankfullie and discourteouslie Lennor had bene bled, both at the hands of the French king, and also of his adherents in Scotland, by the cardinall & others: he both thankfullie receiued his gentle offer of seruice, & also promised to aid him in his

title and all other lawfull causes: and herewith prepared an armie to passe into Scotland by sea, appointing the earle of Hertford, and the lord Lisle to haue the conduction of the same, who shipping at Linmouth with their people, arrived in the Forth vnder Werdie castell, a mile & a halfe aboue Leith the third of Maie, the whole nauie containing aboue the number of two hundred ships. Here at Leith, hauen, a quarter of a mile from the said castell, they landed their armie of ten thousand men of warre, with great artillerie, and all kind of munition.

The lord gouernor being at that present within the towne of Edinburgh, hearing of their arriuall, went forth of the towne accompanied with the cardinall, the earles of Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell, and others, purposing to stop their landing: but perceiving the puissance of the aduersaries to be such, as they could not resist the same, they returned to Edinburgh againe, and sent maister Adam Otterbozne prouost of Edinburgh, and two of the bailiffs to the earle of Hertford, to vnderstand the cause of his coming; and withall offered, that if there were anie injuries or wrongs done by anie of the Scots nation, he would appoint commissioners to talke with such as by him should be authorized thereto, for the full answering thereof, & to that effect he would gladlie receiue them into the towne of Edinburgh.

The earle of Hertford answered that he had no commission to talke of anie such matter; but rather to take reuenge of the vniust dealing and breach of promise on those that had falsified their faith. And therefore minding to burne the towne of Edinburgh, as well as other within that realme, he willed the inhabitants and all all those that were within the same to come forth, and submit themselves before him the kings lieutenant, to stand vnto the kings will and pleasure, or else he would not faile to proceed in execution thereof. The prouost answered that he would rather abide all extremities, than accomplish his request and desire in that behalfe; and therevpon returned to the towne.

After the gouernor had heard what answer was made to the prouost, he caused the castell to be furnished with all things necessarie for defense, and departed straightwaies to Striueling. The English armie lodging that night in Leith, marched the next day toward Edinburgh, passing by the Cannogate street to enter at the nether bow, where they found some resistance made by the Scots, so that diuerse were slaine on both parts. Towards night, the Englishmen, after they had continued long in skirmishing that day with the Scottishmen, retired to Leith. The next day the whole armie with the great artillerie came forward towards the towne, and breaking open the Cannogate, they entered the towne by the same, bringing their ordinance within sight of the castell, purposing to plant the same in baite against it; but the captaine of the castell caused the artillerie within to shoot off at them in so great abundance, & so good measure, that they slue diuerse Englishmen, and dismounted one of their peeces, so that in the end they were constrained to draw backe their ordinance & retired; but yet in the meane time they set fire on the towne, and burnt the most part of all the houses in the same. They burnt also the Cannogate street, and the abbete of Holie rood house. The gouernor at that present released out of prison the earle of Angus, the lord Marwell, the maister of Glencarne, sir George Dowglas, and others.

In this meane time also there came from the borders by land foure thousand of English horsemen, vnder the conduction of the lord William Criers, and his sonne sir Rafe Criers; who joining with the armie at Leith, scowped the countrie on eu-

The king of England meaneth to aid the earle of Lennor.

The English armie landeth by Leith.

The earle of Lennor.

The prouost of Edinburgh sent to the earle of Hertford.

The earles answer.

Edinburgh entred by force.

See more hereof in England.

Edinburgh burnt.

Prisoners set at libertie.

Leith burnt.

Pr. Thin. Lellous lib. 10. pag. 474. 1544.

Buchanan. lib. 15.

ric side
armie h
that fol
with pil
as in C
to ward
ford, th
through
lith his
Englis
Scotla
which h
of the
bled th
the En
conten
fairm
the Fle
some t
paid p
kept a
well of
things
storie
mor of
uernor
Georg
Argyle
nor th
lands;
gile, a
with a
parts,
the G
with f
which
honest
lands
led the
Bu
incam
home
ded pa
with t
might
there
Gran
ritanc
going
ger of
nies
tie con
discha
arrol
which
off the
part
great
ning
not ki
Glenc
slaine
of his
broug
bloud
the he
to be
mor s
the f
it hap
left
fight,

the first of Edinburgh. Finally, after the English
army had been in Leith a certain space, they burnt
that tower also, and from their ships stowed freight
with pillage and spoils, got as well in that tower,
as in Edinburgh, and stowed in the country, thar
in the English and thar in the name of Henry.
And so they stowed, and others returned by land
through the country into Berwick, as in the Eng-
lish history more at large appeareth. Whilst the
English army was thus occupied in that part of
Scotland, the erle of Lennox with an army of men
which he had raised, was ready to come on the backs
of the government and his adherents, if they had assem-
bled their forces and come forward to have given
the Englishmen battell. For all this reason the civil
contentions still continued, and further combats and
contentions chanced betwixt the parties.

The Scots which inhabit the mountains, and
the Isles, did now in these tumults begin to shew
some tokens of their insubmission. For they which
paid periodic tribute in the time of James the first,
but the peace, and within the bounds of law, and
well obeyed the government, did now after they saw all
things on a flame, began againe to spoile and de-
stroy their neighbours, in the same bettering the hu-
mor of their naturall disposition. Whereupon the go-
vernment, to restrain their boldness, called unto him
George Gordon erle of Huntly, and the erle of
Argyle, whereof he made the one governor of the
north parts of Scotland, and of the Orkades, and Shet-
land; and to the other, he committed the rule of Ar-
gyle, and the Isles Hebrides. Whereupon Huntly
with all speed gathered an army from the north
parts, and determined to bridle the Glencamerons,
the Gencromels, the Spuardeles, & the Sembarides,
with force and authority. The captains or heads of
which families, were Ewen Allan, Donald Mac-
donnell, and John Spuarde, who did possesse the
lands of the lordis Grant, and Louet, having expel-
led them by force from the same.

But when they first understood that Huntly had
incamped nere unto them, they fled euerie one
home to their owne possessions: which being de-
fended partly by the west sea, and partly included about
with the mountains, stopped Huntly, so that he
might not haue any passage unto them: by means
whereof these dissensions being banished, the lordis
Grant and Louet were restored to their right in-
heritance. But it fell out contrarie for Louet, who
going to take his owne into his hands, fell into dan-
ger of his enemies. For at that time both the com-
panies were disposed into such order, that neither par-
ty could abstaine from fight. Whereupon they first
discharge their bodies one against another, and their
arrows spent, they after sie to their swords, with
which they fought so egerlie, that the night cutting
off the battell, it could not be well knowne to which
part the victory gaue place. In which there was so
great slaughter on both parts, that till the next mor-
ning in turning the dead bodies, the victors were
not knowne. Amongest whom of the part of the
Glencamerons and Spuardeles there were manie
slaine.

But by reason of the death of the lord Louet, and
of his sonne and heire (a youth of singular hope, and
brought up in France) with three hundred of the
blood and surname of the Fraisers (for Louet was
the head and leader of that familie) the hurt seemed
to be the greater on their part. For there was a ru-
mor spread, that there was not one of the familie of
the Fraisers left aliue that was of mans state. But
it happened by the singular benefit of God, that they
left their wiues with child when they went to the
fight, by which meanes the familie was after raised

and restored. Huntly, greatly promising that the
Fraisers had received this generous rescue, gather-
ed a power together, and went on to portland
with his famous people, that he took and beheaded
Ewen Allan, and Donald, with many other, and
put the rest in prison. The erle of Argyle discharged
the office committed to him as well as Huntly did,
and both more happy success, for all the Glens men
humbly submitted themselves unto him, and sub-
mitted pledges to him quarterly hereafter.

About this time the erle of Lennox, accompa-
nied with Alexander the marshall of Glenearne, o-
therwise called lord of Balnastock, William Graham
brother to the erle of Montrose, sir John Forth,
with knight, and sundrie other gentlemen, took the
sea to passe into England, and arrived at Wilshe-
ster about Midsummer: & passing from thence to the
court, he was instantly received. And immediately
thereupon was the marriage celebrated betwixt him
and the lady Margaret Douglas, daughter & heire
to the erle of Angus, and to Margaret his wife
quene of Scots. Sister to king Henry the eight, at
that time there was assured to him by way of inhe-
ritance, lands to the value of seven hundred marks
of percell rent of assise in consideration of this ma-
riage with the kings niece, and in recompense of
lands lost by him in France, to the which he was in-
herited after the death of Robert Stewart lord
Darent, one of the foure marshalls of France.

Spencer, king Henry being now upon his
tourne towards Wallingford, staid for the anounce-
ment of his highnesse enuies in Scotland, as for recou-
erie of the said erles right in that estate, appointed
the said erle to enter Scotland in the month of Au-
gust, accompanied with sir Will. Maitland, sir Je-
mes Spots knight, master Thomas Andrie, ma-
ster Thomas Wikes, old master Winter coun-
troller of the kings ships, and his sonne sir William
Winter that now is, and sundrie other captains, ha-
ving under their charge two hundred backbutters,
two hundred archers with long bowes, and two hun-
dred armed pikers, beside the mariners belonging to
those ships that were appointed to go forth on this
tourne, being in number about thirtie or fourtine
saile, belonging to Wilshester, and other of the west
parts.

Upon their arrivall on the coast of Scotland, they
burnt the Ile of Arrane, and rased the governments ca-
stell there to the ground. And afterwards arriving
at the Ile of Bute, they entered the same, and took
the castell of Kilsie standing therein (from whence
the Stewards kings of Scotland had their origi-
nall) the captains they had a waile prisoner with them
into England. Here also they took two French
ships laden with wines, and this done they entered
the Firth of Clyde, thinking to find none but their
friends in the castell of Dumberton. But true it is,
that in this meane time the erle of Glenearne with
sundrie gentlemen being left in that castell, both the
capitaine thereof called Houston, to keepe it in the
name and to the behoofe of the erle of Lennox, were
in his absence perswaded thorough practise of the
quene Dowager, not only to renounce their promi-
sed faith to him, in defending him of that castell;
but also to intrap and bind him within their dan-
ger to take him prisoner.

For this purpose they so dissembled the matter,
that they had got him on land onchie with three hun-
dred men: and so farre forth they were grolone in
saile, that the erle of Lennox being entered into the
castell with a few other with him, the morie was
laid downe on the boord, to be paid to the capitaine for
his satisfaction. But in the meane time, the erle of
Lennox, & such as were with him, perceiving some
treasonable

Such a time
that this
was as in
some history,
was promised
by Huntly to
defend the
Fraisers.

The erle of
Lennox goeth
into England

The marriage
of the erle of
Lennox with
Margaret Dou-
glas.

Lord Darent.

The erle of
Lennox re-
turneth into
Scotland.

The Ile of
Bute taken.

The erle of
Lennox in
danger to be
betrayed and
taken.

treasonable practise in hand, got forth of the house againe vnto their companie below, leauing the monie behind them, and after made shift to get to their ships, and not before it was high time.

For if they had staied that night, they had bene intrapped by George Dowglas, who with foure thousand men was secretlie drawne thitherwards, and entered the towne of Dunbretton, thortlie after that the earle of Lennor was thus departed, and got to his ships lieng there at hand in the riuer of Clyde, to the which he retired to the sea, not without danger to haue lost the same ships, by reason of the narrownesse of the water: for the erle of Argile being gotten betwixt him and the sea with a great power of men, with banners displayed, hailed the ships with shot of ordinance from the castell of Dinnune, annoieng the earle of Lennor his passage as much as he could. But he escaping with the English gentlemen, and the ships out of danger, toke aduise together at the Ile of Bute what they were best to doe.

The earle soe moued to haue bene thus repelled from Dunbretton, and stomaching the matter soe, to be so discourtenanced by his enimie the earle of Argile, with the aduise of the English gentlemen, he returned with them, and with great shew of manhood toke land beside the castell and towne of Dinnune, where the earle of Argile with seuen hundred men was readie to encounter him, & to keepe him off from landing: but by the helpe of the shot out of the ships, and great store of botes, the Englishmen landed, slue foure scoze of the enemies, most part gentlemen, and put the residue to flight, with the losse of thre men onelie on the English side.

This done, the towne of Dinnune was burnt, and the church spoiled, that was full of goods and ornaments. When the night approached, by reason the Englishmen had no powder, no other prouision on land, the earle with his people returned to shipboord in safetie, howbeit not without offer of skirmish made by the enemies though to their losse, namelie of those that advanced themselves most forward. About foure or fife daies after, the earle of Lennor with fife hundred men landed in another part of Argile, and remaining on land a whole day together, burnt, spoiled, and wasted the countrie: the earle of Argile with two thousand men giuing the looking on, and not once offering the skirmish, so that the earle of Lennor with his souldiers retired to his ships without encounter.

After this they invaded the Ile of Winter, where James Mackonell dwelled, burnt manie places in that countrie, toke and caried awaie great booties of cattell and other goods. All the coasts of Kile, Carrike, & Coningham, and likewise of Galloway remained in continuall feare, so that oftentimes their beacons were fired, and manie of the noble men constrained to come to the earle of Lennor, suing to him for assurance. In these exploitte the earle had with him Walter Macferlane of Arbat, and seuen scoze men of the head of Lennor, that spake both Irish, English, & the Scottish tongs, light footmen, well armed in shirts of male, with bowes, and two handed swords, and being ioined with the English archers and shot, did much available seruice in the freids, the marshes, and mountaine countries.

* During these things, they which had gouernment of Scottish affairs (as the queene Dowager, the cardinall, and the gouernor) called a councill, in which they decreed that all such of the nobilitie as had force and armor, should be readie to follow the gouernor whither soener he went, and there to remaine with him for the space of eight daies. Short-

lie after there assembled eight thousand men, and in the sharpe winter battered the church of Colbingham, standing in armor a whole day and night to the great toile and wearinesse of the men and horses. The next day the gouernor, either to accuse his tendernesse sustained in the last daies labor of warre, or else fearing the inuasion of the enimie (for he was certified of an armie of men that should come from Berwick) suddenlie (vnto knowne to the other nobilitie) did lie to Dunbar with a few of his owne traine. They which went about to excuse the defame of this flight, reported how he feared that he should haue bene betrayed to the English by his host, for hatred which they had conceiued against him for manie of his offenses.

This departure of the gouernor brought great trouble to the armie, & so much the moze, because the secreter it was (and the reason vnto knowne) the moze cause it gaue to the rest to feare some further euill. Wherefore the greater part remained in this obstinate mind, that euerie one should retorne the next way home, and leaue the artillerie at randon. But others (who were moze carefull, and would seme lesse fearefull) doo agree to stiffe the peeces full of powder, and to breake them, rather than they should fall in the hands & helpe of the enimie. To the which deuise onelie Archembald Dowglas did resist, least he should ad a wicked deed to a wicked flight. Who when he could not staie any man, either by treatie, or authoritie, he exclaimed with a loud voice (for euerie one to heare him) that for his owne part he had rather die an honest death, than to haue a secure and rich life with such dishonor. Wherefore you my friends consider what you will do, for either I will bring awaie this artillerie, or I will not retorne home with life; wherefore I meane to make this the last end both of my life and glorie. When he had spoken this, a few (whose honor was deare vnto them) were moued therewith, but the rest (despairing by reason of the shamefull flight of the gouernor) did scatteringlie depart, wandring whither they thought good, without anie order. The Dowglas with such companie as he had (placed in good order) followed the artillerie, and brought the same to Dunbar, the horsemen of his enemies in vaine hastening after them behind at their backs. This expedition by the gouernor rashlie begun, and shamefullie performed, brake the hearts of the Scots, and advanced the minds of the English, who gloriouly applied the da-
50 hardnesse of the gouernor to their owne glorie.)

To conclude, after the earle of Lennor and his companie had achieved these enterprizes afore mentioned, he returned towards England, and sent sir Peter Helwas knight, & Thomas Bishop a Scottish gentleman, to aduertise the king of England of his proceedings, who found him at the siege of Bullongne, where they declared to him the whole circumstance of euerie thing, as the same had passed in the earles fornie, which the king toke in verie good part. And vpon his retorne into England, after the conquest of Bullongne, the earle of Lennor was also called home to the court by letters to him directed, he being then at Bristow.

About the middelt of Februarie, sir Rafe Cure commonlie called Cuers, lord warden of the English middle marches, entred Scotland with a power of foure thousand Englishmen, Irishmen, and assured Scots, and comming first vnto Jedworth, lodged there that night. And therewithall vnderstanding that the gouernor and the earle of Angus were at the abbete of Melros, about eight miles distant from thence, the next morning he was got forth to earlie, that he was almost vpon the enemies in such wise on the sudden, that they fled out of their lodgings, and

The earle of Lennor landed againe at Dinnune.

The towne of Dinnune burnt.

The earle of Lennor landed againe in Argile.

Winter invaded.

Walter Macferlane.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, li. 15.

He defaceth the monuments of the Dowglas.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, li. 15.

Fr. Thin.

Sir Peter Helwas.

1545. Sir Rafe Cuers invaded Scotland.

1544. Leslie. Buchanan.

Sir Rafe Cuers & others came.

and left their beds and all their household furniture which they had in those there with them, not having time to conueie it awaie at their departure, their warning was so short. Sir Rafe Cuers at his coming thither, finding them fled and gone, spoiled the towne and abbeie, utterly defacing the tomes and monuments of the earles of Dowglas, greatlie to the displeasure of the earle of Angus, and those of his linage.

After this (the coming of the English being looked for the next yere) the minds of the borderers were greatlie troubled, because they were hopelesse to attaine anie succor from the gouernour, which used the aduise of the clergie, but chieslie of the cardinall. Whereupon Archembald Dowglas earle of Angus (greatlie moued partlie with his priuat losses, for he had great possessions in the marches, and in Tuisot, and partlie to see his ancessors monuments defaced) came to the gouernour, and fullie laid before him the greatnesse of the danger wherein the realme did stand, perswading him to incounter and resist the same. At that time also (after the gouernour had opened vnto him, that he was forsaken of the nobilitie, and now left alone) the Dowglas shewed that the same happened vnto him by his owne fault, and not by the nobilitie, which would imploie their lines, livings, and goods, for the defense of the common-wealth. For he condemning their counsell, onlie leaned to the spiritualitie, who were cowards in warre, and seditious in peace.

Out of this founteine (saith he) a suspicion (that you dare not trust one another) is growne betwene you and them, which is the onelie cause why things are no better performed. But if you determine (in great affaires) to take the aduise of them (who will not refuse to spend their blood therein) I doubt not but that we shall be able to execute as great matters as euer our ancessors did: but if we shall (by our sloth) permit the enemie to take all things from vs, then of necessitie will follow, that either they shall shortly banish vs, or bring vs into perpetuall seruitude: the inconueniences of anie of which cannot well be spoken. As touching our selues I know that thou art suspected to be a coward, and I a traitor, which reproch if thou thinke to purge (for thou canst not auoid it) prepare to cleare the same, not with painted speeches, but with blondie weapons.)

Whereupon the gouernour and the said earle (soe agreed to be thus foiled at the Englishmens hands) assembled together [under the leading of Norman Lesle son of the earle of Rothleie] all such forces as they might recover, so that they had quicklie got them about fiftene hundred men, whereof eight hundred at the least were gentlemen. Who hearing that the Englishmen were retiring towards Jedworth, they met them at a place called Danner hugh, or Wormehouse, where both the parties alighting on foot, went to trie the quarrell by plaine force of hand. But as they were redy to ioine, the assured Scots, to the number of seven or eight hundred revolted vnto the part of their countreymen, by reason whereof, after a right sharpe and fierce conflict, the Englishmen in the end were constrained to flee, whome the Scots right egerlie pursued, slue sir Rafe Cuers, the lord Ogile, sir Brian Leiton, and other gentlemen & souldiours to the number of eight hundred. They toke also about two thousand prisoners, with certeine peeces of artillerie and other munition.

This victorie fell to the Scots the tenententh day of Februarie, the report whereof was right displeasing to the English nation, but speciallie the losse of that worthy gentleman sir Rafe Cuers was greatlie bemoaned, and that euent of the king

himselfe, for the noble prowesse and great loialtie which at all times had bene found in him. His seruice had bene such in these wars against Scotland, that he had brought the more part of the Scots within twentie miles space of the English borders, vnto the obedience of the king of England, although at length they holpe to worke his confusion, as before ye haue heard. ¶ Of this gentleman & his singular seruice in the field, I omit here to speake, because he was imploied otherwisse, besides Scotland: wherefore I remit the readers to the twentieth yere of king Henrie the eight, where to his high commendation this gentleman is recorded.]

The occasion of the English ouerthrow (as saith Lesleus) and the Scots victorie, were chieslie by these meanes. First they fought vpon equall ground, and with vnequall helpees. For the Scots with the sunne on their backs (being declined toward setting) came forth of a narrow & marish place, and set vpon the English (at the side of an hill which was betwene them) hauing the sun in their faces, by which meanes they could neither well perceiue what number the Scots had, nor with their gunnes hurt anie of the Scots. But those that fought in the first battell, wherunto was ioined (a feare not in vaine) which they had conceiued of the Scottish march-men, who in great number hauing red crosses (the note of the English) ran vp and downe hither and thither to see the euent thereof.)

About the same time that the victorie before mentioned chanced to the Scots, Robert Corncoise bishop of Ross departed this life, to whome succeeded David Pantane, secretarie to the gouernour, and prior of saint Marie Ile. In Aprill, William Stewart bishop of Aberdeen likewise deceased, and maister William Gordon chancelor of Purreie, uncle to George erle of Huntleie, was by the cardinals sute promoted to that see, greatlie to the displeasure of the earle of Angus, that labored to haue preferred an other thereto. For this and other causes, the cardinall was greatlie in hatred of the Dowglasles.

About that time, the king of England by pisse & pries perswaded the Flemings to take stræne of our ships harborod in the haven, and to conuert the commodities (wherewith they were fraught, being verie costlie) to their owne commoditie. By means whereof at one time we had warres with two nations, England and Flanders. But with the Flemings did not the same maliciously for hatred to the Scots, but carefullie for the loue vnto the English, as the Scots did certeinlie know, they shewed none other token of enimitie to the Flemings, but that they forbade them to fish on their coasts, and did sometimes intercept their ships, without further iniurie done vnto them.)

This yere also, Montgomerie, otherwisse called monsieur de Loges, knight of the order of saint Michael, was sent by the French king with foure thousand Frenchmen into Scotland to assist the Scots against England. He landed at Dunbretton, & came in good order to Edinburgh the thirtenth of Aprill: he brought with him from the French king the order of saint Michael, to inuest therewith the lord gouernour, the earles of Angus, Huntleie, and Argile. Herewith also was an armie of Scots raised, and ioining with the Frenchmen, they approached the borders, where they laie for a season: but the earle of Hertford lieutenant generall of the north parts comming downe, toke such direction for the safe keeping of the English borders, that after the Scots had laine there in campe a certeine space without achieving anie great enterprisse, though some notable exploit was looked for to haue bene attempted by them at that present, they brake vp their armie & went home.

A. J.

* This

His seruice against the Scots.

Abr. Fl.

Fr. Thir: Buchan. lib. 10. pag. 478.

Death of bishops.

Fr. Thir. Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 479.

1545. Buch. Monsieus de Loges sent into Scotland.

Knights of saint Michaels order.

An armie of Scots lieth on the borders.

Defacement of the monuments of the Dowglasles.

Fr. Thir. Buch. lib. 15.

Sir Peter Hewtas.

1545. Sir Rafe Cuers invaded Scotland.

1544. Lesle. Buchanan. Sir Rafe Cuers & others slaine.

The historie of Scotland.

* This castell of Dunbretton was at that time so carefullie kept by the captein therof, that he determined neither to deliuer it to the gouernor, nor to anie Englishman, nor to anie Scot. Whereupon, the gouernor fearing least it should fall into the hands of the English, prepare to besiege the same; the newes therof comming to Glencarne, he signified the same vnto Lennor, affirming, that if he would come thither, he should shortly obtaine the castell. The king of England reioicing of that newes, prepareth two ships, and in the meane time sent the bishop of Cathnesse into Scotland, which should shortly be receiued into the castell. Wherefore the gouernor making the more hast, commeth to Dunbretton together with the cardinal, and the earles Huntley, and Argyle, laing present siege to the same, which was stronglie done, and the castilains pressed to great extremitie by the slaughter of manie people. But at length by the policie of the earle Huntley, it was so agreed, that the castell (which was by nature inerpugnabile) should be deliuered. Which the gouernor receiued (with certeine conditions) and honozable intreated the capteine for the singular discharge of the trust committed to him: and therewithall he restozed the bishop of Cathnesse, brother to the earle of Lennor to his bishoprike, which before he had lost by his going into England.)

The sixteenth of September, thre or foure hundred Scots, with Harwell, Lochinuar, and Johnstone, aided with the Frenchmen, attempted to enter into England on the east borders: but the Englishmen perceiuing where they were about to passe by a certeine streit, they set vpon them with their archers, discomfited them, sleaing, & taking to the number of seuen score of them. Among other that were taken, one of the sonnes to the lord Hume, with a French capteine, and George Elphinston archer of the corps to the French king, were accounted chiefe. Also on the west borders, Robert Harwell eldest son to the lord Harwell, was taken in a rode made by him and others, into the English confines on that side; although at an other time certeine Englishmen making a rode into Scotland were distressed, the more part of them being taken or slaine. At a parliament holden at Linlithgow, begun there the twentie eight of September, and continued till the first of October, Pathe earle of Lennor, and Thomas bishop of Atheltrae, were forsailed, and all their lands and goods giuen awaie and annered to the crowne.

In this meane time, the king of England desirous to haue the seruite of the Isles of Scotland for sundrie great causes and respects, moued the earle Lennor to deale with them to that end: which he did. And his trauell toke such effect, that the Island men were contented to rest at the king of England his deuotion, partlie for that they were in a manner sworne enemies to the earle of Argyle, and his familie; and partlie for that they doubted the king of Englands puissance, if he should attempt to inuade those parties: and againe, bearing an old specfall fauour to the earle of Lennor and his house, hauing an ancient bond of alliance and amitie with the same, they were the more readie to satisfie his motion. Whereupon, they elected amongst them a lord of the Isles, the next of blood: a title long since verie odious to the state of Scotland, and by the inducement of the earle of Lennor, he was contented as the king of Englands pensioner, to receiue two thousand crownes of him yerele, with certeine rich apparell of cloth of gold and siluer from the said earle.

The first profe he attempted to shew of his seruice in the king of Englands behalfe, was this. Hauing instructions thereto from the earle of Lennor, vnder colour of conference for matters touching

the estate of the countrie, he had suborned one of his alliance and seruants, called the clane Reginald, to intrap the earles of Argyle and Huntley. And although they escaped verie narrowlie, the lord Louet an ancient baron, & great friend to those two earles, was slaine by the said clane, together with seuen hundred of his kinsmen and friends: insomuch that there remained not but one yong boy of that linage to succeed in that lords lands [which is before more fullie handled out of Lesleus.]

After this, the lord of the Isles, with six thousand men imbarcked in certeine vessels, passed ouer into Carrick, harried and burnt the lands of the earle of Cathles, then a great enimie to the king of England. In this voiage he got great spoiles, and slue manie of the enimies. After which enterprise so achieved, he came with his power by sea, and landed in Ireland, where the earles of Lennor and Ormond were, with twelue hundred Irishmen, appointed to loine with him, that with their whole power they might inuade the earle of Argyles countries, & consequently the maine land of Scotland at the broad side. But before the preparation could be made ready for that forneie, the new lord of the Isles deceased, whose buriall in Ireland to honoz the earle of Lennor, stode the king of England in foure hundred pounds sterling.

But now to returne vnto the doings on the borders betwixt England and Scotland in this season. We shall vnderstand, that after the armie of Scotland was broken by, the earle of Hertford by vertue of his commission, raised an armie in the countries of the further side of Trent northwards; so that when the same was assembled together, with such strangers as were then in the kings wages, they were in all of horsemen and footmen twelue thousand fighting men. With this armie garded with great store of artillerie, munition, and all manner of furniture necessarie, the earle of Hertford entered Scotland, and marching to Coldingham, pass by the water of Tweed, and burnt a great part of the pers, and Cuidale, the abbeyes of Kelso, Melrose, Dryborne, and Jedworth, with townes & villages, to the number of siue score.

Howbeit, he entered not farre within the said countrie beyond the said water, but kept alongest nere to the same, and returned backe without anie incounter: for after the Scottish armie was broken by, it was not like they would assemble againe, and so the earle of Hertford taking the time that serued his purpose, soe indamaged the Scottish borders at that present. Manie other small inuasions were made, as well by the one part as the other, and some skirmishes fell out betwixt them, sometime to the losse of the Scottish, and sometime of the English, according to the course of warre.

* Much about this time, or rather before, Robert Harwell the sonne of Robert (a yong man of singular vertue) was taken by the English. Besides which there was nothing done worthy the memoize, but that in the beginning of the next winter Montgomerie returned into France. After this, the cardinal leade the gouernor about the nere countries, vnder colour to reconcile such parts as were at dissention: then they came first to Berth, where foure men were punished for eating flesh on forbidden daies: from thence they went to Dundee called Loathune (to vse the name of the place, as Buchanan hath) to punish (as they said) such as vsed the late new testament of Luthers translation. Whither came also Patrick Greie (the head of a noble familie in those parts) accompanied with a god fraine, together with the erle of Rothscie, being before that commanded to be there by the gouernor, after the pacifieng of the other

Clane Reginald sleeth the lord Louet.

Fr.Thin.

The lord of the Isles inuadeth Carrick.

He commeth into Ireland.

He departeth this life.

But eight thousand, as some say.

The earle of Hertford inuadeth Scotland.

Fr.Thin. Buchanan lib. 15.

Frenchmen and Scots overthwowne.

The lord Harwells son taken prisoner

The earle of Lennor procureth them of the Isles to serue the king of England.

The lord of the Isles elected, being one of the Macdonells.

ther tumultu-
satie to r-
tions perso-
the towne)
they might
The next
for the four
on his wa-
loved him
such feare
manded
to enter th-
next day th-
Rothscie
they hated
in that res-
seemed go-
Ruthwene
the gouern-
stoweth th-
and kinsm-
great eni-
restozed r-
ter the san-
cardinal

By reas-
he might
eares (si-
fence of th-
side had th-
then he h-
of his en-
ment of f-
ned in th-
translated
sent with
they wou-
they wou-
griefe, tr-
tie of vol-
from the
foze diu-
ken the
thereof,
(hauing
against th-
said Ber-

But b-
swer the
thing the
Ruthwe-
to the ne-
when he
all feare
was so
panie (si-
the house
spie som-
the mult-
let one a-
to break-
that they
tude, m-
were kil-

The c-
heard o-
greatlie
ries. Af-
entlie p-
after th-
dretos,
gouern-
before h-
him; pe-

ther tumults. But the cardinall (supposing it small safetie to receiue at one time two such noble and factions persons addicted to the restored religion, into the towne) wrought with the gouernor that he and they might go backe to Perth.

The next morning, when those two noblemen (redie for the iourneie) understood that the gouernor was on his waie towards Perth, they presentlie followed him. Who being come in sight, did strike such feare into the cardinall, that the gouernor commanded them to sunder themselves, and severallie to enter the citie: which they did. Whereupon the next day they were both committed to prison. But Bothwell being shortly deliuered, Greie (whome they hated more, and feared most) was kept longer in that restraint. But before they parted thence, it seemed good to the cardinall to abate the strength of Ruthwen capteine of the towne. For which cause, the gouernor taketh his office from him, and bestoweth the same vpon Rainsane Comarsh, neighbor and kinsman to Greie. For this Ruthwen was a great enimie to the cardinall, and much fauored the restored religion: as likewise was Greie, who after the same sort did not beare a friendlie mind to the cardinall, nor to his religion.

By reason whereof, the cardinall supposed, that if he might set them (by this meanes) together by the eares (such manie of both parts would soine for defense of the chiefe of their families) and that if ante side had the worse (as both must be diminished) that then he had by so much abated the power of one of his enimies. Upon which occasion the gouernment of Perth (which had by manie descents remained in the familie of the Ruthwens) might be thus translated to Rainsane. Thus the new capteine was sent with a power to subdue the citizens by force, if they would not willingly obeie: as it seemed that they would not; because they took it with some grieue, to haue (in this new capteine) the old libertie of voices (in choosing of their gouernor) taken from them. The besieging of the towne being therefore diuided into parts, Greie (which had wholie taken the matter on him) attempted the ouerthrow thereof, from the bridge of Laie. The other band (having laid their artillerie along by the river ouer against the towne) did invade the open side of the said Perth.

But because the swelling of the sea did not answer their deuise, they came not in time to doe aie thing therein. Greie assailing it by the bridge (which Ruthwen hauing receiued, and conuoyed the aid into the next houses, would seeme to leaue vngarded) when he saw no armed men stirring, did (without all feare) enter further into the towne, where he was so sharplie set vpon by Ruthwen, and his company (suddenlie and vnlooked for) breaking out of the houses vpon them) that euerie one hastened to spie some place by which he might stie awaie. But the multitude confused and diuised into a streit, did let one an other thereof. For they behind, thinking to breake in amongst the other, did hinder the first that they could not stie: in which vnderlie multitude, manie were troden vnder foot, and three score were killed with the sword.

The cardinall (although against his mind) hauing heard of the victorie of Ruthwen; yet he did not greatlie lament the slaughter made of his aduersaries. After this, the cardinall hauing thus sufficientlie progressed to Angus: he led the gouernor after the fourteenth of December to saint Andrews, to the end (if it were possible) to bind the gouernor more stricte vnto him. For although before he had the gouernors sonne as pledge with him; yet (as often as he remembred the eagernesse

of the Scottish nobilitie, the strength of his enimies, and the inconstancie of the gouernor) he greatlie feared, least the said gouernor should with like lightnesse be drawn to assist his enimies, as he had bene led to take his part. During the time whilst they were at saint Andrews, the cardinall caused in the Lent season all the bishops & prelates of the realme to assemble at the towne of saint Andrews, where a learned man, named maister George Wishart, that had bene in the scholes of Germanie, was accused of heresie, which he had (as was alleged against him) publikelie preached, and priuatlie taught in Dundee, Brechin, and diuerse other parts of Scotland, since his returne home. This matter was so bigged against him, that he was conuict, and burnt there in the towne of saint Andrews during the time of that conuention or assemblee.

When these things were thus done, the cardinall, although he greatlie trusted to his riches; yet because he was not ignorant what were the minds of men, & what speeches the common people had of him) determined to increase his power with new deuises. Wherefore he goeth into Angus, and marieth his eldest daughter (as saith Buchanan) to the earle of Crauford's sonne. Which marriage was solemnized with great preparation, almost answerable to kinglie magnificence. During which time, the cardinall vnderstanding by his spies, that the English did prepare to invade the Scottish borders on the sea (and speciallie did threaten those of Fife therewith) returned to saint Andrews, and appointed a day to the nobilitie, and such as dwelled about the sea coasts, to assemble together to provide in common for the defense thereof, and to prepare remedie for that hastened euill. For the easier and better performance whereof, he had determined, together with the lords of that countrie, to haue sailed himselfe about the coasts, and to haue defended such places as were most conuenient.

Amongest others that came vnto him, there was a noble yong gentleman called Forzman Leslie, sonne to the earle of Bothwell, whereof we haue spoken before manie times. This man (after that he had manie times employed his valiant and faithfull diligence in the behalfe of the cardinall) grew to some contention with the said cardinall for a priuat cause, which for a time did estrange both their minds the one from the other. This same contention did Forzman (being thereto induced with manie faire promises) afterwards let fall. But certeine moneths following (when he returned to demand the performance of such liberall promises) they began to grow from common speech to brawlings, and from thence to bitter taunts & reproches, not fit to be vsed by aie of them both. Whereupon they departed with the grained minds of euerie of them. For the cardinall being intreated more vnrueuientlie than he would or looked for; and the other threatening that being overtaken by deceit, he would reuenge it: they both returned discontented to their owne people. Whereupon Forzman, declaring to his partakers the intollerable arrogancie of the cardinall, they easilie agreed all to conspire his death. Wherefore, to the end that the same might be lesse suspected, they departed in sunder afterward. This Forzman accompanied onelie with five of his owne traine, entered the towne of saint Andrews, and went into his accustomed inn and lodging; trusting that by such small traine he might cunninglie dissemble the determination of the cardinals death. But there were in that towne, ten of those which had consented to this conspircie; which closed in secret corners, some in one place, and some in an other, did onelie expect the signe which was to be giuen vnto

George wishart a learned man burnt.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan; lib. 15.

31. 11. to

to them to execute this deuile. With which small
compantie this Porzman feared not to aduenture
the death of the cardinall in the same towne, furni-
shed in euerie place with the seruants and friends
of the cardinall.]

Whereupon the thirteenth of Maie, the cardinal being within his castell of saint Andrews, certeine of his owne friends (as he toke them) that is to say, the said Poiman, lord Lesleie, William Kirkcaldie, the yong lord of Grange, and Kirkmichell with sixtene chosen men, entered the castell verie secretly in the morning, toke the porter, and all the cardinals seruants, thrusting them out of the place by a posterne gate. And that done, passing to his chamber where he late in bed, as he got vp, and was opening his chamber dore, they sluie him, and seised vpon the artillerie and munition, wherewith that fortress was plentifully furnished, and likewise with rich hangings, household stuffe of all sorts, apparell, copes, ietwels, ornaments of churches, great store of gold and silver plate, beside no small quantitie of treasure in readie coine.

Sir James Leirmouth, **provoost of saint Andrews**,
 assembled all the people of that towne for the rescue
 of the cardinall, after he heard that the conspirato:rs
 were entred the castell; but they shewed the dead bo-
 die of the cardinall ouer the wals, as a spectacle to
 the people, and so they made no further attempt, sith
 they saw no meane how to remedie or reuenge the
 matter at that present. The cause that moued the
 conspirato:rs thus to kill the cardinall, was thought to
 be partlie in reuenge of the burning of **maister**
George Wishart, fearing to be serued with the
 same sawce, and in the end to be made to drinke of
 the same cup. Partlie it was thought they attempt-
 ed it through counsell of some great men of the
 realme, that had conceived some deadly hatred a-
 gainst him.

* But Lesleus also, writing of the causes of his death saith, that they were diuerse: as the seuerall formentors seuerallie framed euerie one a part for his owne excuse. For Foxman & John did complain, that they were wronged by him with no small iniurie, because that the cardinall had not recompensed him for the losse he sustained; when the cardinall had restored to Colwine lord thereof (before through the cardinals counsell banished by the king) the castell and possessions of Easter womes; which the king had after giuen to the said Foxman. The lord Grange affirmed that he reuenged himselfe, because he was removed by the cardinals abuisse from the office of the treasurer ship; which (being granted by the king to him) he had discharged with great profit to the realme, & honor to himselfe. And Kirkmichell did also say that he was dispossessed by the cardinall of some other (I cannot tell what) possessions. All which causes were but veiles which they spread against the wind and report of so wicked and shamefull a deed. For vpon the fact, Foxman being vexed with remorde of conscience, did not onelie labor to pacifie the anger of such, that (either by blood or benefit) were tied to the cardinall with all kind of duties; but did also, to shyn the danger thereof, passe into France, and there by valour (in the seruice of Henrie the second king of France) endeavored to wipe away that note of infamie, which he had cast vpon his familie. All which notwithstanding, both he and others (some after one sort, and some after another) were worthilie punished for their wickednes.

The same evening that the cardinall was slaine, the old lord of Grange, maister Henrie Salnauts, one of the counsell of the realme, and sundrie gentlemen of the surname of the Pelains, John Knotts and others, to the number of seven score persons.

entred the castell to their support, taking upon them to keepe it against the governoz and his partakers. Not long after, the governoz, considering that his deere confine the cardinall was thus made awaie, assembled the great lords of the realme, as the earle of Angus, Huntleie, Argile, and others, by whose advice he called a parlement, and fosalted them that had slaine the cardinall, and kept the castell of saint Andreos.

10 Herewith also he raised a power, and besieged the
same castell, planting diuerse peeces of great artil-
lery against it. But it was so strongly furnished
with all manner of artillerie & munition by the cardi-
nall in his life time, that they within cared little for
all the inforcements that their aduersaries without
could aduance against them. Whereupon, after that
the siege had continued the space of thre moneths,
the gouernor was glad to take an appointment with
them within, to the end he might get out of their
20 hands his eldest sonne, who was remaining with the
cardinall at the time when he was murdered, and so
kept by them that did the murder, till now they
agreed to deliuer him to his father, with condition
that he should raise his siege.

They deliuered also the dead bodie of the cardinall, after it had laine buried in a dunghill within the castell; ever since the day in which they slue him. [The gouernor did name the abbat of Baslew his brother to the bishoppe like of saint Andrews, and gaue the abbete of Arbroth (being before granted to James Beton kinsman to the slaine cardinall) to George Dotglaile bassard sonne to the earle of Angus: which things were afterwards occasions of great troubles in the realme.] In the yeare next ensuing, king Henrie the eight departed this life, after whome succceeded his sonne Edward, the first of that name, king of England, France, and Ireland. Shortly after, that is to say, the last of March, Francis the French king deceased, and his sonne Henrie, the second of that name succceeded him; who at the desire of the gouernor of Scotland, appointed Leone Strossie prior of Capoa, a knight of the order of Malta, with a manie of 16 gallies, fraught with men of warre, and munition, to passe into Scotland, to helpe to win the castell of saint Andrews.

The gouernor in the meane time with an armie passed to the west borders to besiege the castell of Langham, the which was kept at that present by Michaell Wharton, hauing then with him but sixten Englishmen, who neuerthelesse abid there o foure daies siege, and seuen canon shots, and so yielded the house to the gouernor: and hereby was the peace broken, first by the Scots, euen as the Englishmen could haue wished. Moreover, at the same time, the erle of Northous then returned out of Denmarke was acquit by an assise (as they call it) of earles and lords, of an accusation therewith he was charged, as confederat and partie with them that had murdered the cardinall.

Whilest the gouernor was thus passed with his
armie to the west borders; he was advertised that
the prior of Capua was arrived, and [against the
toils of such as were against it] entered into the
tolome of saint Andzelus : whereupon the gouernor,
with all the nobilitie that were then about him, ha-
stied thither to assist the prior, and so the siege was
stronglie laid about the cassell there. The prior cau-
sed certeine peces of artillerie to be drawn up, and
mounted on the top of a church, which was higher
than the cassell; so that those peces shot plump into
the cassell, that none durst shew themselves on the
walls; or abroad in the yard within the cassell. He
caused also certeine canons to be drawn with en-
gins,

The cardinal
hall o: saint
Andzews
murdered.

Fr. Thin.
Lectus lib. 10
pag. 481.

1546.
The slaiers of
the cardinall
for salted.

The castell of
saint An-
drews belie-
ged.

The siege rat-
fied.

Fr. Thin.
Lefseus lib. 10.
pag. 483.

1547.
The king of
England de-
ceased.

The death of
the French
king.

The castle of
St. Andrews
ruined.

The prior of
Canos.

The Duke of
Summerſet
protector of
England.

The entreth
Scotland
with an armi

The order of
the English
armie.

Fr. Thin.
The castell of
saint An-
drews belie-
ged by the
French.

gins, I
tered the
hand fir
that fe
Po
ched on
shot of
them I
cein
able I
speare
which I
forth,
quene
der the
lives I

Butter
don't
think
of the
on the
hind
king
led to
prison
of the
coast
in the
soner
the g
teine

the n
the a
grea
so re
good
after
booke
vnto
uern
dom
of th
speed
beth

brou
passe
it) t
cour
cam
and
land
02 eig

three
hant
Sun
Dac
of
Th
arm
of h
war
rie.
arm
arm
tens
them
Mel
fir J
a th
batt
ligh
I

gins, nere to the verie wals of the castell, which battered the same in such fort, as the ditches were nere hand filled with the rubbish and stones of the wals that fell downe.

Moreover, the gallies at an high water approached on the river side so nere to the castell, that with shot of canons and other artillerie, they sore annoied them within, and shue diuerse. The defendants perceiving themselves thus besieged on all sides, & not able long to hold out, put forth a token upon a speares point, to signifie that they desired parley, which was granted, and certeine of them comming forth, were admitted to talke with the gouernor, the quene, and the prior of Capoa. They offered to render the castell, so they might depart, and haue their liues saued with bag and baggage.

But this would not be granted, the gouernor utterly refusing it; at length he was content to pardon them of their liues, if the French king should thinke it good, else to stand to his pleasure. The spoile of the castell was given to the Frenchmen, who upon the surrender entring the same, left nothing behind him that might serue them to anie vse in taking it away. All the principall men within it were led to the gallies, and conueied awaie into France prisoners at the French kings discretion. Diuerse of them were committed to sundrie prisons on the coast of Britaine, and others were appointed to row in the gallies till the yeare 1550, in which the prisoners we set at libertie, and the others that were in the gallies were redeemed by their friends for certeine summes of monie.

Thus was the castell of saint Andrews rendered the nine and twentieth of Iulie, fourtene daies after the arriuall there of the prior of Capoa, whereby his great valiance, well known afore that time, was so renewed, as his praise for his speedie dispatch and good successe therein was much advanced. Shortly after, the duke of Summerfet, heretofore in this booke named earle of Hertford, uncle by the mother unto the yong king of England, and admitted gouernor of his person, and protector of all his realms, dominions, and subiects, minding the advancement of the yong king his nephue, thought good with all speed to procure the consummation of the marriage, betwixt him, and the yong quene of Scots.

But perceiving that the same could not be brought to passe without force, he seemed loth to let passe the opportunitie of time then offered (as he toke it) to serue his purpose; and thereupon by aduise of counsell leuied an armie with all expedition, and came to Berwik, about the latter end of August, and in the beginning of September entred Scotland with the same armie, containing seauentene or eightene thousand men, which was diuided into three principall wards, the vant-gard led by the valiant earle of Marlowe, the battell by the duke of Summerfet himselfe, and the reere-ward by the lord Dacres of the north.

There were certeine wings and tropes of men of armes, demilances, and light horsemen, and also of harquebussiers, that attended vpon these three wards, garbed with diuerse peeces of great artillerie. The lord Greie of Wilton high marshall of the armie had the generall conduction of the men of armes and demilances. Sir Francis Bysan, lieutenant of the light horsemen, with eight hundred of them was appointed to the vant-gard. Sir Peter Hewtas capteine of five hundred hagbutters, and sir Francis Fleming maister of the ordinance, with a thousand light horsemen, were appointed to the battell. And sir Richard Panners, with six hundred light horsemen, attended vpon the reere-ward.

In this order marching through the fers, and

Louthian, they came at length into a place called Bückling Braies, nere to the forth side, in which river the English fleet was arriued, and late before the towne of Leith, but now by order giuen came backe from thence, and lay nerer to the armie. The gouernor of Scotland aduertised of the comming of this armie of England thus to invade Scotland, with all diligence sent abroad soleimne summons for the leuieing of a new armie forth of all parts of the realme; supposing thereby to be sufficientlie furnished and enabled for the encounter; happen when it should; the contrarie part (no doubt) being likewise opinioned, and both hoping, or greedilie gazing after the glorie of victorie.

* For the gouernor did attempt at this time that which is accustomed to be used in the greatest dangers of the countrie: which was, that he sent out messengers through all the realme, who carieng a fierie crosse in their hands, should make signe (and declare) aswell to the lattie, as to the churchmen; that all they which were aboue firtene yeares old, and vnder firtie, should presentlie (with their armes) repaire to Mussilborough, and there be readie to defend the libertie of the countrie; who accordingly came to Mussilborough (within lesse than two miles of the place where the English armie came to incampe, lieng at Preston) & placed themselves at Inuerneise ouer against their enemies.]

Here we haue to vnderstand, that the Scots light horsemen oftentimes would come picking almost within their staues length of the Englishmen as they marched, whooping and shouting, to the end they might traine them forth from their strength, and with railing words would still be in hand to provoke them thereto. But the duke of Summerfet, doubting the goodnesse of the Scottish pickers, gaue secret commandement, that no offer of skirmish by the Scottish horsemen should be taken. But at length the lord Greie of Wilton, not able to beare such bold presumption in the Scots, aduenturing (as he toke it) ouer rashlie, and more than stood with their owne suertie, made sute to the duke of Summerfet, that if they continued in such brauerie, it might be lawfull for him to set them further off.

The duke at the first by no meanes would assent thereto, telling the lord Greie, that his desire proceeded more of a iolitie of courage, than of anie knowledge of the enimie, and seemed to defend the goodnesse of the Scottish horsemen: but when the lord Greie persisted in his sute, and the earle of Marlowe assisted his request, the duke in the end yielded thereto. Hereupon when the lord Hume with the Scots the next time (which was on the Fridaie the vinty of September) came forth to offer the skirmish after their wonted maner, the lord Greie taking with him certeine bands of horsemen, both men of armes, demilances, and also light horsemen, diuided them in tropes, appointing the Spanish and Italian hagbutters on horsebacke to keepe on a wing, and to gard the hindermost trope of the English horsemen.

He also gaue order to the leaders of euerie trope, that to which soeuer the enimie should once offer, in anie wise, that no answer by skirmish were made them, but after they had drawne them to their accustomed plaie and proffer of charge, that trope that it was offered vnto, presentlie vpon the enemies wheeling about should thoroughlie giue it them; and that so giuen, the next trope presentlie to giue it in the face: and so (as occasion required) both those tropes wholie together to helpe other without breaking. The Scots comming forthward, picking and whooping after their old wont, the Englishmen forbore a great while, till at the last, foure or five hundred

The English fleet.

The gouernor raised an armie.

Fr. Thin. Lellcus lib. 16. pag. 485.

The goodnes of the Scottish horsemen feared of the Englishmen. The lord Greie desired to encounter the Scottish horsemen.

Order giuen by the lord Greie.

died of them came scattered upon the spurre, with a marvellous shout within a stones length of the for- most troope.

Nicholas Gainefford.

The Scots horsemen put to flight.

Fr. Thin.

English cap- teins taken.

Fr. Thin. Buchan lib. 15.

These thinking then to haue wheeled about, mas- ter Nicholas Gainefford, the leader of that troope, and lieutenant of the lord Greies band of his men of armes of Bullongne, cried; A charge, which as spee- dily on the English part as unlocked for of the Scots being giuen, from charging at that time in sport, the Scots were driuen to gallop awaie so fast as their horses might beare them, losing of their compantes that were taken and slaine, to the number of eight hundred and moze (as some haue written) [at what time the lord Iune (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 486) falling from his horse, was grievously wounded, and caried to Edenburgh, and his eldest sonne was taken prisoner] but yet, as diuerse of the English- men aduentured too farre in following the chase, they were distressed, and sundrie of them taken prisoners, among the which were some of their captains, as Sir Rafe Bulmer, Thomas Colwer, & Robert Crouch, each of them hauing in charge the leading of seue- rall bands of light horsemen. ¶ Thus much for this Fridayes skirmish, wherein the chieffest force of the Scottish horsemen was defeated, to the great discour- agement of the rest.

¶ The English armie remaining still at Ber- ston, did from a hill behold the number of the Scots, who (supposing that they saw a greater number than in truth there was) assembled in the meane time to consult of the estate of their affaires. And thereupon sent letters to the Scots, desiring that if they might obtaine anie thing by iustice, that they should rather end the warre with covenants than with canons. The effect of which letters tended to this end. That the English did greatly intreat the Scots, first to remember that both armies were christian men, to and of whome (unless they betterlie forget their pro- fession) there should nothing be moze welcome nor desired than peace & tranquillitie, and nothing moze detestable than warre and vntrist force. Besides this, that the cause of this present warre did not grow of couetousnesse, hatred or enuie, but from the desire of perpetuall peace, which could not be better or moze firmelie established by any means, but by the league of matrimonie (being promised and confirmed by the publike consent and pledge of the nobilitie) with those conditions which were moze beneficiall for the Scots than the English, being such as did not call them into seruitude, but into a fellowship and liberall imparting of all their fortunes each to other. For so much moze should that marriage be commodious to the Scots than to the English, by how much the hope of profit, and the feare of iniuries should be greater from the stronger to the weaker.

Wherefore they should chieflie consider (and in this kind) this to be their greatest reason, that since that their queene was of necessitie to be giuen in ma- riage by the Scots, and that the same necessitie was not to be avoided; and the moderation therein verie hard: that the onelie power to chole hir a husband was left vnto the publike councill or parlement. And if they would chole (to their queene) a husband for the publike profit and dignitie: of whome could they better take chole, than of a king their neigh- bor, borne in the same land, nere of blood, instruc- ted in the same lawes, brought vp in the same ma- ners and language; not their superiour onelie in ri- ches, but almost also in all commodities and orna- ments of external things, and such a person which did bring with him peace, concord, amitie, and the for- getting of all old iniuries: But if they call to them anie other (differing from them in language, ma- ners, and lawes) to take the kingdome: let them

thinke with themselves, what and how manie dis- commodities will grow thereby, and to what euill counsels they shall indanger themselves: the which they may learne by the example of other nations, be- ing farre better to be taught it by the misfortunes of others, than to feele the smart thereof by their owne experience.

Wherefore (as touching themselves) if they shall not perceiue the Scottish nation to be estranged from this amitie and concord, they would mitigate somewhat of their former promises (which by late they might challenge) and be contented that the maiden queene should be brought vp amongst them, and be alwaies in their power, vntill the time that nature should inable hir fit for marriage, and vntill such time as she might chole hir a husband by the aduise of the nobilitie. And that in the meane time (vntill the same might be performed) that both the nations should ab- staine from warre: and that also the queene (during that time) should neither be conueied into anie strange nation: nor that they should conclude anie pact or covenant with the French, or anie other fo- reigne prince touching hir marriage. The which if the Scots would most holilie and handfastlie promise, the English would forthwith depart with a quiet armie. And further, that if the English had commit- ted anie hurt or spoile (since they came into the coun- trie) they would recompense the same by the iudge- ment of god men.

These letters thus sent, the gouernor did impart vnto a few, and of those especiallie to John his bro- ther bishop of saint Andrews (taken vnto him in place & authoritie of the slaine cardinall.) These two aduanced with great hope of victorie, were the cause that these letters were suppressed, because they feared that if the equall conditions of peace were knowne abroad, the most part would willingly incline to the same quiet aduise. Wherefore they procured a false rumoz to be spread through the host, that the English men were come thither with determination to take awaie the queene by force, and by strength of armes to bring the whole kingdome into their subiection. For the gouernor being faint spirited by nature, had chosen vnto him foure such other counsellors (like vnto himselfe) in the affairs of warre, by whose com- mand & becke all things were perfozmed. Of which number were his three kinsmen, John archbishop of saint Andrews, the abbat of Dunfermling, George Durie, with Archembald Beton; and the fourth was Hugh Kigs, a lawier, rather famous for his grosse bodie and foolish conditions, than anie know- ledge in militarie affaires. These foure had so puffed vp the gouernor (inconstant by his owne nature, and changing his counsell by the wind of euerie rumoz) that he would with stoped eares heare all other mens opinions. In the meane time, his friends ha- uing spread a feined tale (through the Scottish host) by him deuised, the Scots ran in all hast to their weapons, whose vnadvised speed was in the end the cause of their vnfortunate proceedings, as after shall appeare.)

For being true (as the Scots haue reported) that the gouernor, and the nobilitie of Scotland meant not to hazard battell with in their owne realme, but rather to lie still and defend their ground, if the Eng- lishmen should come forward to giue them battell there. The Englishmen aduertised thereof, the mo- row after this great skirmish, raised their field ve- rie earlie, purposing to take an hill called Pinkhill, where they might place their ordinance, and to shot into the Scottish campe, whereby they should force the Scots to dislodge from their ground of aduan- tage. The gouernor and the Scottish lords, beholding their enemies thus marching forward, thought best

The Scots meant not to haue giuen battell.

The purpose of the Eng- lishmen.

The ordering of the Scottish battels.

The English horsemen beaten backe.

The ballan- nels of theerie of War- wick.

The gallie and two pin- nels.

The earle of Huntlye ta- ken prisoner.

Open of name of Scots slaine. Fr. Thin.

to sta-
with
forth
their
th
Dow
him
Hun
uern
rell
Eng
Scot
their
sie,
and
mar
than
they
wer
the t
lith
that
both
that
orde
mer
mon
they
the
pres
app
and
of th
B
lith
Sc
gal
the
the
tab
and
ban
sit
lan
the
go
to
ed
in
ne
the
w
pa
wa
rel
ma
ue
fal
of
fr
ha
th
m
ch
w
Z
re
W
ue
th

to staie their enterprize, and therefore suddenlie, notwithstanding their former determination, rushing forth of their campe, passed forward to encounter their enimies.

They were divided into three battels; Archembauld Dohoglaſſe earle of Angus, with certeine lords with him, led the vant-gard; George Gordon earle of Huntleie, and his friends the rere-ward; and the gouernor accompanied with the earle of Argile and the rest of the noble men, were in the maine battell. The Englishmen hauing got the hill, and perceiuing the Scots to come forward with great hast, staied for their comming: but the Scots were so rash and haſtie, passing first through the water in their armour, and so up towards the hill, that continuing their march with such speed, as they seemed rather to trot, than to keepe anie ordinarie marching pace, before they could come to ioine with the Englishmen, they were almost out of breath.

Holobelt, the earle of Angus, and the other in the vant-gard, boldlie abid the charge of all the English hoſſemen, and so rigorouslie reincontroed them, that slaieng and beating downe no small number both of men and hoſſes, they put the rest to flight; so that no small part of them retired backe in such disorder, that they ran thorough the rankes of the footmen in the fore-ward, wherewith such feare entered among the Englishmen, that (as hath bene reported) they had vndoubtedlie fled, if the manfull courage of the earle of Marwick had not bene shewed at that present, according to the twonted valure of his often approued promesse, whereby he caused them to staie, and relie themselves againe.

In the meane time, the battell and the rere-ward of the Scots aduanced forward with great courage. But there was a gallie & two pinnelles of the English fleet, which from the sea shot so terrible at the Scottish armie, that the same was not onelie soze galled and indamaged thereby, but also staied, that they could not come easilie forward. And herewith the English vant-gard incouraged with the comfortable words and behauior of the earle of Marwick, and other the capteins, made towards the Scottish vant-gard againe: the which not able of it selfe to resist, retired in good order to the great battell of Scotland. Whereupon, the multitude fearing, by reason they saw them in the fore-ward thus retire (albeit in good order) that all had bene lost, gaue backe, and toke them to flight; whome the Englishmen followed amaine, slaieng the Scottishmen downe on heaps in passing great numbers. Many were also drowned in the water of Anderfke, through the which they toke their flight.

The earle of Huntleie and the rere-gard stood still with their ensignes and banners, till the chafe was past by them: but at length were diuen to make a waie as well as the rest, and the earle himselfe in the retire being taken on foot, well clad in gilt armour inameled, was led prisoner to the lord protector. Diuerse other men of name, barons, and knights, were taken prisoners. There were slaine no small number of personages of good account. Among other, the lord Fleming, the maister of Erskin, the maister of Graham, the maister of Pessine, the maister of Ogilvie, the maister of Leuingston, the maister of Kofse [the maister of Argendale and Pessane] the lord of Lochinwar, the lord of Glencarnocke, & others. [There were taken prisoners diuerse noble men, the lord Zelfrie, the earle of Huntleie chancelor of the realme, and others, as saith Lelſeus lib. 10. pag. 487.]

The next day, the English armie removed to Leith, where the prisoners were put into a church, diuerse of them being soze wounded. But the earle of Huntleie, entering bond for them that they should

well and trulie paie their ransomes, agreed upon betwixt them and their takers, or else to come and present themselves prisoners in England by a certeine day, they were suffered to depart. * The calamitie of which bloudie day, there were not a few which did impute iustlie to happen to the Scots, because they did arrogantlie reiect such honorable and beneficiall peace, and did hope (if they obtained the victorie) to haue vsed more crueltie to their owne people than vnto the English, either because they would (as in my selfe coniecture) reuenge old quarrels, or else haue vsed extremitie against such as secretlie misliked this conflict with the English.)

The gouernor elcaping from the battell, came to Striueling, where the quene regent was, together with hir daughter the yong quene. Here, by the counsell and aduise of the earle of Angus [Argile, Kofesen, and Castiles] and diuerse other lords that were also withdrawne thither after the battell, they were conueied to the countrie of Wentelth, where they remained in the abbete of Inch Mahome [deliuering the yong quene to hir mother, Erskine and Leuingstone to be kept there] till the English armie was departed out of the realme, and then they removed againe, and came to Striueling. [After that the gouernor had deliuered the earle out of prison at Edenburgh] the English namie wan the Ile of saint Colmes Inch [in the meane time] and did fundrie other exploits by sea, as in the English historie it may appeere.

Moreouer, the earle of Bothwell, whome the gouernor had before kept in prison, and was the night after the battell set at libertie, repared to the duke of Summerſet, with diuerse other lords and gentlemen of Louthian, whilſt he laie at Leith, offering themselves to be at the king of Englands commandement, and so were assured from receiuing hurt or damage by the English power. The duke of Summerſet hauing remained at Leith eight daies, burnt a peece of it, and demanding the castell of Edenburgh, but could not obtaine it, departed thence the eighteenth of December homewards the next waie, ouer the mounteins of Soutreie, comming the third day before the castell of Hume, where they did so much by countenancing to win that fortresse, that within three or foure daies after their comming thither, it was surrendered.

This castell being twone, & a garrison left there, in to keepe it, they removed to Rockefburgh, where within the compasse of the ruinous wals of an old castell, they built a fort; & after returning into England, left a conuenient garrison to keepe it. They got also about the same time a strong fortresse, called Fast castell, standing nere to the sea side, and placed a garrison within it. And moreouer, in this meane time, their fleet by sea wan the castell of Broughtie crag, and put in like manner a garrison within it to keepe the same (as in the English historie it may further appeere) and in that sort also all the chieffest lords and gentlemen of the Pſers and Cluidale came in, and submitted themselves to the duke of Summerſet, vpon assurance had and giuen.

Furthermore, whilſt the duke of Summerſet with his armie did thus inuade Scotland on the east part, it was ordained by the said duke, and other of the counsell to the king of England, that Mattheu earle of Lennor, and Thomas lord Wharton, then warden of the west marches of England, should with a power inuade Scotland on the west side, to the end that there should not arie of the west borders noz countries come to assist the gouernor against the duke of Summerſets armie, but be diuen to remaine at home to defend their owne countrie. Here vpon, there was an armie lenied, to the number of five

The earle of Huntleie entering bond for his countenmen.
Fr. Thin.
Buchan lib. 15.

The quene removed from Striueling.
Fr. Thin.
Lelſeus lib. 10.
pag. 487.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

The Ile of saint Colmes Inch won by Englishmen.

The earle of Bothwell.

1547.

The English armie returned homewards.

Hume castell rendered to the Englishmen.

Fast castell twone by them.
Broughtie crag twone.

The operating of the Scottish battels.

The English hoſſemen beaten backe.

The valiant-nesse of the earle of Marwick.

The gallie and two pinnelles.

The earle of Huntleie taken prisoner.

Men of name of Scots slaine.
Fr. Thin.

Scots not to men

English

five thousand footmen, and eight hundred light horsemen, with which powder the earle of Lennor and the lord Wharton entering Scotland the eight of September, incamped the first night upon the water of Eske, and marched the next day through the nether part of Annandale, till they came to the castell of Milke, a fortrese of good strength, the walls being foureteene foot thicke.

The castell of Milke yielded

Captaine of this castell was one John Steward, brother to the lord thereof, who upon the approach of the earle of Lennor, yielded the house to him, without any shew of resistance. Whereupon, Fergus Graham, brother to Ritchie Graham of Erskine, was appointed with a garrison of souldiours to keepe that castell to the vse of the young king of England, and was afterwards confirmed captaine there with fiftie light horsemen, by appointment of the duke of Summerfet, & the counsell; so that during the wars, he remained there to the great annoyance of the Scots, enemies to England, and preservation of the countrie thereabouts to the king of Englands vse.

On the twentieth of September, the earle of Lennor, and the lord Wharton, incamped nere to the towne of Annand, and on the morrow after approaching nere to the same, gave summons unto the captaine thereof, called Lion, of the house of Glams, who with an hundred Scots [whereof Partwell and Johnstone, and Cockpall (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. p. 489. being partell) kept the church and steeple of Annand, being peeces of themselves verie strong and mightie reinforced with earth: they within therefor refused to yield, and valiantlie defended themselves. The greatest peeces of artillerie, which the Englishmen had there at that time, were certeine double and single falcons, wherewith they beat one lie the battlements, till they might with certeine engines approach hard to the walls, and undermine the same, so as the rofe of the church was shaken downe, and a great number of them within the church slaine and crushed to death. Such as escaped fled into the steeple.

Fr. Thin.

The church of Annand undermined.

The steeple yielded.

The church and steeple of Annand blowne by with powder.

The Scots that came to assure themselves.

Two of the Englishmen that wrought about the mines, were slaine: but at length, the captaine moved by persuation of the earle of Lennor, to whome he claimed to be of kin, rendered the steeple to him, with himselfe, and 96 Scots souldiours, with condition to haue their liues onelie saved, and the captaine to remaine prisoner, and to go into England. Immediately upon their coming forth of the steeple, fire was given unto the traines of powder in the mines, and so both the church & steeple were blowne up into the aire, & rased downe to the ground. This done, they burnt the towne (after they had sacked it) and left not one stone standing upon an other, for that the same towne had euer bene a verie noisome neighbour to England.

The Englishmen had conceived such spite towards this towne, that if they saw but a pece of timber remaining vnburnt, they would cut the same in peeces with their bills. The countrie herewith was striken in such feare, that the next day all the Bilpatrickes and the Jordecins, the lords of Kirkmichell, Apsilgirth, Cloburne, Holmendes, Pubie, and the Arrewings, the Wels, the Rigs, the Purrics, and all the clanes and surnames of the neather part of Annerdale, came in, and received an oth of obedience, as subjects to the king of England, deliuering pledges for their assured loialtie. The residue that would not come in and submit themselves, had their houses burnt, their goods and cattell fetched away by the English light horsemen, that were sent abroad into the countrie for that purpose.

These things thus executed, the earle of Lennor, and the lord Wharton, returned backe into England

with their prisoners, booties, and spoiles; receiuing great thanks and commendations by gentle letters on the five & twentieth of September, from the duke of Summerfet, then lieng at Rockesburgh, about fortifying of that place. The gouernour perceiuing thus that without the assistance of France he should not be able to resist the Englishmen, having now got such foot hold within the realme of Scotland, requied the quene Dowager, and monsieur Dossell, ligger ambassadoz for the French king, to persuaue with him by letters, to send an armie into Scotland, to the aid of his friends there.

The gouernour is sure to the quene Dowager, and to the French ambassadoz.

The quene and monsieur Dossell, perceiuing a readie waie prepared to bring that to passe which they most desired (which was, to haue the quene of Scotland ordered in all things by the French kings aduise) they undertooke to procure an armie out of France, according to the gouernours desire, if he with the states of the realme would agree that the quene might be sent into France, and a contract made for hir bestowing in marriage, as stood with the French kings pleasure. The gouernour condescending hereto, assembled the states, and by their aduises, passed certeine covenants to the effect aforesaid, & sent the same in writing by certeine messengers into France.

The quene Dowager promised aid out of France with condition.

The French king gladlie accepting this message, prepared a readie of ships and galleys to transport an armie into Scotland the next summer. In the meane time, the gouernour laid siege to Broughtie crag, and the duke of Summerfet, as well for meane to cause the Scots to retire that siege, as also for the annoyance of Clidesdale, appertaining to the gouernour and the earle of Angus, and other Scots that would not come in to the obedience of the king of England, appointed the earle of Lennor to make a new inuasion into Scotland; and to vse for triall of their fidelities the helpe of two thousand Scottish light horsemen, that were already assured & sworn to serue the king of England in all such exploits in which they should be imployed.

The gouernour sendeth into France for aid. Broughtie crag besieged by the gouernour.

The earle of Lennor desirous to aduance the king of Englands affaires, and hauing receiued letters from William earle of Glencarne, with promise of his assistance, and likewise of his father in law the earle of Angus, the lord of Drumlanrig, and those lords and gentlemen of the countreies of Aile, Cunningham, Kenfren, and Lennor, entered Scotland about the twelfth of December, accompanied with Henrie Wharton, second son to the lord Wharton, with two hundred light horsemen, of the garrisons in Scotland, and coming first to Dunfreis, where the generall assemble was appointed of the two thousand assured Scottish light horsemen, when the musters should be taken, he found scarce three hundred, and those for the more part of the broken countreies of Annandale, Cwisdale, Cdale, and Lidesdale.

The earle of Lennor entereth into Scotland.

The earle of Glencarne came thither in deed, but under a counterfet shew of good meaning, where in truth he ment nothing but craft to discouer all the earle of Lennor his purposes: who perceiuing his double dealing, and finding no such forces ready to assist him, as he looked for, and moreover, mistrusting the loialties of the maister of Partwell, & the gentlemen of Lidesdale, meaning (as he took it) to intrap him, and deliuer him to the quene Dowager, and the lord gouernour, stood in some perplexitie what way should be the best for him to follow, thinking it not to stand with his honor to returne, without attaining some enterprisse.

The earle of Glencarne his double dealing.

How lord Harries.

The earle of Lennor in doubt what to do.

The earle of Glencarne had shewed to him two letters written by the lord of Drumlanrig, signifying, that if the earle of Lennor came, accompanied onelie

The lord of Drumlanrig.

The earle of Lennor dissembleth with dissemblers.

1547. Buch.

Horsemen sent forth to scourge Drumlanrig.

They harrie the countrie about Drumlanrig.

Drumlanrig pursueth the Englishmen.

He is put to flight.

The siege of Broughtie crag raised.

onelic with Scottishmen, he would both serue him and honoꝝ him in the best wise he might: but if he brought those Englishmen in his companie, he would not onelic refuse to aid him, but also raise all the power he might make, either by his friends or otherwise, to resist him, and proffer him a repulse. The earle thus perceiuing that he was in danger to be betrayed among them, and that there were all the deuises practised that might be to staie those that should come to the deuotion of the king of England, 10 dissembled the matter with Glencarne, and other that were suborned to betraie him; pretending to them, that he would follow the course of their deuises.

The earle of Lennox dissembled with dissemblers.

1547. Buch.

But in the meane time he got togither the English capteins that were appointed to attend him, and also such Scottishmen as he knew he might trust. And meaning to scourge Drumlanrig, & to cut him short, for that he was the chiefe instrument to staie all the Scottishmen in those parties from entering friendship with the Englishmen: he gaue secret warning to all the capteins & leaders about nine of the clocke at night, that they should be ready with their men to mount on horsebacke at the sound of the trumpet, and keepe with them the earle of Glencarne, the maister of Marwell, the lords of Clofburne, Kirkmichell, and others the gentlemen of Pidesdale and Annandale.

Hossemen sent forth to scourge Drumlanrig.

They harrie the countrie about Drumlanrig.

He sent forth six hundred chosen horsemen upon sound of the trumpet, at twelue of the clocke at night, vnder the leading of Henrie Wharton, and other the capteins of the garrisons, who in the dawning of the next morrow, arrived nere the place of Drumlanrig, where they appointed foure hundred of their horsemen to passe to the forraie, who raised fire, and burnt two miles in length, both tolnes and villages on ech side, even hard to the gates of Drumlanrig, spoiling the houses of goods and riches, worth to the value of two thousand marks, got three thousand sheepe, two thousand herd of great cattell, beside nine score horses and mares.

The Annandalers laden with spoile and cattell, being in number foure hundred men, departed with their preie homewards. The lord of Drumlanrig, lieng all this while in ambush with seuen hundred men, forbare to breake out to giue any charge vpon his enimies, doubting least the earle of Lennox had kept a scale behind: but now after he perceiued that the most part of the enimies were departed, and that the residue of the gentlemen & capteins of the English horsemen were withdrawing towards Dunfreis, being not past six score men, he fiercely followed after them with his power, in hope not onelic to ouerthrow and disperse them, but also to take the earle of Lennox at Dunfreis.

Maister Henrie Wharton and those six score horsemen, retiring beyond the water of Pith, and perceiuing that Drumlanrig and his men entered the water rashlie to pursue them, returned, and gaue such a desperate charge vpon them, that Drumlanrig and his companie were scattered and put to flight: yet Drumlanrig himselfe, although there were some speares broken vpon him, through the goodnesse of his horse escaped. Two gentlemen of his surname and traine, that were in no small estimation with him, were slaine, and six score prisoners taken, and led to Dunfreis. The terror of this overthrow, and the hate of the earle of Lennox his entrie thus made into Scotland, caused the gouernour to leaue his siege from Broughtie crag, and with speed to come from thence, the better to defend his countries of Clidesdale, and Dowglasdale. Sir Andrew Wadell, capteine of Broughtie crag, bare himselfe verie balliantlie, in defending the castell during this siege,

He is put to flight.

The siege of Broughtie crag raised.

so that the Scots certes lost diuerse hardie personages: and among other, Calwen Hamilton, the gouernours kinsman, was slaine at the same siege.

Moreouer, the prior of Whiterne by his letters and messengers, offered himselfe to obeye the king of England: and the inhabitants of the burrough and haueu tolnes of Wighton and Birchowbye, the knights of Loghinwar and Carleis, the lord and tutor of Bombie, the lord of Cardines, & all the gentlemen of Annandale, Pidesdale, and Galloway, euen to Whiterne, being foure score miles in length from Caerleill, through the inducement of the foresaid prior, and of the knights of Loghinwar and Carleis, (for the fauour they bare to the earle of Lennox) within two daies after the discomfiture of Drumlanrig, came vnto Dunfreis, and there receiued an oth to be true to the king of England, and afterwards went with the earle to Caerleill, leauing the countrie in good quiet, and the king of England acknowledged for lord of Galloway, Pidesdale, and Annandale, by the inhabitants thereof.

The prior of Whiterne.

And after that the forenamed persons had remained for a space at Caerleill, they deliuered pledges, but especiallie for John Marwell, & returned home to their countrie, as assured men & subjects to the king of England. In this meane while, the gouernour hauing held siege before the castell of Broughtie crag, by the space of thirtie daies, and now retiring from thence (as before ye haue heard) by the aduise of the principall lords about him, he caused maister James Haliburton, tutor of those parties, to raise certeine companies of horsemen, and appointed him with capteine Leirmouth (whome he left in Dunfreis with certeine footmen) to defend the countrie against the Englishmen, if they issued forth of Broughtie crag, to atchiue any enterprise any where nere thereabouts.

The Scots deliuer pledges.

James Haliburton. Capteine Leirmouth.

The duke of Summer set by aduise of the residue of the councell in England, minding to bide the Scots that refused to come in & submit themselves to the king of England, toke order with the lord of Winton, who (as saith Lelless. lib. 10. pag. 491.) remained in Scotland from the fourth Ides of Aprill, vntill the tenth kalends of June for the building of one fort at Lauder, and an other at Haddington, as in the English historie it may appeare. And further it was appointed also, that about the end of Februarie, the earle of Lennox and the lord Wharton, with seuen hundred English horsemen, beside the assured Scots horsemen, and about foure or five thousand English footmen, should by the west borders invade Scotland: they according to their commission set forward, and the first night came to Louchinabene, and there lodged.

1547. Lelless.

Fr. Thin. Forts built.

1548.

The next day they marched to Dunfreis, and whilest they remained there, the earle of Angus being come to Drumlanrig, by messengers entred some talke with his sonne in law the earle of Lennox. But sith it was perceiued that this was done, rather to intrap the earle of Lennox, or rather at the least wise to drine time, vpon consultation had with the maister of Marwell, the lord of Clofborne, and others the gentlemen assured of Pidesdale and Annandale, it was concluded, that the tolnes of Forston, Duldere, and others, nere adioining togither in those parts, should be burnt; to the end that the earle of Angus might so be drawn to the field, and caught by some one meane or other.

The earle of Lennox and the L. Wharton invade Scotland.

The dissimulation of the earle of Angus.

About midnight therefore, the forraie being set forth, vnder the leading of maister Henrie Wharton, to the number of twelue hundred light horsemen, the maister of Marwell, now lord Herries, and the residue of the assured men being amongst them kept forward, and in the morning the earle of Lennox,

Maister Henrie Wharton.

The earle of Angus put to flight.

Dundere set on fire.

Lennor, and the lord Wharton marched forth with the footmen, till they came ten miles beyond Dunfreis. And where the earle of Angus was drawn to the castell of Dumlanrig, vnder pretense to commune with his sonne the earle of Lennor (but meaning to intrap him) if it were possible, he was so intironed by the English footmen per he could haue sufficient warning, that he was forced to flee onelie with five persons in his companie. But now the English horsemen being come to Dundere, eight & forty miles within the realme of Scotland, hauing passed sundrie great riuers, they set that towne on fire.

But the maister of Marwell, with the other Scottish gentlemen and light horsemen borderers, to the number of foure hundred, being in companie of the English horsemen (as before ye haue heard) had contriued the destruction of the Englishmen afoze hand. And the better to worke their feat, they had procured (as ye haue heard) the earle of Angus to come vnto Dumlanrig with a chosen power of men for that purpose. There were also vpon euerie hill about, great numbers of Scottish footmen, with speares and lancestauces to assist the earle of Angus and his complices against the Englishmen. The lord of Dumlanrig with a number of chosen horsemen was advanced forward in sight of the Englishmen, as they were busie in firing the towne of Dundere.

The renouling of the assured Scots.

A false rumour spread.

The assured Scots therefore, thinking the enterprise to be surerlie inough conueid for their contriued purpose, openlie vpon the field nere to Dundere, hoisting vp a blacke pennill vpon a speares point for a token, renouled wholie, and ioined themselves to the lord of Dumlanrig and other their countrie men, & thrust in betwixt the English horsemen & footmen, to the great perill of distressing aswell the one as the other. For making toward the place where the earle of Lennor, and the lord Wharton were comming forward with their footmen, nere to the old castell of Dauswinton, sometime the house of the Cumins, they bzuted it abroad, that the English horsemen were quite ouerthrowen.

The earle of Lennor, beholding the maner of his aduersaries, lighted on foot from his horse, willing the lord Wharton to do the like; for this day (said he) I will die a true Englishman. At length the English horsemen fetching a compasse in retiring backe from Dundere, came nere to the place where the earle and the lord Wharton were ranged in order of battell: and thinking no lesse but that their horsemen had bene ouerthrowen, were readie to march backe towards Dunfreis. But their horsemen thus comming in, and perceiuing how the matter stood, gaue a right valiant charge vpon the Scots, that stood countenancing the footmen, and readie to take the aduantage, if they might haue drawn them through shrinking backe into anie disorder.

The Scots put to flight.

Dunfreis spoiled.

But such was the violence of the shocke giuen at that instant, with great manhood (vndoubtedlie) by the English horsemen, that the Scots were there with put out of arraie, scattered, & quite put to flight; the lord of Dumlanrig being taken prisoner, corrupted his taker, and so got away. The maister of Marwell escaped in great danger of life, for he had sundrie speares broken on him in the chafe as he fled awaie. There were yet taken that day of the Scots to the number of foure hundred, beside sundrie that were drowned in the water of Firth. Amongest the prisoners were these men of name; the abbat of new abbeie, Christie Irretwing of Bonthalu, a brother of the lord of Hempsfield, & manie other gentlemen of name. Dunfreis was rifled and spoiled, as the earle of Lennor and the Englishmen returned thither,

and a martiall court appointed there for execution of pledges; but yet suspended and staied, till the counceils pleasure might be knowen in that behalfe.

There were at the first euill newes spread abroad, and certified to the court of England of this towne, both the earle of Lennor and the English armie was ouerthrowen, so that it was by order appointed, that the earle of Derby, the Lord Scrope, and Coniers, with their powers should repaire to the west borders to garnish the same for defense against the enemies: but vpon the true report how the matter had passed, made by maister Henrie Wharton, and one Bishop a Scottishman, sent in post for that purpose, that appointment was staied; and maister Wharton was at that time made knight, and the said Bishop richlie rewarded for bringing so good newes. Here with were letters directed downe from the counsell to the lord Wharton, for the execution of certaine pledges, that is to saie, the maister of Marwells pledge, being one of his nearest kinsmen of the house of the Herries, also the warden of the Greie friers in Dunfreis, the vicar of Carlanerocke, and diuerse other which were executed at Carlill. In this meane time were the forts at Latoder and Haddington built, the castels of Pester and Dawkith woone, all the mills burnt within foure miles of each hand of Edinburgh, and other exploits atchieued by the Englishmen, as in the historie of England is more at large exprest.

But now the French king, hauing prepared an armie readie to come into Scotland, caused the same to draw downe to Brest in Britaine, where the ships and gallies were rigged and made readie to passe therewith into Scotland. The chiefe leaders of which armie were these, which had charge chiefe to command in the same: monsieur de Wesse lieutenant generall, monsieur Dandelot cozonnell of the French footmen, the counte Keingraue cozonnell of the Almaines, monsieur de Galleraie, monsieur Doissel, Pietro Strozzie cozonnell of the Italians, monsieur Ctauges capteine of the horsemen, sir Nicholas de Villegaignon a knight of the Rhodes (or rather Malta) capteine of the gallies, and monsieur Duno commissarie of the artillerie: with diuerse other worthie personages, and men of approved valiancie. These capteins with their powers being imbarked at Brest, sailed alongst by the east seas, and at length about the middell of June came into the rode before Leith, where they landed their people and ordinance. [A little before whose arrivall into France (as saith Lelleus, libro 10. pag. 491.) Chapelle. Bironne landed in Scotland, accompanied with other nobilitie of France, to giue good counsell to the Scots answerable to the time, which was (to please their eares therewith) that there should a greater armie shortly come out of France, to succor their extremities.]

Afterwards, with the aduise of the gouernor, and other of the Scottish lords, the French power went to besiege Haddington, and comming thither, incamped themselves in places of aduantage about the towne, cast trenches, planted their ordinance, battered the rampires, and kept them within streitlie besieged on each hand, vsing all the waies they could deuise to constrain the Englishmen to yeld. They forbore yet to giue a generall assault, because they would not hazard (as they haue reported) the losse of so manie men as might haue bene slaine and maintained thereby, to the great weakening of their power there, hauing not meanes to supplie it when they would.

And yet they had a great armie of Scots with them for a season, and had made the breaches so reasonable,

Pledges executed.

1548. Buch. 1547. Lelle. A name prepared at Brest in Britaine.

The chiefe capteins of the French armie that came into Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

The English horsemen ouerthrowen.

The earle of Shrewsburie remoueth the siege from Haddington.

Sir Nicholas de Villegaignon.

The French gallies comming about the realme of Scotland by Dungenbie head. 1547. Lelle.

Monsieur de Birzic.

Fr. Thin.

The young queene of Scots constrained into France.

Fr. Thin. Lelleus, lib. 10. pag. 494.

sonable
tered b
not su
backe.
in the
the ma
in th
the del
Whar
border
certe
cessar
lesse d
were n
the nig
on of f

horlin
sand d
hor/ba
fir Wh
Gamm
ring o
powe
Bow
ber of
ing ta
Pet
Fren
they b
the to
mie f
erle
were
Eng
sed, t
chan
W
rema
ble c
be se
Will
Leit
saile
of th
pass
scas
nigh
the
yon
chur
bzam
A
ton
for d
uey
he b
ing
in m
bow
com
[wit
stain
teim
as S
ton,
non
prie
and
that
fir y
*
ltie
king

rem
ble c
be se
Will
Leit
saile
of th
pass
scas
nigh
the
yon
chur
bzam
A
ton
for d
uey
he b
ing
in m
bow
com
[wit
stain
teim
as S
ton,
non
prie
and
that
fir y
*
ltie
king

rem
ble c
be se
Will
Leit
saile
of th
pass
scas
nigh
the
yon
chur
bzam
A
ton
for d
uey
he b
ing
in m
bow
com
[wit
stain
teim
as S
ton,
non
prie
and
that
fir y
*
ltie
king

rem
ble c
be se
Will
Leit
saile
of th
pass
scas
nigh
the
yon
chur
bzam
A
ton
for d
uey
he b
ing
in m
bow
com
[wit
stain
teim
as S
ton,
non
prie
and
that
fir y
*
ltie
king

rem
ble c
be se
Will
Leit
saile
of th
pass
scas
nigh
the
yon
chur
bzam
A
ton
for d
uey
he b
ing
in m
bow
com
[wit
stain
teim
as S
ton,
non
prie
and
that
fir y
*
ltie
king

rem
ble c
be se
Will
Leit
saile
of th
pass
scas
nigh
the
yon
chur
bzam
A
ton
for d
uey
he b
ing
in m
bow
com
[wit
stain
teim
as S
ton,
non
prie
and
that
fir y
*
ltie
king

conable, that with small paine they might have entered by the same if the force of the defendants had not sufficed with handblowes to haue beaten them backe, as no doubt there was no want of good toiles in them so to haue done, if the Frenchmen had put the matter in trial: yet during this siege, they stood in great necessity of things becomerfull for the defense of the towne. Whereupon sir Henrie Wharton with a band of light horsemen of the west borders, and others, came and put into the towne a certaine number of men with powder, and other necessities, greatlie to the reliefe of the besieged, & no lesse displeasure of the Frenchmen and Scots, that were not aware of this enterprise till it was done in the night season, by the good and fortunate conducti- on of them that had the conuenance thereof.

The English
horsemen com-
ing to assist.

Diedges ex-
posed.

1548. Buch.
1547. Lelle.
A manie pre-
pared at West
in Britaine.

The earle of
Shrewsburie
remained the
siege from
Haddington.

The chiefe
captains of
the French
armie that
came into
Scotland.

Sir Nicho-
las de Ville-
gaignon.

Fr. Thin.

The French
gallies com-
passe about the
raine of
Scotland by
Dungelbie
head.
1547. Lelle.

Monsieur de
Brezze.

Fr. Thin.

The young
quene of
Scots com-
ing into
France.

why the
Frenchmen
forbare to
give an as-
sault.

Fr. Thin.
Lelleus lib. 10.
Pg 44.

on, where she was received with great preparation, & there tarted the coming thither of the king. at that time pacifying the seditions and tumults in the inward parts of France. When the king was come, hee gladded all men with his presence, and provided that there was a large household, as well of the noble men and women of Scotland, as of others appointed to the young quene, which he still increased (as the quene grew more in years) untill such time as she might be married.

But now to returne to the doings in Scotland concerning the warres there. After that the siege of Haddington was raised by the English armie, as be- fore ye haue heard, the Frenchmen thereupon reti- red themselves vnto Hushelburgh, and choosing forth a plot of ground for their aduantage, kept them- selves within the same. And herewith there came to them sixe thousand Scottishmen to assist them, so that when the Englishmen came forwarde to assaile them, they found them so strongly imbatelled, that (whether their commission did not so farre extend, or whether they had no liking of the match) they for- bare to set vpon them in that ground of so great dis- aduantage for the assailants, and so returned backe to Haddington, and after homeward, hauing furni- shed the towne with new supplies of men, munition, and vittels sufficient.

The French
men encampe
at Hushel-
burgh.

See more
herof in
England.

There is to be noted, that the English first ente- ring into the Forth, was readie to haue aided the ar- mie by land, as occasions might haue bene offered. But the lord admerall perceiving no likelihood of battell by land, toke vpon him to atchieue some other enterprises, and first comming to Wentland, set certaine ships on fire there, of the chiefest in the ri- uer; and saluting the towne of Leith as he passed by with canon shot, he determined to land some of his men on the north side of the Forth, to make some spoile within the countrie of Fife. But John Ersk- kin lord of Dun, as then somewhat diseased, and re- turned home from the campe, caused such dailie and nightlie watch and ward to be kept, that this enter- prise could not be so secretly conieured by the Eng- lishmen, but that the same was perceiued, and so preuented, that vpon their landing they were forced to retire with losse: and hapie was he that might first get againe to shipboard.

The lord ad-
merall of
England.

The lord of
Dun.

The English
men repelled
at saint An-
drews.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 15.

* For James Stewart, brother to the quene (hearing of this tumult) came thither in hast with the common people of saint Andrews, and some other few citizens which were remaining in the towne, to whom the neighbors about did also ioine them- selves, vnderstanding the cause of that assemble. The English being now come on land, about twelue hundred, stood in warlike sort readie for the battell, and with the feare of the artillerie (which they dis- charged out of their ships) did easilie cause the rude multitude to flie awaie. But this James Stewart (by litle and litle suppressing the feare of such as fled) did, with such violence, rush vpon his enemies, that forthwith he ouerthrew them, put them to flight, compelled them to returne to the sea with great slaughter, when also manie of them (as they fled to their ships) were drowned, besides those hundred that were slaine, and one hundred taken.)

The earle of Shrewsburie being come backe from Haddington vnto Dunglas, order was given for the building of a fort there, as in the English historie further may appeare. And in the meane time mon- sieur de Delle, remaining in campe at Hushel- burgh, hearing that the English armie was remo- ued homeward, & how diuerse new bands of horse- men and footmen being left in Haddington, were readie to come forth to skirmish abroad vpon sight of the enimie; he toke aduise, to trie if he might

o'ato

Haddington
besieged.

draw them forth to their losse, and thereupon was monsieur Dandelot, and the Keingraue appointed to choise forth a thousand of their lustiest footmen, the which with three hundred horsemen were conueied and laid close in ambush, behind a little hill not farre from the towne.

This done, a few horsemen were drawne forth to draw the Englishmen out of the towne to skirmish with them. The Englishmen were no sooner aduised that the enemies were there at hand in the field, but that all their horsemen issued out of the towne backe with certeine footmen, and straight had the French in chase; who retiring, maintained the skirmish, of purpose to make the Englishmen more earnest to come forward. But immediatlie as monsieur de Delle saw his time, he gaue signe by sound of trumpet to the footmen to breake forth, who together with the horsemen gaue so fierce an onset vpon the enemies, that they were incontinentlie discomfited: and fleeing toward the towne, were followed by the French even hard to the walles; diuers were slaine, and about an hundred taken prisoners.

After this, monsieur de Delle raised from Perthburgh, and comming to Leith set in hand to fortifie that towne. The marshall Strozzi, and monsieur Dandelot, with diuerse other capitaine imbarcking themselves in the gallic that yet remained, toke their course to returne to France. One of the same gallies (they being eight in number, beside a foist and a brigandine) was taken by an English ship called the falcon, as she passed through the narrow seas at a place named the Southfurlong, she being alone, and (as it chanced) hindermost of all the companie.

After the departure of monsieur Dandelot, monsieur de la Chappelle de Wiron remained colonell of the French footmen in Scotland. As for the furnitures on the water, there remained now but foure gallies vnder the guiding of one capteine Bach an Italian, a man of great experience and approved skill. For ye must vnderstand, that before the arrivall of the English naue & armie to the succors of them in Haddington, monsieur de Gallerie viceadmirall of France returned home with the fleet of ships that had brought the French armie into Scotland. In what sort the lord Greie of Wiltoun afflicted the countreies of Tindale and Liddesdale, after the returne of the earle of Shrewsburie, is partly touched in the historie of England.

About the same time, there chanced a mutinie to rise betwixt the Scots and the Frenchmen in Edinburgh, by reason that a French souldier fell a quarrelling with two or three Scottishmen; and falling together by the eares, diuerse Scots that came to depart the fraie, would haue had the Frenchman to prison; but other Frenchmen being there also present, would not suffer the Scots to take him awaie. Whereupon arose a great tumult and strere among them, insomuch that there were diuerse slaine on both parts, namely James Hamilton lord of Stanhouse, knight, capteine of the castell, and prouost of the towne of Edinburgh, with his sonne; and master William Stewart one of the queens seruants, besides sundrie other. For the Frenchmen doubting some contriued commotion against them, assembled together in order of battell in the streets; so that before the matter might be appeased by the capitaine that shewed their diligent endeours therein, they had inough to bring it to passe as they wished.

The beginner of this businesse was hanged the same day in the market place of Edinburgh, where he began first to pike the quarell. Monsieur de Delle, to shew that this variance had not proceeded so farre as the brute thereof gaue forth (for it was rather in-

creased ye may be sure than diminished) undertooke an enterprize in hand to win the towne of Haddington by a camifado, but in what sort they missed their purpose, and how they were well beaten backe, and sent away by the valiant manhood of the English capitaine and souldiers then within the towne, ye may read further thereof in the English historie. There were seven score (some say three hundred) slaine in the bafe court.

But now, forsomuch as I haue said nothing of Broughtie crag, since the lord gouernor raised his siege from thence, ye shall vnderstand, that (as some haue written) shortly after the earle of Argile came thither with an armie of his Irish Scots, and besieged it. But when he saw he could not preuaile, he toke truce with them within for a time, and because the same was expired, there came new succors to the Englishmen: so that the earle of Argile (by reason his people had remained there the full terme of their bounden & ordinarie seruice) was constrained to leaue his siege, and suffer the Englishmen to become maisters of a little hill, where afterwards they builded a fort. And now in the latter end of this yere, they purposed also to haue fortified Dundee, and to haue kept the same with a garrison of souldiers; but hearing that monsieur de Delle with his Frenchmen was comming thitherwards, they auoided the towne of their owne accord, having first spoiled the houses, and after set them on fire.

The Keingraue with two bands of his Almaines, and monsieur de Ctauges with his companie of horsemen were sent before, who comming to Dundee, and finding the Englishmen gone, incamped there, staid till monsieur de Delle was come, that followed at hand with the French footmen. Within two daies after, they going forth to view the fort, were in danger to haue bene caught per they could get backe againe. For the Englishmen and Lancaster knights that were there with them (part of Conrad Hennings bands) issued forth, and droue them to retire, not without danger to haue bene distressed, if the Keingraue had not vsed the greater policie in retiring the troupe. To be short, monsieur de Delle, to stop the Englishmen from entering anie further into the countreie on that side, left seven ensignes of Frenchmen, & two ensignes of Scots within Dundee, with artillerie and pioners to fortifie the towne, & to keepe it in safetie from the Englishmen. This done, he returned to Edinburgh, and sent the residue of his people abroad into the countreie, to lodge in townes and villages here & there, as was thought most expedient, for the better refreshing of them after their long trauell.

While these things were in doing, the gouernor of Scotland sent the lord Carneige knight (and senator) ambassador to the protector of England, which should for ransome (as the custome is) demand deliuerie of the earle of Huntley being prisoner: which if he could not obtaine, that then he should request this libertie, that his wife and children might come vnto him into England. Wherevnto the protector answered, that he would not set the earle free, untill the warres were ended: but for the companie of his wife, he was content to grant it for certeine daies; with this prouiso, that he should not withdraw himselfe by anie means from the custodie of Rafe Wane (corruptlie by Lesleus called Wane) who had taken him in the warres. Wherefore, when the ambassador was returned into Scotland, Huntley was committed to certeine keepers, who should carie him from London to Dorset, distant twentie and foure miles from the borders of Scotland. Now whilest the earle doth there looke for his wiues comming to him, he thinketh vpon escape, and to come to hir. For he

The Frenchmen gaue a camifado to Haddington, & were beaten backe.

Broughtie crag besieged by the earle of Argile. Vlpian Eccl.

He raised his siege.

The fort builded by the Englishmen at Broughtie crag.

Dundee abandoned of the Englishmen.

The Keingraue.

Dundee fortified by the Frenchmen.

Fr. Thin. I 543. Lesleus lib. 19. pag. 498.

Some castles recovered by the Scots.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 19. 1549. Lesleus

The Englishmen put to the sword at a skirmish nere to Haddington.

Leith fortified.

A galley taken

Captaine Bach.

Monsieur de Gallerie viceadmirall of France.

A fray betwixt the French souldiers, and the townesmen of Edinburgh.

he had agreed with George Har, that he should one night pziulie bring to him thither, two of the swiftest horses that he could get to flie awaie upon them. According whereunto Har was readie out of the borders of Scotland with such horses as he knew would serue the turne, wherof one was for the earle, and the other was for his man.

The erle prepareth a supper for his keepers, whereunto they were solemnelie invited, and to plaie at cards with him to passe awaie the tediousnes of the night. At length (as though he had played inough at cards) he left off, but earnestlie desired his keepers that they should continue on their game. During which, the earle (going unto the window, and looking out) did by a secret signe (for he could not well discern anie thing, it was so extreamly darke over all the element) easilie understand that all things were readie for his iournie. The earle then doubtfull (being sometime in god hope, and sometime in feare) thought upon manie things, which he muttered to himselfe: and at length vnadvisedlie (as doubtfull men are wont to do) burst out in these speeches, Oh sorrow, all these things be a hinderance vnto me, the sharpenesse of the winter night, the doubt of my weake force and helpe, the let of an vnknown way, and the want of a faithfull guide: God prosper the iournie. His keepers hearing him speake to himselfe, asked him what those secret speeches might signifie: to whom the earle (knowing that he was guiltie of his fault) answered, that those words were vsed as a prouerbe amongst the Scots: and first had their beginning by the old earle Foxton, uttering the same in the middle of the night when he lay in dieing. Wherupon (to the end that his keepers should not haue anie suspicion of his determined flight) he sitteth dolour againe to cards.

After which suddentlie he rose from them, as urged by losenesse of his bellie to vnburden nature, by which occasion he forthwith (accompanied onelie with his seruant leapeth forth, found the horses ready furnished for himselfe and his man, got on them, & with speedie iournie did flie to the borders of Scotland. When he was passed over the riuer of Tweed, and had a little refreshed himselfe from the labor of his iournie in the house of Har, he went the same night (being Christmas eue) to Edinburgh, where he was iustitie & honorable receiued of the quene, the gouernor, his wife, and his other friends, with an vniuersall gladnesse of the whole multitude of the towne. As soon as his keepers perceiued that he was gone, they speedilie run to horse, and (doubtfull which way to follow) they seek him here, and there, and euerie where, but all in vaine, for the diligence of the erle put them out of all doubt for obtaining him. Whose flight was not onelie a freedom to himselfe, but also to manie other noble prisoners, who (upon the assurance of his faith and word) were permitted to depart into Scotland. The gouernor therefore, to congratulate with the earle for his returne, restored vnto him the chancery, ship, and the rule of manie other provinces which he had before his captiuitie. For which cause when he had remained a while at Edinburgh, he returned to the north parts of Scotland, where speedilie and easilie he appeased all the tumults of these people.

Some castles recovered by the Scots.

R. Thin.
Buchan, li. 15.
1549. Lefle.

On saint Stephens day at night, the castell of Hume was scaled, and wont out of the English mens hands. One of the luckiest of the Humes, a man of threescore years of age, was the first that entered on the wall, slaying one of the watchmen that kept his watch on that side. & shortly after, when the capitaine of Falkenwell had commaunded the battlement adjoining, to bring thither, (at a certaine day) great store of vittels, the young men there a-

bouts hauing that occasion, assembled thither at the day appointed, who taking their burdens from the horses, and laying them on their shoulders, were receiued (after they had passed the bridge, which was made ouer two high rocks) into the castle, where (laying downe that which they brought) they suddentlie (by a signe giuen) set upon the keepers of the gates, slue them, and (before the other Englishmen could be assembled) possessed the other places, weapons, and artillerie of the castell, and then receiuing the rest of their companie into the same (through the great and open gate) they wholie kept and inioied the castell for their countremen.)

About the same time, the Keinsgrane returned into France, leaving his five ensignes of Almaines behind him, vnder the charge of capitaine Ketonze, a good man of warre and of great experience. Also monsieur de Etanges was taken in a skirmish at Broughtie crag, as I haue noted in the English historie: & about the same time, there landed at Dunbarton foure bands of soldiers, Breuanois and Gascoignes, bringing monie with them to paie the soldiers their wages, behind as then for the space of three moneths. Sir James Wilford also was taken about the same time by the Frenchmen, in a skirmish at Dunbar (as I haue also noted in the historie of England.) Not long after, monsieur de Delle was appointed by the quene Dowager, to go vnto Jedworth, to prevent that the Englishmen should not fortifie there, whereof the good in some doubt.

Immediatlie vpon his comming thither, the lord of Fernthurst requested him to helpe to recover his castell of Fernthurst out of the Englishmens hands, which they had taken from him and kept, greatlie to the annoiand of all the countrie thereabouts. Monsieur de Delle taking with him monsieur de Dill, and monsieur de la Chapelle de Biton, hastened thither with the chiefe part of his armie, sending before certaine capitaine with their bands to saruete the house, who at their comming thither, used such diligence in following the offered occasion, that they both repelled their enemies that came forth to giue them the skirmish, and pursuing them with great rigor, wan the liens of the house upon them, forcing the capitaine and soldiers to retire within the dungeon, and kept them so short therein, that they had opportunitie to mine an hole through the wall, of such largenes, as a man might easilie enter by the same.

Wherewith a great number of Scots hauing broken open the gate of the base court, where the Frenchmen were buile to assault the dungeon, burst in on heapes, vpon desire to be reuenged vpon the Englishmen, and namelie of their capitaine, who (as they said) had done them manie great displeasures. The capitaine perceiuing this, and doubting if he fell into the Scottish mens hands he should be executed, he presented himselfe at the hole, which the Frenchmen had made, and yielded himselfe to monsieur de Dill, and la Houche Rouge, who intending to vnderstand as became men of warre, would haue led him out of the prese: but suddentlie a shot coming, bestrid him, whose tosse (as was reported) he had received, smote off his head so lust from the shoulders, that it leapt foure or five yards quite from the bodie, & with other cruell parts the Scots seemed to tread against other Englishmen, taken here at Fernthurst: but they excused the matter by the cruell dealings of the Englishmen towards them before that time.

Monsieur de Delle returning to Jedworth, stood by the furtherance and counsell of the Scots, ceased not in occasions of advantage to attempt new exploits against the Englishmen, as time and opportunitie serued: and among other exploits, the castell of Cornwall (an old house built after the ancient

Is h. j.

maner

1546.
The Keinsgrane returned into France.
Monsieur de Etanges taken prisoner by the Englishmen.

Sir James Wilford taken

The castell of Fernthurst wonne by the Frenchmen.

The crueltie of the Scots.

The castell of Cornwell wonne.

The Frenchmen giue a challenge to the Englishmen, & are eaten backe.

Broughtie crag besieged by the earle of Argyle.
Lipian Fol.

The raising of his siege.

The fort built by the Englishmen at Broughtie crag.

Dundee abandoned by the Englishmen.

The Keinsgrane.

Dundee lost by the Frenchmen.

Fr. Thin.
1548.
Lellous lib. 10.
pag. 498.

Captaine Cobios.

maner of fortiffing) was taken by the Frenchmen, and spoiled of all things worth the bearing awate. Also captaine Cobios a Frenchman, hauing a band of fiftie light horsemen Scots seruing vnder him, on a night had a faire hand against a number of English horsemen, whome he charged so on the sudden, as he saw them out of order, that he easilie discomfited them, and tooke moze prisoners (whome he brought to Jedworth) than he had persons in his companie to assaile them.

A road made by monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron.

Monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron, was sent forth by monsieur de Desse, with the companie of horsemen that belonged to monsieur de Ctauges then prisoner, and five hundred footmen beside Scots, to make a road into England: which enterprize he achieved in burning towne and villages, and returned without anie great losse sustained at that time. Within two daies after his returne to Jedworth, monsieur de Desse dislodged from thence, & taking with him foure field peeces, and all his men of war, entered into England, toke the castell of Ffourd and burnt it, with ten small villages in the countie thereabouts, situate within halfe a mile eith of other. There was one towne yet parcell of that castell of Ffourd, which was kept by Thomas Kar, so that the Frenchmen could not win it, for they had no time to staie long about it, removing that night over the water, & incamped there within the Scottish ground.

Another made by monsieur de Desse. Ffourd castell towne.

Thomas Kar

As the Scots and Frenchmen executed these enterprizes, they were coasted by certeine light horsemen; but neuertheless the Frenchmen returned in safetie to Jedworth, hauing soze indamaged the English borders by that road: inso much as it was thought, the Scots (which were with them at that road) gained at that time, by pillage and booties to the value of nine thousand crownes. The Englishmen soze grieved, that the Frenchmen lieng thus in Jedworth, should in such wise addresse one enterprize after an other against them, so greatlie to their annoyance, assembled a power together at Roxburgh, purposing to haue assailed the Frenchmen in their campe at Jedworth.

Scots gaine by spoile.

Monsieur de Desse fleeth out of Jedworth for feare of the Englishmen.

But monsieur de Desse hauing warning thereof, departed from thence first to Melrose, and after further off within the countie, fearing to be constrained to giue battell. Which he could not haue done without manifest losse of his feeble armie, hauing not past fiftene hundred footmen, and five hundred horsemen able to haue done seruice: for such was the miserie, which they had in manner continuallie sustained through want of vittels, and other necessarie helps during the time of their incamping at Jedworth; that what through sickness and hurts received in assaults and skirmishes, no small number of them were dead, and manie other so feeble, that they were not able to aide themselves; inso much that now being got out of danger, they thought themselves hapilie escaped.

The miserable state of the Frenchmen in Scotland.

Shortly after, in the beginning of the summer, the Englishmen arriued five and twentie saile of mett of warre, the which arriuing at the Basses, nere to the mouth of the Forth, assailed by faire and pleasant waies to haue persuaded the keepers of the castell, here standing on the height of a great rocke, to haue yielded the place into their hands. But perceiving their persuasions would not be regarded, they tooke this course by into the Forth, and finding in their waie foure ships of Frenchmen and Scots, leaped upon them as a wished prioe: and the morrow next following, at the very break of day, they came beset Leith, and saluting the towne with canon shot, remained there at anchor ten or twelue daies, in which meane while they landed their people at Inskith, and began to fortifie with all diligence. But before the

Englishmen fortified by the Frenchmen.

place could be put in anie strength, the ships departed from thence backe towards the sea, and left in the Island foure ensignes of Englishmen, and one ensigne of Italians, to defend the pionsers and the Island against the Scots and Frenchmen, if they should attempt to assaile them.

After the English naue was thus departed, monsieur de Desse, and the queene mother being at Edinburgh, determined with all diligence to imploye all such forces as they might make about the recovering of the Ile, before the fortifications begun by the Englishmen should be brought to anie perfection. Hereupon, monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron, imbarcked in the gallie of monsieur de Villegaignon, rowed forth to view the maner of the Englishmens dealing within the Ile, which he did in such effectual wise, that approaching within harquebuse shot, he brought knowledge with him not onelie of the state and whole circumstances of their buildings, but also of the perfect number of their ensignes, and the qualitie of the men of warre that serued vnder the same.

La Chapelle de Biron.

At that present also, monsieur de Thermes latelie before arriued at Dunbretton with an hundred men of armes, and two hundred light horsemen after the manner of France, and one thousand footmen, was come to the queene, busie now to further this enterprize. She had got together within Leith haue all the boates that belonged to all the creekes & hauens of the Forth: so that on thursdaie after Trinitie Sunday, euerie thing being prepared readie for the purpose, in the morning by the break of day the queene was come to Leith, to see the imbarcking of the men of warre appointed that day to trie what successe fortune would send them. There was no diligence wanting, neither among the Scots nor Frenchmen, to bestow themselves abroad, & the comfortable words of the queene greatlie encouraged them thereto, beholding them, and deuiling with monsieur de Desse and the other capteins, till they were all set forward.

The diligence of the Scottish queene.

The forwardnesse of the soldiers.

Villegaignon with his gallies passed on before to keepe the Englishmen occupied, so as they should not perceiue the Frenchmens meaning: but they discouering the vessels at their setting forth, conceiued straightwaies what was intended: and thereupon prepared to keepe the enemies off from landing, so that upon the Frenchmens approach, they saluted them with arrowes and harquebuse shot verie hotlie: yet at length by fine force the Scots and Frenchmen got on land, and drove the Englishmen and Italians backe from the sea strand vp to the higher ground, where they stood at defense on a plunpe together, doing their best to defend the place against the assailants.

Inskith assaulted by the Frenchmen.

But finally, their generall named Cotton, being aaine with George Applebie esquire, a captaine of an ensigne of footmen sent forth of Derbyshire, and one Gaspar Pithon, that was captaine of the Italians, beside diuers other gentlemen, and the most principall men of warre and soldiers among them: the residue were constrained to retire vnto a corner or point of the Island, where they were taken without further resistance, although before they had made verie stout defense; hurt and aaine diuerse Scots and Frenchmen both at their landing, and also after they were entered on land. Among other, monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron was stricken through the hand with an harquebuse shot, and his burgonet booted so into his head, that his friends that were about him, were faine to conuey him into one of the gallies to be dressed of his hurts by a surgeon. Also a gentleman named Desbois, which bare the saide monsieur de la Chapelle his cornell ensigne, was aaine with a pike by the hands of the forenamed Cotton the English generall.

Captaine Cotton generall of Inskith and others aaine.

Monsieur de la Chapelle hurt.

Inskith recovered by the Frenchmen.

Monsieur de Desse returned into France.

Monsieur de Thermes succeeded in his place.

A fort builded at Aberlath.

The earle of Rutland.

The Frenchmen in danger to haue bene distressed.

Inslith reco-
uered by the
Frenchmen.

Monsieur de
Delle return-
eth into
France.

Monsieur de
Thermes suc-
ceedeth in
his place.

A fort built
at Aberla-
die.

The earle of
Rutland.

Thus was Inslith recovered out of the English-
mens hands, after it had bene in their possession by
the space of sirtene daies, the more to the high con-
tentation of monsieur de Delle, for that at the same
time he stood upon his discharge and returne into
France, being appointed to surrender by his place
to monsieur de Thermes, latelie before arrived (as
ye haue heard) with commission to receiue the same.
So that monsieur de Delle, to end his charge with
the glorie of this atchiued enterpryse, esteemed it
much to stand with his hono: and no doubt with the
swelling humo: of the glorie thence rebounding he
was blowen vp; as in cases of victorie it cometh
to passe in them that make a god hand: whereas
the vanquished (God wot) are contraitie qualified.

Shortlie after, he returned into France with the
gallies, and monsieur de Thermes succeeded in his
place for the generall conduct of the French armie in
Scotland. Who by the aduise of the gouerno: and
other of the Scottish lords, determined with a siege
volant to keepe the Englishmen in Haddington from
bittels and all other reliefe. First therefore, after
that Delle was departed towards France, mon-
sieur de Thermes with his Frenchmen and some
Scots incamped at Aberlady, where they began the
foundation of a fort, so to impeach the Englishmen
from setting on land anie bittels there, to be conueid
from thence to Haddington, as before they had done.

In this meane time, the Englishmen had increa-
sed their numbers of Almaines, and other stran-
gers, and not onelie furnished their forts with new
supplies of men; but also had an armie in the fields
which lay most an end at Dunglas, and one while
besieged Hume castle. But after they saw them-
selues disappointed of the meane, whereby they sup-
posed to haue recovered it, they raised from thence,
and spoiled the most part of Tindale and other the
marches thereabout; in reuenge (as they alleged) of
the dissolaltie and breach of promise proued in the as-
sured Scots. Generall of this armie was the earle
of Rutland, lieutenant at that present of the north
parts, a noble man, right valiant, wise, well aduised,
and staied in his dealings, verie honozable and cour-
teous in all his demeano:.

He was accompanied with capteins of good esti-
mation and approued provelse, as sir Richard Pa-
ners, sir Francis Leake, sir John Sausage, sir Tho-
mas Holcroft, sir Edward Mulfrop, & others. He
so behaued himselfe in that dangerous time of the
bpxes and rebellions of the commons, through the
more part of the realme of England; that although
the appointed forces against Scotland were staied,
and turned to the suppression of the rebels, to the in-
couragement (no doubt) both of Scots and French-
men in Scotland, yet they were so fronted and kept
in aw by that armie under the earle of Rutland, that
they rather lost than gained in this season at the
Englishmens hands.

At one time the same armie, vnder the conduct of
the said earle, passing forth with a conueie of bittels
vnto Haddington, came so suddenlie vpon the
Frenchmen where they laie in campe, that whether
through default of their scouts, or other negligence
used by them, or through the great diligence and pro-
uident forwardnesse shewed by the Englishmen, the
Frenchmen were in such hazard to haue bene utter-
lie distressed, that if the Englishmen had not doub-
ted more, than by anie was thought needfull, they
might haue ouerthrowen, taken, & slaine the French-
men handsmoth (as was supposed) at their pleasure.
But the Englishmen euen at their first comming in
sight of them (as it stood with the reason of warre,
sith by the aduenturing rashlie oftentimes in such
cases to late repentance easilie insueth) staied, &

better to conceine of that which they had to do. Where-
by the Frenchmen had leasure to march their waies
a maine pase, till they were got out of danger: for
after they once beheld all the troops of the English
ho:smen almost at their elbowed, and here with
the battell of the Almaines suddenlie appearing on
the hill top readie to come downe vpon them, it was
no need to bid them packe a waie.

The Scottish light ho:smen comming on the
backe of the English armie, perceined where the Al-
maines (to make them readie to giue battell) had
throwen off their clothes, and left the same (with all
their baggage and stufte which they had about them)
in keeping of none but of their women and boies:
wherevpon those Scottish ho:smen, not minding to
suffer such a pzeie to escape their hands, came gallo-
ping in, and took all the best stufte they could lay
hold vpon, and returned in safetie, before anie eni-
mie could come backe to the rescue. The Almaines
were in no small chafe for the losse of their garments
and other necessaries; but there was no helpe then
to seeke remedie in that behalfe: for the Scots were
withdrawen and got quite out of danger.

The English armie, after that the Frenchmen
were thus fled and gone, passed forth to Haddington,
with their carriages laden with bittels, to the great
comfort of them within that fortresse, standing in
great necessitie before this conueie came. This
summer also, and a little before the bittelling thus of
Haddington, vpon knowledge had that Julian Ro-
mero with his band of Spaniards, whereof he was
capteine, seruing the king of England, was lodged
in Colbington, six miles distant from Berwike:
certeine bands of Almaines and Frenchmen came
thither vpon the sudden, and surprizing the Spani-
ards before they were aware of their appoch, set vpon
them in their lodgings, took, and slaine in maner
the whole number of them.

Things passing in this wise in Scotland in the
summer of this yeare 1549, the Englishmen were
not onelie in the meane time sore troubled with com-
motions raised by the commons of that realme; but
also with the warres which the French king made a-
gainst them, within the countrie of Bulloignois, so
that they had not meanes to implete their forces a-
gainst Scotland as they had determined to haue
done; as partlie before, and more largelie in the hi-
storie of England is mentioned. By reason whereof,
anon after Michaelmas they gaue ouer the keeping
of Haddington, and raising their fortifications there,
they returned into England to the great reioicing
of Louthian, to whome that to wne had giuen occa-
sion of great troubles and calamities. Vpon the gi-
uing ouer thus of Haddington, the gouerno: and the
quene Dowager were aduanced, in hope to reco-
uer againe all that the Englishmen held within the
bouds of Scotland.

But first it was thought good to assaie the twin-
ning of Broughtie crag; for it sounded (as was
thought) greatlie to the diminishing of the estima-
tion, aswell of the Scots as Frenchmen, that the
English should keepe not so far within the realme,
in despiight of their whole puissance. Wherevpon mon-
sieur de Thermes about Candlemasse, hauing all
things in a readinesse for the siege, came thither, and
did so much, what with shot of canon to make bat-
terie, and other meanes of inforcements, that gi-
uing the assault both with Scots and Frenchmen,
they entred the fort the twentieth of Februarie by
fine force, so that all those within were either taken
or slaine. Wherevpon those English also that kept
the castle, rendred by the same without further resis-
tance, amongst other prisoners: sir John Luttrell
the capteine was one.

The French-
men retire.

The baggage
of the English
Ansqenets
spoiled by the
Scottish ho:smen.

Haddington
bittelled.

Julian Ro-
mero distressed.

1549.

Haddington
rased and left
by the Eng-
lishmen.

1550.

Broughtie
crag wonn by
the French-
men.

The French-
men in danger
to haue bene
distressed.

A treatie for
peace.

Sir Hugh
Willoughbie.

A peace con-
cluded.

The names of
the commis-
sioners ap-
pointed to
treat of peace.

Fr. Thin.

The articles
of the peace.

Monsieur de
Pourret.

The French-
men returns
home.

The mar-
quess de
Daine.

The death of
the first duke
of Guise.

In this meane time there were certeine commis-
sioners appointed betwixt the two kings of Eng-
land and France to commune of a peace: but be-
cause they continued long in their treatie per they
could agree, the Scots and Frenchmen surceased
not in occasions of advantage to pursue the warre,
so that comming before Lowder they besieged that
fortresse, & skirmishing with the Englishmen that
issued forth, to encounter them, drove them in at the
gates with some losse on either part. And this done,
the French held them within so stricly besieged,
that if peace had not bene the sooner concluded, Sir
Hugh Willoughbie captaine of that fort must needs
have yielded through lacke of shot, & other necessarie
things serving for defense; which were spent, so that
they were constrained to use their powder bestell in
stead of bullets. But as it fortuned, a peace was ac-
corded, passed, and confirmed, that verie selfe time
betwixt the two kings of England and France,
through the diligent and orderlie trauell of the com-
missioners appointed to deale therein, whose names
insue.

First for the king of England, the right honora-
ble John earle of Bedford, knight of the garter,
and lord priue seale; William Paget lord of Beau-
desert, knight also of the garter; Sir William Peter
knight, chiefe secretarie to the said king; & Sir John
Mason knight, secretarie to him for the French
tong. For the French king were appointed Fran-
cis de Montmorence, lord of Rochpot, knight of the
order of saint Michell, and lieutenant for the same
king of Picardie, in absence of monsieur de Lan-
dolme; Gasper de Coligne, lord of Chastillon,
knight also of the order, and captaine generall of the
footmen of France, and the said kings lieutenant
generall in the countie of Bullogne; Andrieu Guil-
lard lord Mortier, knight also of the order, and one
of the same kings priue counsell; and Guillaume
Bouchetell lord of Saille, knight likewise of the
order, & secretarie of the estate of the finances. [And
for the Scots (as saith Lesleus, lib. 10. pag. 506.)
D. Painter bishop of Ross.]

Among other articles comprised in this peace,
it was covenanted, that all such forts, castles, and
places as the Englishmen held in anie part within
the Scottish dominions, should be deliuered and re-
stored to the Scots; and that the forts of Dunglas,
Korburgh, and Aimoith, which the Englishmen had
built and raised out of the ground, should be rased
and thowen downe, to auoid all occasions of new
controuerfies that might grow by reason of keeping
or defending the same: so as the peace now conclu-
ded, might in all points be firmelie and true lie kept
and obserued, as well betwixt England and Scot-
land, as England and France, and betwixt all and
euerie the subiects of the same realmes, both by sea
and land. Monsieur de Pourret was sent into Scot-
land with the copie of this peace, by whose means it
was proclaimed anon after Easter about the begin-
ning of Aprill, and euerie thing used and ordered ac-
cording to the articles of the agreement concluded.

In Maie the Frenchmen and Almaines were im-
barked at Leith in fiftene French ships, and cer-
taine Scottish ships, and departed from thence in-
to France. A few there were, as Pigropeilice and
Saint Falcise, captains of light horsemen, with o-
thers that passed through England, and so home into
their countie. Moreover the marquess de Daine,
after duke Daumals comming ouer into England
about the same time for an hostage, passed after-
wards through the realme into Scotland, to visit his
sister quene Dowager, and shortly after returned.
They mourned both for the death of their father
Claude de Lozaine, the first duke of Guise, who de-

ceased the eighteenth of Aprill this present yeare
1550.

Now when the French departed out of Scot-
land; there were manie Scots appointed unto them;
partlie, to defend them from pirats, if they should of-
fer them anie iniurie in the streit of the British
sea, and partlie for honors cause to bring them on
their iourne into France. By whose departure
Scotland was free lie deliuered from all foren sould-
iers, except certeine Frenchmen, who remained
still in the countie; because they had the Ile of In-
keth and the castell of Dunbar committed to their
charge, which afterwards they did most faithfullie
discharge. Monsieur de Thermes, Chapellie, and
diuerse other captains of France, remained also in
Scotland (after that the others were imbarcked to be
gone into France) for pleasures cause, and to see the
countie; who traouelling ouer Scotland, and behol-
ding the cities, searching the castles, and marking
the bulwarks of defense) did constantlie affirme,
that in the whole world they neuer sawe forts and
townes more pleasantlie placed, or more naturallie
defended. In seeing whereof they consumed the
time with great pleasure, untill the moneth of
December, in which they all went into France
with the quene Dowager.

Thus, as there was peace (by the departing of the
French) with foren nations, which continued thre
yeares: so was there within the walls and king-
dome warre and dissention amongst the Scots;
which was most perillous and troublesome. For
they which were the chiefe rulers (as the gouernor
and his brother the archbishop of saint Andrews
and others) did vse all things with extreme cruel-
tie & couetousnesse. For the archbishop, being giuen
to all libertie, followed by late his pleasures in all
things, as though it had bene permitted unto him.
For first, as a presage of his following tyrannie, he
permitted the slaughter of William Chyrichton to
go unpunished, the same William being slaine in
the gouernors house (if not within his owne sight)
by Robert Semple: next followed the death of
John Maluill an old man of Fife; who next unto
the gouernor was most accounted of by him, as chie-
fest of his familiars. This John had his letters
(which he wrote to an Englishman, to whome he did
commend a captaine his friend) intercepted. In
which, although there were not anie suspicion of anie
fault, yet was the authoz of them punished with the
losse of his head. Whose patrimonie made his death
seeme the more vile; because the same was giuen to
the yonger sonne of the gouernor. The hurts of these
wicked parts did pertaine to few, the iniurie there-
of to manie, and the example vniuersallie to all. For
by reason of this vniuersall gouernement of the
kingdome; and the spoyll of his life, which offended
the common people; the gouernor began to be had
in contempt almost of all men.]

In September following, the quene Dowager
accompanied with the earls of Huntley, Cassils,
Marshall, Southerland, and diuerse other of the
Scottish nobilitie toke the sea, and sailing to France
landed at Diepe: she was conueied thither by the
prior of Capoa, & Leon Strozze, sent and appoin-
ted with six gallies to haue the conduction of hir.
From Diepe she remoued to Rone, where the king
then late, of whome she was right courteously recei-
ued, and had such attendance, and seruice done vnto
hir, during the time of hir tarriance there, as stood
with the dignitie of hir person, and was answerable
to the minds and expectations of hir traine; to the
high praise likewise of the king and his court in that
behalf.

The causes of the quene Dowagers going into
France

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 507.

Buchanan
lib. 15.

Buchanan
lib. 15.
Lesleus lib.
pag. 508.

1551. Lesleus
lib. 10. pag.

Lanchlan
Shakinto
apprehend

Lesleus lib.
pag. 509.

The quene
Dowager sail-
eth into
France.

Buchanan.
lib. 15.
Lesseus lib. 10.
pag. 508.

France were, that now having dissolved all things at home in Scotland, the might renew the old league in France, the might see his daughter and his other friends; and procure the government of the realme to his selfe. For the ambitious and subtil woman did thinke in his mind, that the gouernor by his euill demeanour would soon be put out of his office, and that she might easilie find means to be substituted in his place. But before his shipping into France, and whilst they were preparing, the earle of Huntley commanded William Pakintofche (chiefe of the familie of the Glenchatens, and his followers) to be apprehended (for a conspiracie secretlie begun against him, whilst he was the kings deputie in those north parts) and from thence (being first deprived of all his goods) caried him to Strachbolgie, where he was beheaded. Which fact (greatlie offending the minds of the earle of Castles, and others that fauored the Pakintofche) did so stir them against Huntley, that a commotion and tumult had bene raised by them, vnlesse the wisdom of the quene had appeased the furie of their minds.

1551. Lesseus.
lib. 10. pag. 508

For although the quene certeine yeares after, had vndone the sentence of proscription for the goods of Pakintofche (restoring the same with the possessions and inheritances vnto the sonne of Pakintofche) and thereby had seemed to cut awaie the cause of distinction betwene Huntley and them: yet the kindred and friends of the Glenchatens (not suffering to great an iniurie to their familie to go vnreunited) did secretlie (but eagerlie) pursue the same with great contention of mind. Wherefore entring the castell of Perth by deceit, they apprehended Lanchlane Pakintofche, and (condemning all his followers to banishment) did cruellie kill him (as the betraior of the head of his owne familie) because they supposed, that he ministered and blew the cole that fired Huntley, to make the said William Pakintofche out of the waie.

Lanchlane
Pakintofche
apprehended.

Lesseus lib. 10.
pag. 509.

A little before which, the maister of Cresskine, and Henrie Senciere deane of Glasgou were sent into England; who at London did anew confirme the peace concluded before with the English; from whence they passed into Flanders, to make the like league with the low countries, which they did renew, to the great reioicing of both nations; although in the beginning of the treatie there grew great and contentious questions for the restitution of the ships of Flanders and Holland (whereof the Scots had taken manie in the warres) notwithstanding that the Scots had alleged, that they did not offer anie violence to those of the low countries, before that they (by the perswasion of the English) had offered waring to the Scots, in deteining their ships and merchandize.

Thus much digressed from the quene Dowagers going into France, whereunto aforesaid to direct our pen, we say; that being at Rome, the king did there openlie make shew of his welcome vnto him by diuerse arguments. Amongst which, this was not the least: that (besides other shews, honorable triumphs, & manie courtesies shewed to the Scots) calling a chapter of the knights of the order of Saint Michael, he admitted the earle of Huntley and other chiefe lords of Scotland deere to the quene, and fauored by him, into the said order. Which honors and pleasures seemed the more augmented, in that the yong quene of Scots was there present, adorned with such singular beantie, as was not easilie to be spoken, by the iudgement of Lesseus. After that they had thus spent some time in delights of courtesie, to feed the mind and etc, the king of France, the two quens of Scotland, and the other nobles, departed from thence to Paris; where they were with great triumph of

the citizens most iustlie receiued. At what time againe, the French king shewed such humanitie to Huntley, and the other Scots; that he seemed for euer most firmelie to bind them vnto him. After that they spent some daies there at Paris, the king with that companie remoued to Blesies; where he remained all the winter.

Now the quene Dowager, thinking the time and place fit for the executing of the cause of his coming into France, and vsing therein the aduise of the duke of Guise, and the cardinall of Lozaine (his brethren) openeth the same vnto the French king; shewing that amongst others, the chiefe cause to take that iournie, was to require his opinion, touching the government of the kingdome of Scotland: and to know, if it pleased him that the helme of the same kingdome should be committed to his rule. Which if he misliked, or deemed the contrarie; that yet he would wholie rest on his determination. The which matter pleased well the king, but yet with this promise; if the gouernor without anie tumult or raising of quarrels would giue it ouer.

Lesseus lib. 10.
pag. 510.

Whereupon the quene, to bring euerie thing about as she desired, did persuade the king to confirme the dukedome of Chateaurault in France, vnto the gouernor, before granted to him and to his heires; & to make his eldest son erle of Arraine chiefe capteine of the bands of Scots in France. And further, to giue the earldome of Murray to the earle of Huntley (kinsman to the gouernor); and to his heires; the earldome of Rothfey to his sonne, which had married the kinsman of the said gouernor; the whole earldome of Angus, to the earle thereof; and the earldome of Moriton, to the sonne of George Dowglas. All which he should procure likewise to be confirmed by such, as should be gouernors of the yong quene. These things now done, the French king carefullie receiued the yong quene of Scots into his protection; vntill she should come vnto more sufficient yeares, able to confirme all these gifts; the which if she refused then to do, the French king wold then bestow as large possessions on them in France.

Buchanan.
lib. 16.
Lesseus lib. 10.
pag. 510.

In the meane time the gouernor had sent Carnegie knight and senator into France, who should in the name of the Scots giue great thanks to the king for the aid which they receiued out of France, against the Englishmen. After this the French king did liberallie open the determination of the quene mother of Scotland to the bishop of Ross (then ambassador for the Scots in France) to Robert Carnegie, and to Calvin Hamilton (to whom, as was said, the abbey of Kilwinin was giuen in commendam) to the end that the same which was at the first secretlie consulted betwene the king of France & the quene Dowager, might now openlie be considered among the Scots which were in France: declaring further, that he desired nothing more, than that the quene mother should susteine the parts and place of the quene his daughter, in the administration and gouernement of Scotland, with the same mostlie stood with reason and equitie; and that he (the better to win the gouernor to yield thereto) had giuen the gouernor the dukedome of Chateaurault, to his sonne the capteinship of all the Scots in France, and manie other liberall benefits to manie other of his kinsmen.

And to the end that no deceit might be supposed to be hidden vnder this liberalitie, the French king willed the ambassador to take possession of all these things in the dukes name. Robert Carnegie having his errand, returned into Scotland; & shortly after, the bishop of Ross was appointed ambassador, who at length with much adoe did bring from the gouernor a consent to part from his authoritie,

lib. 15. and

and to applie himselfe to the will of the French king: which thus in the end obtained, the bishop of Ross goeth againe into France, to aduertise the king what he had done. Whereupon the king considering his painfull & faithfull seruice, did reward him with the abbeie of Labete in France.

Whilest these things were in doing, Edward the first, king of England, did send the marquesse of Northampton, & other of the nobler sort of ambassadoys to Henrie the second, king of France, then sojourning at Blesies, to moue him to giue his daughter in mariage to the king of England. At what time there were manie martiall games and pastimes shewed before the king, in which the English ioining the Scots with them as companions of their sports, did beare a part, and won the garland (from the others) to their singular commendation. The summer next following, the French king accompanied with the quene mother of Scotland and other of the nobilitie, did with great pompe enter Turon, Anisw, Pans, and other cities of Britaine, which he had not before sene since he attained the crowne. After certaine moneths consumed in those iournies, he returned to Founteinblew.

But the quene Dowager of Scotland, taking hir courteous leaue and farwell of the French king, hir daughter, & of other the nobilitie, departed from the court, and with easie iournies came to Jamellie: where remaining a certaine time, she had the pleasant companie of hir mother the duchesse of Guise, and hir other friends to their great ioy: but that she shewed a certaine griefe (for hir father lately deceased) which somewhat diminished the sweet pleasure of that meeting. Now when the quene Dowager had remained almost 12 moneths or more in France, honorable entertained, bountifullie fasted, lovinglie saluted by hir friends and kinred, and hauing obtained a willing grant of the effects of hir request, the Scots doe urge hir to hasten hir returne into Scotland, preparing at Paris all things necessarie thereunto.

Wherefore departing thence, and coming againe to Rone, the quene mother moued and perswaded the nobilitie about the taking of hir iourne through England into Scotland. By occasion whereof, losing their ships from Newport, they passe the seas, and happily landed at Portesmouth, a famous port of England. The knowledge of which arrivall comming to king Edward the first, he presentlie sent thither the earle of Southampton, and the lord William Howard to intertaine hir: who receiued hir with singular ioy and courtesie, and conueied hir through Hamphire, Sussex, and Surreie (three provinces of England) to Hampton court, where the king as then remained; from whence (after that she had bene there most honorable receiued) she came along the riuer of Thames to London, and landed at Poules wharfe in the after none, and from thence rode to the bishop of Londons palace by Poules, and there lodged.

The fourth of Nouember, she rode in hir chariot to the kings palace of the Whitehall, accompanied with the ladie Margaret Dowglas, the three dutchesses, of Suffolke, Richmund, and Northumberland, and diuerse other great ladies and gentlewomen, both Scottish and English. At the court gate the dukes of Northumberland, and Suffolke, and the lord treasurer were ready to receiue hir. And at hir entering into the hall, the king stood in the vpper end thereof, and the erle of Warwike holding the sword before him. She at hir approaching to him, knèled downe, and he courteously took hir vp, and kissed hir; and taking hir by the hand, led hir vp into his owne chamber of presence, & after into the quenes

chamber of presence, where he kissed all the ladies of Scotland, and so departed for a while.

She dined on the quenes side that day with the king, his seruice and hirs comming both together, the kings being placed on the right hand of the table, and hirs on the left. What plentie of all manner of costlie meates and drinks there was, and what rich furniture of plate and all other things was shewed to set forth the feast, it were superfluous to write. All the ladies both of England and Scotland dined in the quenes great chamber. After dinner the king shewed hir his gallerie and gardens, with all other commodities of the place. And about foure of the clocke, he brought hir downe againe by the hand into the hall, where he first receiued hir, and there kissing hir, she took hir leaue, & returned to the bishops palace from whence she came.

* And here I must not forget that Lesleus hath set downe in this place for the defense of his people, in not deliuering the yong quene of Scots to the English, to haue entered the mariage bed of king Edward the first. Whose reasons although they may (the first ground of the warre considered, with the consent of the Scots parlement to that mariage, and the willingnesse of the English to haue caused them to performe their promise without battell) be well answered, as matters that not verie greatly defend the cause: yet I will not anie way say anie thing of him (being a man estranged from vs in religion, but learned, wise, of great experience, a faithfull seruant to his mistresse, and a graue bishop of Ross) but set them downe plainelie as he writeth them, leauing the same to the iudgement of others, sith I meane not in anie thing to derogate from them, or arrogate vnto our selues more than is due. Thus therefore he writeth.

When the quene (saith he) of Scots was come to London, the king of England sheweth vnto hir his treasure, openeth the monuments, lateth abroad the antiquities of the kingdome, and laboured by manie other such kind of means, that he might prepare himselfe a passage (with the open notes of courtesie) to obtaine the good will of the quene. For he after perswaded hir with manie speeches, that she shuld giue hir daughter vnto him, as it was before decreed by the Scottish nobilitie: which he proueth by manie arguments to be most beneficiall vnto both nations. When on the contrarie part (if he were giuen vnto the French kings sonne) it should not be profitable either to the Scots, which should giue; or the French, which should receiue hir to wife. Wherewithall adding this vnto it, that there should alwaies be continuall hatred, and deadlie enimitie betwene him and that person which should marrie hir.

Whereunto the quene both presentlie and wisely answered, that the cause of hir daughters marriage to be solemnized with the French, was onlie by reason of the protector of England, which so bitterlie pursued the Scots with such earnest warre as then was made against them. For it was knadisedlic done of him, to seeke to compell by force of battell a woman, which is to be allured to the mariage bed with faire promises and flattering speeches. Whereunto she ioineth, that the Scots were so vehementlie pressed by him, that they were inforced to craue aid from the French: for the more speedie & easie obtaining whereof, they were vrged to leaue the yong quene of Scots in France for a pledge. Wherefore she greatly grieued that the matter was so fast knit by the necessitie of time, otherwise than the Englishmen would haue had it. But yet, she would labo the French king by hir letters and messengers, with all the diligence that she might, to see if hir trauell and furtherance could doe anie thing with him therein.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 511.

Blois.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 512.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 512.

Hir receiuing
at the court.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 113.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 513.

The archbi-
shop of Arma-
chane.

1551.

1552.

therein. Thus much Lesleus, and so againe to the matter.)

The first of November, the quene Dowager departed from London toward Scotland, riding from London through the cite, passing forth at Bishopsgate. The duke of Northumberland, the erle of Pembroke, and the lord treasurer brought hir to Shordich church, and there took their leave of hir. The duke of Northumberland had an hundred men after him with iavelins, wherof fourtie were gentlemen clad in blacke velvet cotes garbed with white, & hats of blacke velvet with white feathers, and chains of gold about their necks. The earle of Pembroke had six score men well appointed also, with blacke iavelins and hats with feathers, and the lord treasurer had an hundred gentlemen and yeomen with iavelins in like manner, well apparelled: which three companies of horsemen furnished the streets on either side, from the crosse in Cheape, to Birchen lane end, as they passed that waie.

The shiriffes of London had the conduction of hir to Walham towne end, where she lodged that night: and in euerie shire through which she passed, the shiriffe, with the gentlemen of the same shire, received hir, and gave their attendance on hir, till she came to enter into the next shire, where the shiriffe and gentlemen there received hir: and that order was observed till she came to the borders of Scotland, and all hir charges for meat and drinks, aswell for hir selfe, and whole traine, as also the provision for their horses, was borne and allowed by the king. [Besides which, (as saith the same Lesleus) Richard Scelleie, now maister of the knights of Malta in England, and Edward Dobleie baron, were appointed to attend on hir all the waie through England, from London to Edinbrough, where she was honorablie received by the earle Bothwell, and the lord Hume.] The earle of Huntlee, and diuerse other of the Scottish lords returned home by sea, the said earle landing at Montrose, about the latter end of December.

* After that the quene was arrived in Scotland, she labored euerie waie to stop all occasion of dissention; and that these brales which were risen amongst the nobilitie in the time of the warres, and were not yet fullie quenched, might grow no further, to bring the common wealth (alreadie much impaired) into new troubles. Therefore, by the aduise of the gouernor, of the earles of Huntlee, Angus, and Argyle, and by the quenes trauell, the controuersies moued about the archbishopricks of saint Andrews and Glasgou, the bishopricks of Dunkeld and Brechin, the abbettes of Aberbrothie, Inchdaffrie, and other benefices, were ended: by bestowing some of them upon noble mens children, and some upon such persons as too much deserved them.)

Doctor Manthop, whome Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 514. calleth Robert Marhope, a Scottishman borne, archbishop of Armachane, so nominated by pope Paule the third, and after created *Legatus à latere* by Julius the thirde, deceased this yeere in Paris, the tenth of November. This man was blind from his infancie, but yet gave himselfe so to studie, that he was first made doctor of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Paris, and after attained to such estimation in the court of Rome, that he was by the foresaid popes aduanced (as before ye haue heard.) So that it is to be presumed, that the sufficiencie of his learning, (whereto he must needs aspire altogether by the eare) (sith he was quite deuiued of the benefit of sight) coupled with other good qualities of mind, were means to preferre him first into the popes fauour, and then to promotion of his bestowing.

This yeere in the moneth of Iune, the quene Dowager, and the gouernor, went into the north parts of

Scotland; and at Inuerues, Elgin, Banf, Aberdeen, and Perth, the gouernor sat in iustice for redress of wrongs, and administration of righteous lawes and orders. And afterwards they repaired to the west parts, and sat like wise in iustice at Dunferrie, Glasgou, Larriche, and in other places of that countrie, where diuerse were put to their fines for transgressing the lawes, but few or none touched by corporall punishment. Which was but a slender course taken in reforming enormities, and little better than impunity; though in leuening of the fines (perhaps) a proportion were vsed: for by that meanes manie an offense was redeemed by monie, and iustice was little better than bought and sold, as at a publike mart.

* After this, they returned to Edinbrough, where all things requisite for the establishing of iustice were confirmed by the counsell of the nobilitie, and of the wise senators. Whereupon, when nothing seemed to want for the settling of a perfect peace through all the realme, but this, that certeine of the inhabitants of the east limits (accustomed to spoiles) did by dining bodies of cattell from the borders of England, seeme to offer new occasion of warre. At this time, the gouernor goeth to Jedburgh, and remoued such magistrats as had negligently governed their owne prouince, or dispatched the generall affaires of the kingdome: where taking pledges of euerie familie, he made them after that time in better quiet. Whereupon a long time following, there was a mutuall peace betwene England and Scotland. About which time also, the protestants religion making breach into the doctrine of the Romans, there was a prouinciall counsell kept at Withquoe, where the Calvinists with their doctrine were condemned and accursed; and all things decreed in the counsell of Trent under Paule the third, were established, with manie other needfull lawes made to purge the corrupt manners of the clergie.

In which meane time, David Pantier or Painter (for I find both written) being a man of great learning, and famous by great experience, hauing faithfully consumed seuen yeeres in France, in the seruice of an ambassador legier, came out of France to Jedburgh: where, when he had declared to the gouernor (in the assemblie of the nobilitie) the reason, order, and meane which he vsed in accomplishing of his office; he was greatly commended of all men. And for that he had so diligentlie, wiselie, & trustilie performed that great charge, he was with great solemnitie consecrated bishop of Ross, in the presence of that assemblie. At which time also, the gouernor did dub into the order of knight hood certeine borderers, who had deserved well of the common-wealth, to the end that their vertue adorned with such honorable recompense, might be more enlarged toward the care of their countrie. Amongest which persons so aduanced, these were the chiefe: Celsford and Fernelhurst, Andrew bar of Littleiden, Coulbinknols, Greinherdie, Balclenche, with manie other valiant men.)

In this soeneie (wherein the gouernor was thus the iustice) the quene secretlie trauelled with the lords, both spirituall and temporall, to haue their consents to be regent of Scotland, immediatlie after hir daughter the quene came to sufficient yeeres, and that the time of hir tutorage were accomplished, or sooner; if the lawes of the realme would so permit. And to assure hir selfe of their good wills in this behalfe, she contracted sundrie priuite bands with them, making large promises of great rewards unto euerie of them. To conclude, this matter was so handled by hir and others, to whome she committed the doings therein, that in the yeere following, the gouernor agreed to surrender up the gouernance into hir

wrongs done
are by iustice
redressed.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 515.

1552.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 516.

The quene
mother saith
to be gouernor

1552. Lesleus
1552.
The gouern-
ment is relig-

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 513.

The archbi-
shop of Arma-
chane.

1551.

1552.

ned unto the
quene.

hir hands, hir daughter the yong quene being not yet full twelue yerres of age.

The gouernour was promised not onelie a full discharge and a *quietum est* of all his doings, as well for receipt of monie, iewels, & other things, during the time of his gouernement, but also a confirmation of the heritable gift of the dukedome of Chateaufort: likewise an other confirmation of all gifts and restitutions by him made, during the time he had exercised the office of gouernour. And forthwith the quene Dowager sent into France, to get all these things dispatched, with such assurances of writings under hands and seales, as was expedient, and to be sent home into Scotland for his securitie in all things.

* But before the gouernour had consented to the quenes demand, there was great contention about the matter: for the well understood that he would not depart with his office, before the time that the yong quene had attained to the age prescribed for hir full yerres. For it is ordeined by the law of the kingdome, that the king shall not remaine anie longer under tutours, than to the age of foureteene; & the quene (as it is in other women) at the yerres of 12, at which times they may appoint procurators, which shall haue the gouernement of the kingdome untill their full age. For which cause, the yong quene chose amongst other (as after shall more appere) the quene Dowager to be one: whereupon, the quene Dowager challenged the gouernement vnto hir selfe, for that hir daughter was certeine moneths aboue those yerres of twelue. Against which the gouernour did stoutly contend, constantlie affirming that the yong quene did not exceed the age of eleuen yerres.

Whereupon the quene, to take from the gouernour all starting-holes and other shifts, doth vze the custome of that kingdome, and the obseruation of those lawes to be, that they must reckon the yere in which the Scottish king or quene is yet vnborne in their mothers bellie, to be part of that number of twelue or foureteene; in which they may appoint gouernours to rule vnder them. Which the gouernour perhaps did seeme to confesse for the king, but that the same was true for a quene it did not appere; sith it seemeth to be wrought by Gods high prouidence, that the kingdome of Scotland was alwaies heretofore by manie ages gouerned by kings, and that a woman did neuer before this time (especiallie one within age) challenge that kingdome vnto them, although the male line (as appered from the Butes to the Stewards) descended from the women, haue sometime possessed the sterne of Scotland.

But in the end, saie or do what he could, the gouernour did surrender his place (as after shall more plainelie appere) vntill which time we will pursue the orderlie course of things done in this place: which is, that whylest the gouernour & the quene mother were in this discord for the regentship of the realme, manie seditious persons (taking occasion thereby with hope to scape unpunished) did renew the memorie of old iniuries. For hereupon it happened, that manie of the familie of the Kars did (at Edinburgh) with great boldnesse vtterlie slaine Balclenche the knight. Besides which, the yonger sonne of the lord Ruthwen or Kelwen, did publiketie thrust through and slea John Chartrusse a noble and a valiant yong man, for deablie hatred (as was thought) betwene those two families. Yet it was spred abroad, that the chiefest cause why Ruthwen did kill Chartrusse, was for that Ruthwen (being called into sute of law by the other) distrusting his cause, and supposing that it would passe against him by iudgement, had none other remedie to relieue the matter, than that verie day to kill Chartrusse. Which matter was the occasion of making this law, that whosoener with force or

armes did either pursue or abate, recouer or lose in anie action, should not onelie be punished for the rashnesse of the fact, but also should haue the matter forthwith (euen in that moment of time) iudged against him.]

This yere, the first of Julie, Edward the first of that name, king of England, departed this life, after whom succeeded his sister Marie, eldest daughter to H. Henrie the eight. [Touching whose regiments, sith this historie requireth matter appropriate vnto it selfe, we will saie little in this place, remitting the readers to the conuenient course of time wherein they flourished and baded. Onelie this is worthy the noting, that the realme of England was not so much in hir time afflicted with erquisite troubles of barbarous persecutors, to the diminishing of Gods seruants, and the increasing of satans synagog, as it was like to haue triumphed vnder the glorious title of the victorious gospell, if God had not (for the vnworthinesse of the English people) taken the yong king awaie. For the prosperous beginning of his gouernement foretold an happie proceeding, and a blessed ending. But to returne to Scotland.]

* About this time, Posman Lesle, who (as you heard before) had fled for the death of the cardinall Beton bishop of saint Andzeus into France (where he then was imprisoned) being now set at libertie, did prauile conueie himselfe into Scotland. Which vnderstand of the gouernour, he fined all those that had receiued him into their house, & compelled Posman to fle to Denmarke, for feare that (if he were taken) he should suffer extreme punishment. But when he knew that there was no place of safetie for him in that countrie, wandering ouer manie prouinces, he came at last into England, in the reigne of Edward the first; of whome, with the rest of his companions, he was most courteously receiued, with yerrelie pensions out of the exchequer or common tresurie assigned vnto them for their maintenance, according to their estates.

But after that king Edward was departed the world, they all were also commanded to depart the realme, to whome (earnestlie vrging that their pensions might be paid to them in an other place where they should remaine) the duke of Posfolke did publiketie say in the counsell, that it seemed not iustice, that a catholike prince should paie anie pensions to such as had murdered a catholike cardinall. With which answer the said Posman was almost stroken dead, and being then wearied with the griefe of his erile, went againe into France, and there by king Henrie (by the meanes of the baron Bunsfome, whom this Lesle had sent before to request the same) he was made capteine of the Scottish light horsemen in France. This man did so valiantlie, worthilie, and honozablie behaue himselfe in warres, which the French king had (with Charles the fift then emperor) on the borders of Flanders, that he was alwaies foremost in the front of the battell, to assault the enimie; hoping by that meanes to wipe awaie the blot of the cardinals slaughter, and more firmitie to bind the French king vnto him.

But after certeine light skirmishes (which he hapilie performed against the enimie) following the battell at Kenton (a towne in Picardie) most hotlie, and drawing nere within danger of the enimie, he was so wounded with a shot, that he could hardlie returne to his companie: but being relieued by his owne souldiers from the hands of the enimie, he was caried to Pontrulle, where he shortly after died, greatlie repenting him of his former wicked fact, and greatlie abhorring the other authors thereof, as furtherers of him therein. Towards whom (after his death) the French king was yet so louing (for the singular

Fr.Thin.
Lesseus lib. 10.
pag. 517.
1552.

Lesseus lib. 10.
pag. 519.

1552.

Sundrie
slaughters of
the nobilitie.

1553.

Abt. Fl.

The con-
nants and ar-
ticles are per-
fected.

1555. Buch.

1554.

A parliament.
Edinburgh
castell deliue-
red to the lord
Erskin to
keep.

The quene
made gouer-
nor by parlie-
ment.

Fr.Thin.
Lesseus lib. 10.
pag. 520.

The gouernour
made duke.

1554.

Fr.Thin.

The gouernour
resigned his
office vnto the
quene.

The quene
giueth the go-
uernance of
the realme vnto
the quene
mother.

Fr.Thin.

Buch. lib. 16.

Lesseus lib. 10.
pag. 522.
Buchan. lib. 16.

singular fortitude of mind that was in him) that he procured all such of his Scots (as returned from the warres with Bunkone) to be receiued into their owne countrie, and restored to all their goods and possessions.]

The con-
nants and ar-
ticles are per-
fect.

1555. Buch.

1554.

A parliament.
Edinburgh
callit deliue-
red to the lord
Erskin to
keep.

The quene
made gover-
nor by parle-
ment.

The gouernor
made Duke.

Fr. Thin.

The gouernor
resigned his
office vnto the
quene.

The quene
giueth the go-
uernance of
the realme vn-
to the quene
mother.

Fr. Thin.

Buch. lib. 16.

Lesleus lib. 10.

pag. 52.

Buchan. lib. 16.

In lent all the lords of the realme of Scotland as-
sembled at Striueling, where all the covenants and
articles of agreement, betwixt the quene and the go-
uernor, were perfectlie and fullie concluded, and ther-
upon a parliament appointed to be holden in Eden-
burgh, the tenth of Aprill next ensuing: and in the
meane time the gouernor deliuered the castell of E-
denburgh vnto the lord Erskin to keepe, as it were
by waite of assurance for his part, that all things at
that parliament should be accomplished, according to
the points of the agreement made by full consent.
The lords then assembling in parliament at Eden-
burgh, on the said twelfth day of Aprill, all the coue-
nants of agreement had & made betwixt the quene
Dowager and the gouernor were presented & read,
touching the dimission and giuing ouer of the gover-
nor's authoritie, confirmed by the quene hir selfe in
France, with consent of the king of France hir hus-
band, the duke of Guise, and the cardinall of Lo-
rain hir curators, with a gift of the dukedome of Cha-
telaer vnto the gouernor, vnder the great seales
of France, and others, to whome it appertained.

After this, there was read a confirmation of the
three estates of Scotland, touching the premisses, in
which they bound themselves to warrant the quenes
discharge made to him, & to establish him as second
person of the realme [& to haue the gouernement of
the castell of Dunbarton (as saith Buchanan) with o-
ther things contained in the contract: to the which
there in open parliament all the estates subscribed,
and put therevnto their seales. Which done, the go-
uernor gaue vp his office of tutorship, in presence of
the said estates, the quene mother, & monsieur Doi-
sell being there present, who receiued the same in the
quenes name, at that time remaining in France. And
herewith presentlie was a commission shewed,
giuen by the quene of Scotland in France, with
consent of hir curators, making the quene Dowager
hir mother, regent of hir realme: which office she
tooke vpon hir, and was thereto admitted by the es-
tates of the realme. Then was the parliament new-
lie authorized in the quenes name, with consent of
hir curators, and in name of the quene regent.

* Where is to be noted, that as at the first they
which had the administration of the common-wealth
vnder the king of Scotland in his minozitie, were
first called gardians, and then gouernors: so now be-
gan they to haue a new title for the same, to be called
regents of Scotland, not before accustomed among
the Scots, which name hath euer since remained to
all such as execute that place (euin in our age) du-
ring the minozitie of Charles James the first, now
ruling the scepter of Scotland. In which declination
of things (as before you heard) to the gouernement
of the French, the Scots could neuer be persuaded
that the castell of Edinburgh should be deliuered to
the rule of strangers: fearing that if the quene
should die without issue, that then the French would
there by tyrannie settle themselves. Wherefore the
same was committed to the defense of John Ares-
kine, which he should not deliuer to anie, but to one
of the order, and of the nobilitie and parlement.

About this time, the quene regent sent George
Gordon earle of Huntlie to apprehend John Mudi-
ard (or Munderac, as saith Buchanan) chiefe of the fa-
mille of the Reginaldins, a notable theefe, & one that
was fraught with most wicked deeds: which sounie
it is supposed that Gordon did not vertie faithfullie
discharge. Wherefore, when he returned without the

dispatch thereof, in not taking of that man, he was
committed to prison vntill the day appointed, where
in he should answer the cause. Whose friends in the
meane time (to mitigate the enuie against him for
the same) did spread false rumors thereof, laing all the
fault in the familie of the Cathans: for they said that
the same was hindered by them for the malice that
they bare vnto the Gordons: which speeches did one-
lie rise almost vpon this occasion.

Whilest the quene prepared for hir iourne into
Scotland, Gordon did cast into prison William (the
head of the familie of the Cathans) a young man li-
berallie brought vp with the earle of Surreie for
kinreds sake, being sisters son to the said earle: for
none other cause but for that he would not yeld him
selfe to the protection of him. Gordon therefore grie-
ued at this man, did not thinke it safetie to leaue him
free and at libertie behind him, when he should go in-
to France with the quene, although he could find no
fault to laie to his charge worthie anie punishment.
Wherefore (by his friends) he perswaded the young
man (ignorant of all deceit) that he should yeld him
selfe into his protection and tutorship: for so by that
one meanes, both the fame of the one and safetie of
the other might be prouided for, which the young man
did accordingly.

Wherefore Gordon being now lord ouer the life
and death of this William, did (dissembling his ha-
tred to him) breake with his owne wife to execute
the young and gilliesse man in his absence, supposing
thereby to transference all the malice which should rise
thereof vnto the fact of his wife, as not done by his
consent. Which fell out quite contrarie: for when eue-
rie one knew the subtil wit of Gordon the earle of
Huntlie, and that his wife (a chosen and rare wo-
man) had passed all the rest of hir life within the
bounds of womanlie modestie; they were all easilie
persuaded, that he alone was author vnto hir of that
wicked counsell. Wherevpon, Gordon being now
cast in prison for that fact, there was (in a councell
holden by the regent) great contention and varietie
of opinions, touching the punishment which he
should haue. For some would haue him banished in-
to France for certeine yeares, & some would onelie
haue an excessive multa to be laied vpon him.

Both which opinions were reiected by the chiefe of
his enemies, Gilbert earle of Castles. For he, per-
ceiuing by the present state of things, that peace
would not long continue betwixt Scotland and
France; did utterly withstand his banishment into
that countrie. For he would not haue that man (be-
ing so subtilie and unconstantlie witted, proud, and
desirous of reuenge, of and vpon such as were e-
mulous, or backbiters against him) to be a firebrand
and capteine to those French, who (he was assured,
for their insolent pride) would haue warre with the
Scots. For although he thought, that of right he
ought to be punished, yet he did not iudge, that anie
domesticall euill was so much, or the punishment
thereof should be thought so great, that they should
accustome the French to shed the Scottish blood.
Wherefore at length his punishment was agreed
vpon (as after shall appeare) in renouncing of all
his right to the earldome of Surreie, & other things.

The quene hauing the disposition of all things,
did at hir pleasure change all the officers, and made
the earle of Castles treasurer, & Wellmost a French
man controller; also an other Frenchman called
monsieur Rubie, keeper of the great seale, as vice-
gerent in place of the earle of Huntlie, who was
chancellor; and then in ward; and James Machill re-
gister, and the abbat of Couper keeper of the priuie
seale, as saith Lesleus, lib. 10. pag. 52. 1. Wonal
gouernor of the Isles. These mens counsell and mon-
sieur

Officers are
changed.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of
Huntleie re-
nounced ma-
nie things.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 522.

1551.

The law for
fishing.

Concunants
for seamen.

Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 523.

1555.

seur Doffels the best principallie in all things. The earle of Huntleie being to be deliuered out of ward, did for his punishment renounce his title to the earldome of Arrreie; whereof he had a gift in heritage. Also he renounced his interest vnto the farmes of Dykencie and Sheatland, and to the earldome of Mar, and of the quenes lands of Straits Die: and further was contented to go ouer into France, there to remaine for the space of five yeares. But yet afterwards the quene was contented, that he should still remaine within the realme, for the which he gaue to hir five thousand pounds in monie.

* About the same time Marie the quene of England, and the regent of Scotland, thought good to haue a peace betwene both nations, and that their commissioners should meet to determine all controuersies. At what time for the Scots, were Robert of Haintwarbie, and John Wellenden of Achmole knights: and for the English, were Thomas Cornwallese, and Robert Bowes knights. At what time there were lawes made touching fishing, aswell in the sea, as in certeine other limited riuers; by which all occasions of contention was taken awaie from both nations. Richard Porston, a man of great counsell in prosperitie, and of great stomach in aduersitie, being capteine of Porham castell in England, was at that time cause of the making of this law for the commons; That if anie Englishman from a Scot, or a Scot from an Englishman, did by force take away anie fish that was taken; that he should paie the mulct of twentie shillings for the same: beside other punishments of the common law.

Further it was agreed, that whosoever by force of tempest, or for anie other cause, were driuen into Scotland or England, he should not by anie pretense be staid; but he might frelie by land or sea, either on horsebacke or on foot returne home. Provided, that he had the testimonie of the next maiester of the port, or of the next towne, to witnes the cause of his arrival; and that during the time of his abode in such a countrie, he attempted nothing against the lawes of the kingdome. Not manie daies after this, Henrie Sincere deane of Glasgow, senator, and vicepresident of the high court, did returne into Scotland out of France; being a man greatlie familiar with James the first, aswell for the singulartie of his wit, as the excellencie of his learning.

But in the time of the gouernor, the courtiers (not greatlie esteeming such wisdom & learning) made no account of him, although the quene Dowager, and diuerse of the nobilitie held him in great honor; aswell for his deepe studie in the best arts, as for his rare knowledge of the publike lawes and antiquities of Scotland. This man, vpon his first returne, was forthwith both author and persuader to and of the bishop of the Archades chiefe president, and to the other senators; that there should be new lawes made for the short ending of lutes in law; for the obseruation of a right course of iudgments, and for the taking awaie of all euill customs. In the making & tempering whereof, he was of so great iustice; that such things as were set downe in the law, were more holie and perfectlie brought to their ancient forme than they had bene before.

The reason is readye; to wit, aswell for that in equall deliuering law to all men: as in pleading, there was by his meanes more diligence used by the magistrats, advocats, scribes, and officers; in cutting awaie vaine and superfluous formes and orders: which ministred occasion, that their lutes did long hang in court, before they could be determined. At this time also the marquesse of Spaine (being after made duke of Almaine) who in the meane time

with manie other nobles of France, had remained pledges in England, did (having licence thereunto) come into Scotland to see his sister, accompanied with sir Thomas Stewkleie of England now knight; who after he had remained some daies with his sister in pleasure & delight, discharged his faith, and returned againe into England.]

In Iulie was a parlement held at Edinburgh, in the which manie acts and statutes were made, right profitable (as was then thought) for the common-weale of the realme. Amongest which, to passe ouer the rest, these seeme worthy to remaine choyced to posteritie. First, that none of the citizens (in the feasts of Whitsuntide, or anie such times, in which their hirelings are accustomed to go forth) should assemble armed, to cast forth the husbandmen after the old maner. Secondlie, that the inhabitants meeting together, should no more assemble vnder a certeine colour of gaine, which for exercise of the bodie (as it was supposed) was holden after the example of one (I can not tell who) Robert Wood a wild or vplandish man. Thirdlie, that there should be no priuat leagues contracted betwene subjects. Which lawes did after bring great peace, ease, and quiet to the publike state.

In the verie same yeare 1555, in the eight kalends of August, fell the marriage of Marie quene of England with Philip king of Spaine in the citie of Winchester. Wherefore ambassadores were sent from the quene regent to Philip and Marie, to congratulate their marriage. Besides which, these ambassadores did require a renewing of the league, and that commissioners should be appointed to meet the next summer in the borders, to end all controuersies. In the meane time, whilst the quene regent did administer the affaires of south Scotland, John Steward earle of Atholl was sent into the north parts with a chosen companie, to breake the force of John Mudiard or Muderace. At what time this earle used such courtesie and counsell in pacifieng, and such celeritie and wisdom in executing of things; that he brought the seditious Mudiard (impatient to haue anie gouernor) to the quene, to whom the said Mudiard did willinglie yeld himselfe, his children, and his kindred.

To which man, the quene (in respect of singular clemencie, and pietie to all men, according to the disposition of his nature) did wholie remit all his offenses, with this condition; that he should faithfullie remaine prisoner in the castell of Wessens, and in the towne of Perth. But as the for (as the proverbe is amongst vs) cannot liue without his starving holes; so this Mudiard and his companions, imbued with more than forlike conditions, did (deceiuing their keepers) returne to their owne causes, and afresh trouble all the north Scotland with their raised seditions and spoiles. Which things inforced the quene, that she did go into those parts, to hold iustice of othes: in which she might bide the euils of wicked men, and purge those prouinces from all the roots of sedition.

Wherevpon, in the moneth of Iulie, the quene accompanied with the earles of Huntleie, Argile, Rothes, Castils, and Marshall; the bishop of Aberdeen and Ross, M. Doffell, Rubie, and others, went to the towne of Inuernele, in which citie (the faults known by publike accusation) there was last punishment taken vpon the offenders. And because there were manie hidden in the higher and mounteine countries, which by their absence fled the punishment; she commanded the heads of the mounteine families, that they should bring their guiltie countermen and kindred to iudgement, according to the law established by James the first; with a great paine

Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 524.

1555.
A parlement.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 524.

Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 525.
Buchanan.
lib. 16.

Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 528.

1555. Bud.
1556. H.B.

Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 527.
Buchan. lib. 16.

A parlement.
Gentlemen
rejoiced.

paine set vpon the chiefe of those families; if the other did stidie resist, & would not come into iudgement.

Whereupon it followed, that sundrie of diuerse families, that were by contempt departed awaie, did come to publike iudgement. Where manie, and those not of the meanest sort, paid the punishment for troubling the peace; amongst which, one Grant a baron being commanded to bring James Grant and diuerse other wicked persons before the iudges, did prouide to bring their dead heads, when they could not take their liue bodies. The earle of Cathnes also, because that being warned therunto, he did not bring his people before the iudges; was first committed to prison in Inuernesse, then at Aberdeen, and lastlie at Edinburgh, from whence he purchased his libertie with a great masse of monie.

Spackie in like sort, head and chiefe of the tribe of Strathnauerne & of Glencone, being called to iudgement (for that he had often wasted the countrie of Southerland next adioining) did contemne the precept. Whereupon the quene prouided a great armie, which vnder the erle of Southerland brake into Strathnauerne, where he possessed all the places of doubt, least anie hole might be left for the theues to passe awaie from thence. Whereupon Spackie, when he saw himselfe so beset (as that no place of flight was left him) yielded himselfe to Hugh Benedie, who led him to the quene, by whom he was committed to prison at Edinburgh a long time, but they of Glencone put in pledges, & (being committed to safe and strong prisons) were referred to the iudgement of the quenes pleasure.

After this, the quene leaving Inuernesse, and progressing the prouince of Kossie, she came to Elgine, Bamf, Aberdeen, and the chiefe places thereabouts, diligentlie to inquire of the mildemeanors of those people. At what time she did temper the rigor of law with such courtesie, that she punished the offenders by fine, and not by death. From thence she came to Dundee, and to saint Johns towne, observing the same cause and course of her committing. When she had thus passed ouer the summer in bringing the mountaine people to their dutie, she sent the earle of Huntie to ioin with the bishop of Kossie and Dikeneie, and to Hugh Benedie, to whom she did substitute a better and more commodious forme of dispatch of their affaires by others: who should receiue the libels and accusations of priuate persons, and diligentlie to inquire of them, in the townes of Inuernesse, Elgine, and other places. By whose diligence it came to passe, that all those countreies (being reduced to the rule of iustice) were made the more quiet.

Here I will not (saith Lesleus) now declare how honourable & sumptuouslie the quene in all her progresse was receiued (without anie charge to her) of the pères, bishops, and other nobles and gentlemen of Scotland, with the Frenchmen (which were then present with her) haue opened to other nations as well as to their owne people (with singular commendations to the Scots) the gorgeous shew of this Scotland, being a most wondrous signe of the fauour they bare to the quene. In the meane time there were sent commissioners to the borders, as the bishop of Dunblane, the lord of Lethington, & maister James Macgill: where doctor Lunsfall bishop of Durham, & certeine others for England met them at Duns, and remained there till the quenes coming backe forth of the north in September next following.

This yere was a parlement holden, in which the lords Binnington, Dymiston, and Grange, with maister Henrie Balnauie, and others, which were for

salted in the gouernors time, were restozed. At the same time the quene, by the counsell of monsieur Doiscell, and Rubie, and certeine of the nobilitie of Scotland, requested that a new order might be made, whereby euerie mans substance should be put in an inuentarie, and according to the rate thereof to paie a yérelie taxation, to be put and kept in the treasure-house till warres began, and that then men of warre might be waged, therewith to lie vpon the borders, and none in that case to be charged to come from their owne houses, but when anie great armie came forth of England to inuade Scotland.

Diuerse of the great lords were agreed to this ordinance: but the most part of the barons hearing thereof, assembled together in Edinburgh, to the number of two hundred & aboue, and sent the lardes James Sandlandie of Calder in Louthian, and John of Wemiss in Fife, to the quene and lords, beseeching them not to set such new taxations vpon them, for they could not beare such burdens; but would defend the realme, as before time their elders had done, not meaning to put their goods in inuentarie, as if they should already make their last will and testaments: and be past all hope of inioieng their temporall goods, as persons not to liue longer in the world, but to take their farewell, and glue ouer all that they had by law of fatall necessitie not to be auoided. Adding further, that their elders did not onelie defend themselves, and their goods against the English, when they were of farre greater power than they now be; but did also manie times make further inuasion vpon them into their owne countrie. For which cause, they being not anie lot now so degenerat from their ancestors, that they would not, when need required, bestow their substance and life in defense of their countrie.

And as touching the hired souldiers, it was a thing full of danger, to commit the state of Scotland to men without substance, or without hope of advancement, and to such as for monie will dare to do anie thing, being a thing apt to kindle their depe couetousnesse, and to minisfer occasion to them to attempt other matters. But to the end all other things may the better be looked vnto, let them more remember the déerenes of their countrie, than their owne estate or condition. For will anie man beleue, that hired souldiers will more valiantlie fight for strangers, than the owners will fight for the defense of their owne? That a little hire or wages readie to be abated in peace, will greatlier incense the minds of the common people; than gods, children, wiues, and temples, will moue the hearts of the nobilitie?

Whereunto may be ioined, that this matter perteineth to the highest god of the kingdome of Scotland, and that the same is of farre more importance than that it should be communed of at this time, and in the tender age of our yong quene. Besides which the greater part of men do suspect and feare, that the same new order for warre is vnpromisable, and such as cannot be perfozmed without some commotion of the Scottish nation, especiallie with so great sums of monie can hardlie be wzong out by tribute imposed on the same Scots, as may suffice to nourish a hired armie to defend the borders. Wherefore it is to be feared, least the end of persuation grow to this point, that it do not rather open a gap to let in the enimie, than to be able to keepe them backe. For if the English, after this example, being a farre richer nation, shall gather a much greater summe: who doubteth, but that they may with lesse trouble to the common people, susteine an armie twice as great as that of the Scots, & such as shall not onelie enter the borders, but rush euen into the berie bowels of the king.

This yérelie tax
to be leuied is
proponed.

This taxati-
on is not
granted.
1556.

Fr. Thim.
Buchan. li. 164

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 528.

Commis-
sioners sent.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 527.

A parlement.
Gentlemen
restozed.

kingdome of Scotland?

For the other part of the oration, I cannot tell whether it be better to suppress it in silence, or to deliver it (saith Buchanan) to common eyes & eares. For I doe heare (witness he) manie which doe murmur and aske who shall gather this monie: How much thereof shall be necessarie to and for the hired soldiers, and how much to be left in the hands of the treasury: There be manie things which put vs in great hope, that no such thing shall be established for the especiall godnesse and temperancie of that worthie prince (in whose hand the whole government now resteth) both encourage vs, that we shall not be so tared. But yet when we remember the outward deeds of others, and our owne at home, which haue before time bene done; we cannot so gouerne our selues, but that we must feare the same hereafter to fall vpon vs, which we haue already felt.

But letting these things passe, which perchance we bainele feare, let vs come to those things in which our ancestors did place their chiefe helpe (for maintenance of their libertie) against the weapons of their aduersaries. Robert the first of that name (in comparison of whome none of the Scottish kings were counted more wise, and without all doubt none more valiant, as we all confesse) did not onelie profit his subjects whilst he liued, but also after his death: for when he laid at point to surrender his life, he gaue this admonition, that we should neuer make continuall peace, nor long truce with the English. For that man (by nature and by vse of long time exercised in both sort) did well perceiue, that such as liued in idlenesse and sloth, had their stomachs and minds abated, and their bodies weakened with delights of pleasures, and that couetousnesse and lecherie did spring vp as it were in untilled ground, when severe discipline and sparing was quenched, which made them also to be impatient of labor, and to hate battell, whereby their strength being diminished, they should easilie giue place to their enemies.

After that these two noble men had said thus much, the regent fearing tumultuous insurrections if he persevered in this eraction, left off anie further to pursue this far, and is (in often acknowledging his error) said to haue vsed this speech; That some of the best of the Scots, and not the, were authors and workers of the same. By which words manie supposed that he ment the earle Huntley, a man of a sharpe wit, lately deliuered out of prison, and rather readie to reuenge the iniurie received by restraint of his libertie, than mindfull of anie benefit shewed vnto him in his deliuerance. Wherefore when he saw the regent bent to this one thing to inure the Scots with taxes and payments of monie: and fearing least his power being ouermuch increased, that he would abate the strength of the nobilitie, diminish their authoritie, and call the whole government of Scotland into the hands of his people, it was supposed that he gaue his counsell answerable to his disposition for the gathering of monie which he had then in hand, being in deed the part of an enemy to him, because he knew that the Scots would not paie anie tribute, nor be so obedient vnto him as they had bene before. There were also some that supposed this deuise to grow from David Hainster bishop of Ross; for he being a man of rare wit, and no lesse learning, was with manie benefits tied to the Hamiltons, and was not anie waie estranged from their counsels and kindreds.

In this yeere, an ambassador of Muscouie going into England with a great ship, & another bote, was cast on land by sudden tempest of the sea in the coast of Buchquane, a prouince in the north part of Scotland; who having lost all his goods by shipwracke,

was saued himselfe, and some of his companie, because they lighted on a rocke, where he & they might saue their liues. The inhabitants did libtallie intertaine this strange man, and brought him to Edinburgh to the quene, who would not permit this new ghest to want anie thing so long as he remained with her: and further, commanded and procured, that his goods lost by sea, and come into the hands of the people, should be faithfullie restored to him againe, appointing moreover the lord Hume for honors sake to accompanie him to Berwike.

This yeere also in the moneth of Iulie was Hoyer Traberne sent ambassador (from Anna duke of Denberge, and Delmensoze, and earle of Embden) out of east Frisia into Scotland, to require that the ancient covenant of an hundred yeeres made betwene the Scots and the people of Embden (which by course of some yeeres past, was now of no force) might now againe be renewed. Which being granted & solemnlie established, both those nations from that day did liue together in mutuall & perfect friendship. After this, warres arising betwene England and France, quene Marie of England, fearing least the Scots would be stirred at the motion of the French to attempt something against England, sent ambassadors to the regent, to require that some of the Scots might with his people meet on the borders, to treat of matters belonging vnto them both.

Whereupon in the moneth of Iulie, the procurators for both the kingdomes met at Caerleill, whether for the Scots came Robert Keid bishop of Arkenie, Henrie Seintclere deane of Glasgou, Robert Carnegie knight, senators, and the lord Harries, at that time president of the west borders. For the English did come Tunball bishop of Durham, the lords Dacres, and Wharton; amongst whom there was talke for peace, and recompense of such iniuries as were committed by both the nations. In the meane time a certaine Frenchman landed at the west part on Scotland, and declared to the quene the warres betwene England and France, desiring her to make warre vpon the English. Whereupon the quene sent for the lords to commune with them at Newbottell, where she opened to them diuerse wrongs done on the borders by Englishmen, and how no redresse could be got: wherefore she required that warres might be moued against England in reuenge of those iniuries, although the bishop of Arkenie was the same time at Caerleill in talke with Cuthbert Tunball bishop of Durham and others, commissioners for England. The principall cause that moued the quene regent to seeke to make war against England, was for that the Englishmen aided the Emperour in fauor of his sonne king Philip against the French king, because their quene had taken to husband the same king Philip, and sent the earle of Denbroke ouer with an armie to ioine with king Philips power.

It was thought therefore, that if the Scots invaded the English borders, it might cause them to call backe their power forth of France to defend their owne countrie. But the Scottish lords would not consent in anie wise to begin anie warres: which their dealing when monseur Dossell perceiued, he speedily went to Hainmouth beside Berwike, and fortified the same with all diligence, making inuasions into England. Whereupon the Scottishmen in their owne defense were constrained to make warre, and the earle of Huntley was made lieutenant vpon the borders, who came thither; and remaining there by the assistance of the Frenchmen, made sundrie inuasions and rodes into England, burnt diuers townes and villages, and cast downe manie stone houses, piles

1557.
Lesleus, lib. 10.
pag. 328.

Lesleus, lib. 10.
pag. 529.

Lesleus, lib. 10.
pag. 529.

1557.
The quene
regent desired
warres.

In assemble
at Caerleill.

The occasion
why the quene
regent desired
to haue war.

The Scottish
lords refuse to
take warre in
hand.
Hainmouth is
fortified.
Inuasions
are made into
England.

An armie as-
sembled.

The lords do
not consent
thereto.

The castell of
warke besie-
ged by the
Scots.
Captaine
Kidd.

The earle of
westmerland
gathereth an
armie to resist
the Scots.

The Scots
broke vp
their armie.

The Scots
discouraged by
the earle of
Rothum-
berland.
Sir John
Foster.

nobilitie, that maie honor the marriage with their presence, and that (havinge publike authoritie therefore) may frelie and according to law, dispose of those things which are accustomed to fall in such matters and affaires.

The which if you shall doe, I promise that hereafter they shall liberallie understand how acceptable they shall be to me: and how that you shall receive all the fruit and benefit which shall arise of my sons marriage (for the performance whereof, by reason of his sufficient age, we will shortly provide) which said comeditie shall not enclie now remaine to you that be present, but also most abundantly with great pleasure shall continue to your posteritie. For sith both our and your people of France and Scotland shall be so firmlye conjoined (as we hope) by this mutuall knot of marriage, and our affaires with yours, and yours with ours, shall hang the one upon the other, as it were by a certeine mutuall linke and knot, that both we (being out of the danger of such as would diminish and overthrow our states) maie for ever enjoy such quiet as we did neuer hope to doe before this. From our castell of saint Germans, the fourth kalends of November. 1557.

Subscription, By the king, Henrie:
A little below: De Laubespine.

Upon the reading of which letters in the parlement, by the consent of the whole estates, there were elected and chosen James Beton archbishop of Glasgow, Robert Keab bishop of Orkney, George Leslie earle of Rothes, Gilbert Kennedy earle of Catfles, James Stewart prior of saint Andrewes [the queenes bastard brother] George lord Seton [capitaine of Edenburgh] James Fleming, and John Erskine lord of Dun [gouverneur of Montrose] ambassadors and commissioners to go into France, and there to contract marriage betwixt Marie queene of Scotland, and Francis Dolphin of France, and to solemnize the same marriage. Whereupon, sufficient commissions and instruments were made to them by the estates of the parlement, and they accepting the same, made preparation for that journey, and departed in the moneth of Februarie forth of the roade of Leith, and with great winds & boisterous stormes came into France, losing in their journey one of their ships, with men and horses before saint Ebbes head, in the Forth of Scotland, and an other with great riches & manie gentlemen, with the capitaine called Waterton in the roade of Bullongne.

The ambassadors themselves nevertheless escaped, and comming safe unto the French court in the moneth of March, were honorably received of the king at Paris, where the contract of marriage was made, and three score thousand franks assigned in dowrie to the queene of Scotland, & thirtie thousand franks of yerelie pension, with manie rich Jewels. There was also a perpetuall bond of league concluded betwixt France and Scotland, and great preparation made for the marriage, which was solemnized in Paris with great triumph and assistance of all the cardinals, dukes, earles, barons, lords, and bishops of the realme, in the church of Notre dame, the 24 of April in that present yere, 1558.

After the solemnitie of this marriage, the legats of Scotland were called into the counsell-house of the French king: at that time the chancelor of France delt with them, that they should represent the crowne and scepter, and other ornaments of the kingdome, to the husband of the young queene might be crowned king also of Scotland. Whereunto the ambassadors did shortly make answer, that they had no such thing given in charge to them. After

which, the cardinall said; We desire nothing more at your hands at this time, but that which lieth in your power to performe; which is, here now to confirme by writing that you will hereafter, forward, approve & worke that this honor (which now we justlie demand) maie be granted to the Dolphin, when the same shall be talked of in the parlement of Scotland. Which request (when it seemed full of impudencie) they supposed best more constantly and sharpelie to reject.

Wherefore they answered, that their ambassage was restrained within certeine bounds, which they neither could nor would exceed. But and if they had bene sent with free libertie of their ambassage, that yet it were not the part of faithfull friends (as the French professed to be) to require that which could not be granted without certeine and assured danger and infamie of treason, though danger of life were absent from it. All which notwithstanding, in all honest things which might well be granted they would yield unto the French, joined unto them by so manie necessarie occasions. Wherefore they requested the French that they would not in their demands exceed the limits of modestie.

Whereupon the ambassadors being dismissed from the court, foure of the chiefe of them (before they departed home) which were these, Gilbert Kennedy, George Leslie, Robert Keab, and also James Fleming, all men of singular vertue and love to their countrie, besides manie other of the companie, died there, not without mistrust of poison. It was also beleued, that James the queenes brother had received the same draught: for (although he were of a better composition of bodie, stronger constitution of complexion, and of more youthfull strength, whereby he escaped death) he had alwaies after a continuall and dangerous infirmitie of his bellie whilest he lived, of the death of all which shall be somewhat more said hereafter. Thus leaving the Scottish lords ambassadors there in France for a time, we will returne to shew what happened betwixt the Scots and Englishmen at home, where the warres were pursued, to the losse or little gaine of both parts.]

About Whitson-tide, sir Henrie Perrie with divers bands of the countrie garrisons, & sir George Bowes then marshall of Berwick, with sundrie bands of the garrison of that towne, passed forth into Scotland; they being in all about seven or eight hundred horsemen, and two thousand footmen. They burnt the towne of Duns and Langton; and having got together a great number of cattell, returned homewards. The Scots that laie in Kelso, and other places, keeping their quarterage on their borders (for the realme, as ye haue heard, was quartered, euerie part keeping their turne, as the manner is) assembled together to the number of two thousand horsemen (or fewlesse) and three bands of footmen, halting forth to defend the countrie. And perceiving where the Englishmen were, followed and coasted them as they returned with their bottie, till they came to Swinton, where they overtook them, and skirmished with them sharpelie as they were passing through the towne.

The Scottish footmen beat backe part of the Englishmen shot into their battell, and pressed verie forward in hope to be assisted by their horsemen, the which (as ye haue heard) overmatched greatly the English horsemen in number: but the fight grew somewhat hot; and the more unto the disadvantage of the Englishmen, for so much as their shot & powder began to faile them, by reason the mistie morning had made much of their powder dankish, so that they could haue no vse thereof. But herewithall Henrie Leslie, Robert Keab, and others, being in the battell, behaved themselves verie stoutlie, causing the

Lesleus, lib. 10.
pag. 533.
Fr. Thin.

Ambassadors sent into France to consummate the marriage betwixt the queene of Scotland and the Dolphin of France.
1558.

Two ships lost.

The assignement of the Scots queens dowrie.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan, lib. 16.

The Scots horsemen flee.

The Scots footmen slain.

The lord of Keith with others taken prisoners.

Edwards taken.

Sir William Hereton.

Roberts into Scotland.

Duns and Langton burnt.

The Scots put to flight at Swinton.

The Scots assault the Englishmen at Swinton.

The good order of the Frenchmen in their retire.

Edwards burnt.

the footmen to staie, and boldlie to abide the enimie : & hertwith procured the horsemen to giue a charge in such convenient time, as if the same had bene protracted, it might haue turned verie euill to the English side.

But now as well the horsemen as footmen playing their parts, the Scottish horsemen abiding without the towne in troope (while their footmen were in skirmish) staid awaie, leaving their footmen to be slaine and spoiled of the Englishmen, and yet those footmen fought it out right manfullie : so that if the Scots horsemen had done their parts so well as the footmen, it was like to haue gone harder on the English side than it did. But now the Scottish horsemen not entering the fight, their footmen were inclosed by the Englishmen : for those that were in the foreward, and were passed by, returned, and coming behind their enimies, holpe to beat them downe, so that few or none of the Scots or Frenchmen (whereof there were some few amongst them) escaped, but were either taken or slaine.

Amongest others, capteine Cullane, and capteine Bencdie, two chiefe leaders of the footmen were taken : diuerse of their horsemen also in the retire were taken, amongst whome William lord Keith, sonne to the earle Marhall of Scotland was the chiefe. But this victorie was not attended without losse of diuerse Englishmen. Amongest other one Pell, ensigne-bearer to sir John Sparkeham's band of footmen was slaine. Also master Edzington a capteine of light horsemen was taken prisoner by the lord of Edmonston, at the first charge giuen by on the Scottish horsemen, and led awaie without rescue. Beside the manfull prowesse of sir Henrie Persie, and the other English capteins before mentioned, the forward valiance shewed that day of sir William Bereton, and Thomas Sparkeham, that led his father sir John Sparkeham's band of footmen, also of Rafe Ellerhar a capteine of horsemen, are not to be forgotten, who with diuerse other capteins & souldiers behaved themselves in such wise at that present seruice, as their dealings therein deserue speciall memorie.

Whereouer, at an other time the Scots & Frenchmen entering into England, the Scottish horsemen, to the number of a thousand or thereabouts, passed forth to burne and forraie the countrie: but the earle of Northumberland, & his brother sir Henrie Persie, assembled together a power of horsemen: and sir Henrie Persie meeting with them at Grendon, set upon the Scots and chased them ouer the water of Twisell, vnto the foot battell of the Frenchmen: who retiring to the riuer of Ilwed, passed ouer the same at Chapell Fould, where they were assailed both by certeine foot bands of the garrison of Berwike, that were come forth to aid the earle, and also by the horsemen: so as diuerse were drowned in the riuer before they could get ouer.

But after they were once got to the further side, they put themselves in order of battell againe, and retired in a squadron verie stronglie, sustaining little or no hurt at all, notwithstanding that the earle of Northumberland (being then come) and his brother sir Henrie Persie, with the rest of the capteins and gentlemen of the countrie, pursued them ouer the water for the space of two miles, skirmishing with them still as they marched awaie, but could do them no harme, because they kept themselves in so good order, & the English footmen were not able to reach them. Whereupon the English horsemen suffering the Frenchmen to depart, left them, and passing into the countrie, burnt long Ednam, and diuerse other hamlets and villages, and so returned. Diuerse Scots that day at the ouerthrow and chase of

their horsemen were taken prisoners, as the lord Greie, and others.

And after this, the Englishmen tooke the strong pile of Catwils, wherein were sitteene Frenchmen that defended it for the tunc verie stoutlie, so that it cost the liues of diuerse Englishmen, before they could take it. Shortly after, there was a foze skirmish at Halidon hill. For whereas the most part of summer it was ordeined, that euerie daie certeine bands of souldiers should ward on the same hill, to giue libertie to the inhabitants of Berwike, to mow and carie in their haie; they continued for a time without anie trouble offered by the Scots or French, so that the warders standing in no doubt of the enimies, vied out of their armor to shot, bowle, quait, & exercise such like games of pleasure. Whereof the Scots & Frenchmen being aduertised, came one day from Almouth in so secret wise, that they were drawn verie nere to the Englishmen, yet they had anie warning of their approach.

This approach as it was prime, so was it likewise sudden, insomuch that before they could be got into order, the Scots and Frenchmen were almost at their elbowes; and falling in skirmish with them, handled them verie roughlie: although sir William Bereton, sir John Sparkeham, master William Drelowie, Cutbert Laugghan, and other the capteins of the Englishmen did behaue themselves right manfullie, bringing their men in order, encouraging them, and doing what appertained vnto hardie and skilfull warriors. But yet thre times that day the Scots and Frenchmen put them from the highth of the hill, till at length sir James Croft coming from Berwike, vied such diligence and policie in the matter, that the Scots and Frenchmen were repelled and constrained to retire, withdrawing backe into Almouth, after they had continued in skirmish from one of the clocke till it was past foure with no small losse on both parts.

After this, the earle of Bothwell, lieng on the borders as lieutenant, according to the order for the time of his quarterage, entred on a day into England, and sent his forraie to burne Fenton towne, keeping himselfe in ambush at Halthwell Sweire. Sir Henrie Persie aduertised that the Scots were thus entred, got together a thousand horse, and making forth to defend the countrie, set upon the earle at the aforesaid place of Halthwell Sweire; but some feare entering into the hearts of the Englishmen, by reason of certeine shot which the Scots had there with them, fled, and were pursued by the Scots ouer the water of Till. There were taken aboute sir scoze Englishmen, amongst whom capteine Crington, and capteine Bar, that had the leading of light horsemen, were two: beside diuerse other men of good account in seruice, as one Laugghan a gentleman and such like.

About this time, whilest the lord Cure commonlie called Cuers, remained capteine of Berwike, one Kirkandie consigne to sir William Kirkandie lord of Grange, chanced to be taken prisoner into Berwike; and afterwards being ransomed, at his coming home to Almouth, he made report that he had beeng so freelie vied, during the time that he remained prisoner, at the hands of the said lord Cure. By reason whereof, vpon chalenge made by Grange to fight a combat with the lord Cure, the matter grew to this issue; that where their degrees were not equall, Rafe Cure brother to the lord Cure undertooke (in his brothers behalfe) to breake a staffe with the lord of Grange vpon the side of Halidon hill at a day appointed: where they met, either of them bringing twelue gentlemen with them, to see the trial of this chalenge perfozmed.

II. ij.

But

The lord Greie of Scotland taken prisoner. Catwils taken by the Englishmen.

A foze skirmish vpon Halidon hill.

The earle of Bothwell.

Halthwell Sweire.

The Englishmen put to flight.

The lord of Grange challenged the lord Cure.

The Scots horsemen slain.

The Scots footmen slain.

The lord of Keith with others taken prisoners.

Edzington taken.

Sir William Bereton.

The Scots put to flight at Grendon.

The good order of the Frenchmen in their retire.

Ednam burnt.

But when they came to haue their armor & weapons biewed, the truth is so, that Grange was armed in a cote of plate, and a curace aloft vpon it: wherewith some fault was found, because maister Cure was clad onelie in a single cote of plate, without anie other peeces of armor for defense of his bodie. But yet such was the great courage of the said maister Cure, that he would not refuse the challenge, notwithstanding his aduersaries aduantage of armor. Wherevpon they ran together, and brake both their stances; and as it fortuned maister Cure was hurt in the flanke. The warre being thus pursued betwixt England and Scotland, beside the encounters and roads which are before mentioned, there were two great roads made into Scotland; the one by the earle of Westmerland, and the other by the earle of Northumberland: the lord Talbot being there, & hauing the leading of certeine demilances.

Moreover, it was thought good by the Englishmen, not onelie to annoie the Scots by land, but also by sea. Wherevpon sir John Clere with certeine ships of warre sailed forth alongest the coast, till at length he arrived at the Isles of Orkney; where going on land about an enterprize, & staid longer than was requisit, he was incountred by his aduersaries, and slaine with manie of his people, which were there on land with him. But though the Scots had good successe in that part, they sustained great damage on the west side of the realme, by a tournee which the earle of Sussex then lord deputie of Ireland attempted against them. For the better understanding wherof ye shall note, that after the lord Clinton high admirall of England had burnt the towne of Conquest in Britaine, there were seven ships of warre appointed to passe into Ireland, as the Marie Willoughbie, the Peter barke, the Sacret, the Gersalmon, and three other that were merchants, and appointed that yeare to serue the quene of England in hir warres.

There were also beside those seven ships of war, two bittellers appointed to attend vpon them. Sir Thomas Cotton was ordeined their admirall, and one Southweke of Dover was assigned to be their viceadmirall. Soth vpon their arrivall in Ireland, the earle of Sussex hauing also prepared three other ships, with sufficient and necessarie provision for his tournee, imbarcked with so manie soldiers as conuenientlie might be bestowed aboard in that fleet, containing twelue saile in the whole; and departing toward the west of Scotland, landed in a part of the countrie called Kentire, with as manie soldiers and mariners as might be spared out of the ships, leaving them furnished with competent numbers for their safeguard; and being got to land, he passed forth into the countrie, & burnt two houses that belonged to James Macconell chiefe gouernor of those parts, & a great enimie to the Englishmen.

He burnt also diuerse townes, villages, and hamlets belonging vnto the said Macconell, with great store of cozne and other things which came in their waie. The Scots oftentimes skirmished with the Englishmen, but durst not aduenture to ioine with them in battell, they kept so good order by the earle of Sussex his politike and valiant conduction. There were a sort of Scots gotten into a bodder meaning to haue fled, but being apprehended by the Englishmen, they were executed. Finally, after the earle had remained there on land, in burning and spoiling the countrie for the space of three daies, he returned to his ships, and in safetie went aboard againe with his men: and making saile to the Ile of Arrane, entred the haven called Amalafche, and landing at that place, burnt the countrie, and after

went to Cumbar, where he likewise burnt and harried that Ile.

This done, he meant to haue gone into two other Islands, Fla and Jure: but the winds grew so terrible with tempests and foule weather, that they lost one of their ships; and some of the rest were so rent & spoiled of their tackle and furniture, as they escaped in great hazard of being cast awaie also. There were six and twentie mariners drowned, the which perceiving the ship to be in danger of sinking, fled into the boate, and so perished: the other that remained in the ship were saued, as maister Francis Randall, and others. By reason therefore of such foule weather, the earle of Sussex was constrained to returne into Ireland, arriving in Cragfergus, where he landed with his soldiers: and appointing the ships to returne into England, he passed by land vnto Dublin, spoiling the enemies countries by the waie, and taking from them a great preie and hottie of cattell, notwithstanding the painfull passage that he had to make through the cumbersome waies, bogs, and woods, without reliefe of all necessarie things in that so troublesome a iournie.

Thus far for those yeares warre in the daies of Marie quene of England, betwixt the Englishmen and Scots: wherof sith I haue found none that hath written anie thing at all, I haue yet set downe these ob notes, as I haue learned the same of such as had good cause to know the truth thereof, being eie-witnesse themselves of such enterprizes and exploits as chanced in the same warres; namelie capteine Keab, capteine Wood, capteine Crington, capteine Curleie, and capteine Parkham; with others, which of their courtesie haue willingly imparted to me the report of diuerse such things, as I wisht to be resolu'd in. Which accordingly (so far as my remembrance hath serued) I haue here delineated, to the end the same maie giue occasion to others (that maie happilie light vpon more full instructions) to impart to posteritie a more perfect discourse, where otherwise the matter might peraduenture wholie passe in forgetfulnesse.

And now to returne vnto the Scottish ambassadors that were sent into France, for the conclusion of the mariage betwixt their quene & the Dolphin. After that the same mariage was consummat, and euerie thing ordered and brought to passe according to the effect of their commission; in the moneth of August they toke their leaue of the French king, the quene, and nobilitie there, to returne homeward into Scotland: albeit few of them came home, for the bishop of Orkney departed this transitorie life in Diepe, the fifteenth of September; the earle of Noths deceased there the ninth of Nouember; the earle of Castles lord treasurer departed in the same place the fourteenth of Nouember; and the lord Fleming deceased in Paris the eighteenth of December. And so onelie the archbishop of Glasgow, the prior of saint Andrewes, and the lord of Dun returned into Scotland in October. After whose comming, there was a parlement summoned by the quene, to be holden in December next.

[In August, Archibald Campbell erle of Argyle, whose wit was singular in dispatch of the affaires aswell of peace as of warre, was made high iustice of Scotland; and in France was aduanced to the title of a knight of the order of saint Michaele. Few daies betwene these things departed this life the bishop of Brechin, and Andrew Dowie bishop of Whithchurch. To the one did succede the abbat of Couper, in place of the other came Alexander Gordon archbishop of Athens by the quenes benefit. David Painter or Paniter bishop of Ross, & James Seteward, whome James the sixt (being illegitimate father

The lord of Grange and maister Rafe Cure ran one against another.

Sir John Clere slaine in the Ile of Orkney.

The iournie of the earle of Sussex into the west parts of Scotland.

Kentire.

James Macconell.

The earle of Sussex burnt the Ile of Arrane.

Foule weather.

The earle of Sussex returneth into Ireland.

The ambassadors died almost all.

These came home againe.

Lord of Dun.

Fr. Thin.

Candida Cafa.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 542.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 538, 539.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 539.

father unto him) had made abbat of Helroffe and helis died also this yeare. Whose monasteries the queene did forgiue unto the cardinall Guse; long after which followed also the death of the abbat of Whantunoch. At this verie time manie prodigious sights, which I will not here recite, being reported by Leheny did appeare by a market of such ominous things; whereof these verses were made:

*Fortis virum est miser agere, quæ incertum laquei
Draconis facit amplexu imperium.*

In September there was a parlement holden at Edinburgh, in which the acts of the former legats in France about the marriage of the queene of Scots to the Dolphin were confirmed. At that time the Dolphin of France by his ambassadors did vehemently request, that the crowne (which they terme matrimoniall) should be given unto him by the decree of the states, whereby he might be called king of Scotland as long as the queene liued. The queene also touching it a point of honor, to keepe all title of glorie which she could vpon her husband, as one that by a certaine inclination of mind did verie much hate him; gave in charge also to the ambassadors, that they should earnestly follow the same cause amongst the Scots. And to the end to draw them to more easie into his opinion; she drew the matter into certaine articles, deliuered to the ambassadors with more ample instructions touching the same: the summe of all which was this.

First, diligentlie to beate into the Scots with what disposition of mind the Dolphin was affected toward them, as well as his father, who held the Scots in that account as he did his owne people, and so alwaies would haue them: which good mind of the French towards the Scots to be plaine without any dissimulation, it made well appere as well by the covenants established for the marriage, as also by the benefits which he hath not onely bestowed vpon the Scots and Scotland in generalitie, but also in particularitie vpon certaine especiall Scots, of his owne free will, almost without the request of any bodie. And that they should also further laie abroad, what helpe the queene and Scots haue had of the moste honorable cardinall of Lorraine, & the duke of Guise the queenes vnckle. All which the ambassadors themselves (as they haue fullie proued) did well understand.

Secondlie, where the queene doth thinke that she is greatly benefited with manie honors by so great a king, but especiallie in this, that so mightie a prince hath taken her into the fellowship of the holie bed, by which there can not any other commoditie grow to the king than the revenues of the kingdome which he hath purchased with his great charge and labor: and that the queene considering all this (with great griefe of mind) doth seeke by what means she might at least expresse some small token of a thankfull mind for so manie benefits (because if she should not doe some thing, no small blot would seeme to be imputed to the queene and the Scots) it came into her mind to thinke by what means she could requite some part thereof, which she could doe (as she thought) if at the least she did but haue her husband with the kinglie title, & giue unto him the marriage crowne of Scotland.

This thing therefore the queene her selfe doth earnestlie desire, and doth courtcoude request all the estates of Scotland, that the same mate be established by the voices of the full parlement, and that they will comend some three or foure of the chiefe nobilitie honorable to carie the ensignes of the kingdome to him, that at the least by this token of loue, the king & the best of the court mate well perceiue, with what reuerence and with what dutie they fauour the king

her husband.

And to the end that this request of the queene for the rareness of the example, should not breed any doubt in the mind of the nobilitie, and to hold them as it were in suspence, it was giuen in charge also to the ambassadors, that they should in manner point with their finger, that manie ages past, the queene of Spaine did not onely for loue she did beate vnto him, adorne the duke of Aragon her husband, with the bare name of a king; but did also by the consent of the nobilitie, giue him rule and gouernement ouer the same kingdome. The like whereof was also done in our memorie by the queene of Spaine to her husband the archduke of Austria, & by the queene of Nauarre to the duke of Clelandine.

But if that the Scots be moued by the example of the English, who haue receiued Philip king of Spaine, that then the ambassadors should strike twise awaie that doubt, if they admonish the Scots that the English are not tied to the Spaniards with that firme and needfull band as the Scots are to the French, both which nations haue one priuilege, magistrats to gouerne, and one fellowship and participation of the administration of all the things in either kingdome. Whereunto they must further adde that it was so far off, that the English should crape any fruit or commoditie by the Spaniards: that the king of Spaine himselfe did (as it were) looking from the English all the commoditie he could, to performe his affaires out of the realme. And further, that the English being out of all hope for their queene to haue any issue by the same marriage, they would not grant vnto it, when there is a certaine and full hope left to the Scots, that issue may come of this marriage.

Besides all this, let it be opened vnto the Scots, what great benefit mate rebound vnto them by this signe of a thankfull mind. For it maie so happen, that if the king Dolphin shall seeke himselfe increased with this title of honor by the Scots, as a note of their good fauour to him, that he maie raise by his father the king of France, that he will not by any means permit the queene of Scots his wife to be excluded from the kingdome of England, after the death of queene Marie, who was not like to liue long being soe troubled with the droppe.

These things and manie others were giuen in charge to the ambassadors (comen out of France) to declare to the parlement of Scotland. Which being thus declared to the states and the queene regent, with might and maine seeking the furthering thereof; at length it was granted that he should be king during the life of the queene. For which cause Gillesper Campbell earle of Argile, and James Stewart, ballard brother to the yong queene, being priuie of S. Andrews, were named to execute their consent vnto the Dolphin, to declare him king, and to inuest him with the ornaments thereto belonging, and further to shew the readie minds of the Scots toward him, not onely in this but in all other things: by which any honor or profit might any waie rise vnto him.

But whilst these men doe prepare all things for such a iournie, certaine factious persons did beate into their eares, how beaue a iournie that would be vnto them. For it would happen, that whilst they were busie in prouiding for small things abroad, they should by delate corrupt, or by absence cleane ouerturne matters of greater importance at home. For they did know how the subtil wit of James, and the great power and strength of the earle of Argile would be missing in those new things which were in hand amongst these of the religion: for which they neuer left off intreating and persuading, vntill they

L. L. iii.

had

Buch, lib. 10.

had wholie stated them from that iournie.

During these affaires, Marie quene of England died, and that worthy ladie Elizabeth succeeded in hir place. Immediatlie thereupon, the yong quene of Scots bare hir selfe as heire to that kingdome, and caused all hir hangings, bedding, vessels, and other household stuffe to be stamped and marked with the title and armes of the kings of England. And although France were then miserablie afflicted in chalenging the dominion and gouernment of Fflaie, Naples, and Fflanders; yet they would needes heape euill vpon euill, and adde therevnto the title of England, as being vnto them a verie scoone and mockerie (as Buchanan tearmeth it.) Neither did the twiler soke of the French looke into that matter: for the Guises, who at that time gouerned all things, did consent to this error of the Scottish quene, because they would thereby seeme to haue gotten to themselves a singular honor in adding the title of England to the French name.

The regent hauing now gotten a consent (as before you haue heard) of the matrimoniall crovne to be bestowed vpon the husband of the yong quene of Scots, began after a sort to put on a new mind: for by little and little she conuerted that old and accepted courtlesie, into commanding arrogancie; and the gentle answers therewith she was wont to appease all parts, were turned contrarie. Which before she durst not doe by reason of the present state, which then was such, as she feared not to promise what she would not haue to be performed, because she had not then obtained the grant of the matrimoniall crovne: but now hauing all things after hir owne mind, she vsed other conditions, and other speeches. There was also a parlement appointed at Striueling in the first Ides of Maie.

And because she was heard oftentimes to saie, that she would not suffer the maiestie of the chiefe gouernement to be cast downe from the seat thereof, but wold restore it to the former place. By which sayings manie were admonished of some troublesome tempest to follow. Whereupon diuerse came to intreat hir for the protestants, amongst which for the dignitie of his name, to make the matter to be more easilie obtained, there were sent Alexander Cuningame earle of Glenearne, and Hugh Campbell thirrie of Aine, a worthy knight, before whom the regent could not restraîne hirselfe, but burst forth into these wordes.

These men (saith she) sith they haue preached not verie sincerelie, shall be banished, though you and your ministers resist against it. And when they replied, beseeching hir that she would remember what she had often promised: she answered, that the performance of promise is to be chalenged of princes, so farre as it seemeth commodious for them to performe it. Wherevnto they replied, that they therefore renounced all dutie and obedience vnto hir, and did farther forwarne hir of the great mischiefs that would flow out of this founteine: with which answer she being stroken more than she looked for, said in the end, that she would both thinke on it and them.)

In Iulie and August, there was a conuention of all the prelates and cleargie holden at Edinburgh, in the which certeine men & women of Edinburgh were accused of heresie, and abased at the towne crosse with faggots on their backs: [wherevpon (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 538.) were great tumults raised at Edinburgh, for the appealing thereof, the lord Setton was made gouernor there.] In this assemble it was required, that the common prayers might be read in the Scottish tongue in churches, with certeine other articles of reformation, whereof the

answer was deferred till March, in which moneth a prouinciall counsell was appointed to be holden at Edinburgh. The second of March, the said prouinciall counsell of all the prelates and cleargie of Scotland began, wherein diuerse articles were proponed by the tempozaltie; as to haue the prayers and administration of the sacraments in the Scottish language, the election of bishops and all beneficed men to passe by the voices of the tempozall lords & people of their diocesses and parishes, with diuerse other reformatiōs: all the which the bishops refused to grant, where through there arose shortly after great trouble in Scotland.

The quene regent caused summons to be giuen to John Knox, John Wullocke, John Dotoglas, and Paule Speffaine, to appeare at Striueling the tenth day of Maie: and for lacke of appearance they were denounced rebels, and put to the horne. Whereupon the said John Knox being in Perth, persuaded the maister of Lindseie, the lords of Culibardin, Dun, Mettarrow, and diuerse other being there assembled, with the burgeses of the towne of saint Johns towne and Dundee, to pull downe the images and altars in all churches, and to suppress the houses of friers, & other religious places. Who after a sermon made by him to that effect, the same tenth of Maie they began in saint Johns towne, and cast downe the abbey of the Charterhouse, the Blache and Carmelite friers, called the Tulleum [and so cleane, that (as saith Buchanan) within two daies there was left no signe thereof almost to be seene] and reformed all other churches thereabouts, breaking downe the images and altars in Fife, Angus, Pernis, and other parts there next adioining.

The quene regent being aduertised thereof, sent for the duke of Chatelerault, and diuerse other of the nobilitie, as the earles of Atholl, Argile, Marshall, and others, who came with hir to Perth, otherwise called saint Johns towne, hauing with them two thousand Frenchmen [to whom also repaired (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 548) the archbishop of saint Andrews and Glasgow, the bishops of Dunkeld, and Dunblane, James prior of saint Andrews, the abbat of Coltoper and Dunfermeling, with manie other chiefe of the cleargie] who entered the towne vpon appointment of the lord Ruthen capteine thereof, and so receiuing it, gaue it in keeping to capteine James Steward, and capteine Cullane, with the ir bands of men of warre. In the meane time the erle of Argile, and the prior of saint Andrews, left the quene in Perth, and went to saint Andrews, joining themselves with the other, and made reformation of the churches, casting downe altars, images, houses of friers, and abbeies in that towne, and in Coltoper, and other places thereabout: and assembling a great companie of countrie men, came to Londros, Balmeare, & Coltoper, to make resistance against the Frenchmen that were in Falkeland with the quene [come thither from Perth, after that she had left in Perth six hundred men vnder the charge of James Steward cardinall, & James Cullane.] But when they should haue met on Coltoper more in battell, the duke of Chatelerault, the earle Marshall, and others, laboured betwixt them, so that the battell was staled, & the quene with the Frenchmen returned vnto Edinburgh.

The earle of Argile, the prior of saint Andrews, and their assisers came to saint Johns towne and besieged it, till it was to them surrendered. The erle of Huntley was sent to them from the quene to treat with them of some accord, but he profited not. At the same time a certeine number of persons of the towne of Dundee & Perth, came to the abbey of Scone, and spoiling the church, burnt it with the most

A prouinciall counsell.

Requests made by the laitie.

1550.
John Knox with other are summoned.

Images and frierhouses pulled downe.

Fr. Thin.

The quene regent came to Perth.

Fr. Thin.

S. Andrews.

Cowper.

Fr. Thin.

Two armies were pacified.

Saint Johns towne besieged.

Scone abbey burnt.

The friers in Striueling destroyed.

The quene departed from Edinburgh.

The frierhouses overthrown.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 551.

Two armies pacified.

Edith baptised.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 553. Buchanan. lib. 16.

An assemble of the cleargie. Fr. Thin.

Common prayers to be had in the vulgar tongue.

most part of the house, the earle of Argyle, and the prior of saint Andrezus being with them in company. After this they went to Strueling, and to Lethquod, where they caused the houses of the blacke friers and grate friers to be thowne downe. From thence they passed to Edinburgh, where the quene hearing of their coming, departed with the Frenchmen vnto Dunbar, the duke of Chatelerault, and the erle of Huntley being with hir in companie.

The earle of Argyle and his companie, called the lords of the congregation, were receiued into Edinburgh by the bailiffes of the towne, where the places of the blacke and grate friers were suddenly ouerthrowne, & the Church a field, and Trinitie college, and saint Giles church were reformed, and the images and altars pulled downe. The lords remaining thus in Edinburgh [apprehended Robert Richard-son (as saith Lesleus) that was gouernor of the publicke treasure, took the keys by force from him, entered the abbey the coming house, took the caininge rons, seized vpon the quenes moueables, which they found in the palace, and kept the same. * Whilest these things were thus done at Edinburgh, Marwell lord Harries gouernor of the west marches, which at that time was detained prisoner in Edinburgh castell, did priuile get out of the same by a rope hanged to the wall, and hauing speedie horses, departed to his owne companie, shortly after joining himselfe to the lords of the religion.]

Monsieur Doifell and the Frenchmen came from Dunbar to the links of Leith, accompanied with the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Huntley, Bothwell, Spourton, and others. And the lords of the congregation came forth of the towne of Edinburgh of purpose to haue giue battell to the Frenchmen, albeit they were not sufficient partie to resist them. But the erle of Huntley travelled betwixt them, by whose meanes there met twelue on euerie side, who agreed vpon certeine articles, and so the quene and Frenchmen entered into Leith, and forthwith began to fortifie it.

The articles of agreement betweene the regent and the lords of the reformed religion.

1 First, that all the souldiers of the religion, and such as did belong to them, should depart from Edinburgh, and leave the same to the gouernement of the quene: with this prouiso, that the citizens should either remaine, or depart at their pleasure.

2 Item, that those of the religion should restore vnto the magistrats wholie and trulie all such summs of monie, or other pretious things, which they had either priuatlie taken, or by open force spoiled from the magistrats.

3 Wherlie, that the quenes palace, which they of the religion did possesse, with all the furniture and ornaments thereof, should be deliuered by againe to such as should be appointed therfore.

4 Fourthlie, that they of the religion should not depart, before they had committed the lord Ruthuen and Bettarrow (whome they promised to put in pledges for their credit and good dealing) to the keeping of such as were on the quenes part.

5 Fiftie, that all men should acknowledge the gouernement of the king and the quene to be lawfull, which before they had gaine said by the pretense of religion: and that they should faithfully obeye the regent, and the old lawes of the kingdome, except such decrees as pertained not to religion.

6 Sixtly, that they should not by anie meanes trouble the catholike prests and ecclesiasticall per-

sons, or hinder them from quiet gathering and intoleng their rents, tithes, and profits, vntill the fourth Ides of Januarie.

7 Seuenthly, that they should not from henceforth violate or deface churches, religious houses, or anie other holie places.

8 Eightly, that euerie man might at Edinburgh professe and vse what religion he would, which they commonlie called the libertie of conscience.

9 Ninthly, that the quene regent should faithfully prouide, that the preachers of the reformed religion should not be molested or hurt, either by hir, or by anie of the catholike gouernors. Both parties being thus satisfied with these conditions, the French entered Leith.]

Shortly after this, the duke of Chatelerault, partly through perswasion of the earle of Argyle his sisters sonne, and the Westland lords, and partly because he understood that his son, the earle of Arrane was fled forth of France to Geneva for the religion, he took part with the lords from that time forth, against the aduise of the bishop of saint Andrezus, and diuerse other his friends. This yere in Iune, Henrie the king of France, at the triumph of the mariages betwixt the king of Spaine and his daughter, and duke of Sauoie and his sister, was wounded in the tusts at the tourneillis in Paris by the count Montgomerie, and died of the hurts the tenth of Iulie next ensuing, being the eleuenth day after he was wounded. Then Francis his sonne, that had married the quene of Scotland, was crowned king at saint Denis, and annointed at Reims in September following.

* In the moneth of September, Croke a noble man of France was sent to the regent, to comfort hir in the kings name, declaring vnto hir that an armie was preparing to come into Scotland, vnder the leading of the marquesse of Albufe or Elbufe (as saith Buchanan) and that in the meane time with all speed some troopes of men should shortly be there with monie, and other defenses of warre. And to the end that nothing should want to further hir, the king would shortly send certeine noble men into Scotland, which should counsell hir in these troublesome affaires. Besides which, he brought letters out of France from the king and the quene, to the prior of saint Andrezus, in which they rather sought to incline his mind by courtesie to obedience, before that they would enforce him therevnto by warre. Which letters being by Lesleus turned out of French into Latine, are by me thus deliuered in English, with the answer of the prior to the same.

Francis king of France to Iames prior of the monasterie of saint Andrewes.

After that I understood by certeine letters, & by the common report of all (my cosine) that Scotland did flame in euerie part with tumults and seditions, it is strange to see how greatlie I was astonished therat. But when I heard that you (to whome my dead father, my deere wife, and my selfe, haue giuen so manie large benefitts) should be forgetfull of them all liberallie bestowed, and become the author, head, and nourisher of this fire of contention and bialles, I could not be perswaded that you would so farre digresse from that office and dutie of pietie, which you haue alwaies made shew to beare vnto the quene.

But if the thing were so, as the common fame doth report of you, I did verelie thinke that the promises and flattering wordes of others had inticed you to this deceit, onelie to take the fault vpon you; for whose

Duke Chatelerault taketh part with the reformers of the churches.

King Henrie was hurt and died.

Francis the Dolphin succeeded his father.

Fr. Thn. Lesleus, lib. 10. pag. 554.

Lesleus lib. 11. pag. 554.

The friers in Strueling destroyed.

The quene departed from Edinburgh.

The friers houses overthrown.

Fr. Thn.

Fr. Thn. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 551.

Two armies pitched.

Leith fortified

Fr. Thn. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 553. Buchanan, lib. 16.

their warlike force in taking upon him the defense of those things.

Wherefore he would not have the king or quene to thinke that their authoritie is touched, when he labored to pull awaye the awles of the papists. From which one thing, (as he supposed the honor of God, the glorie of the king and quene, and the helpe and health of his countrey to be contained therein) he will not be withstanding by the force of any man, nor be in quiet for all the threats of the king and quene, until he have wholie cut awaye the branches of superstition, and utterly pulled by the roots thereof.

Croskes had scarce performed his ambassage for which he came (as before you have heard) in delivering these letters: but sayth withal indeed at Leith a Frenchman, with a great masse of monie, & other furniture needfull for the warres: whome after a few daies the regent sent backe againe into France, to requere of the king, that four other companies of soldiers might be sent over: which might with those already now in Scotland, supplye the number of twentie ensignes: to whome also it were expedient to joine a hundred baymen, which number the assigned would suffice to pacifie all the tumults in Scotland, so that four ships well appointed might alwaies lie in the haven of Leith, to watch the port. Of all which if the Scots were provided by the benefit of the king, and that the coming of his brother the marquisse of Albemarle were hastened, he promised them to bring all things to an end.

Besides which, he did also signifie unto the king, that the Scots of the reformed religion, for the increase of their faction, had secretly growen in league with some of the nobilitie of France, who did daily send letters and messengers to the Scots, to encourage them not to leave off from their attempts; promising also unto them that they would hinder (by all the means they could) that no great armie should be made out of France against them: and moreover, in that the Scots had sent ambassadors to Germany, and into Denmark, for religious cause, to requere aid from thence, but their chiefest and principall hope did rest (as saith Lesleus) in England.

During these things, the duke of Chateaufort and the lords of the congregation sent to the quene whereof we will speake more hereafter, beseeching her to leave off from making of forts within the realme. But she would not grant so to do: wherefore they assembled their whole forces in Edinburgh, and besieged the towne of Leith in October: the quene and Frenchmen, with the bishops of saint Andrews, Glasgow, Dunferme, the lord of Seton, and divers other Scottishmen being within it. But the Frenchmen of warre issued forth of Leith, and met nere to the abbey of Holy rood house, with the Scottish lords and their companie, where manie Scottishmen were slaine, & the rest chased into Edinburgh: the Frenchmen also following them unto the gates of Edinburgh, had entred, if those within the castell had not shot off the artillerie at them, to staine the slaughter and pursue.

In the time of this siege, the young lord of Leithington, secretarie to the quene, being with her in Leith, left the towne, & secretly departing, got him to the lords, and holpe greatly afterwards to obtayne aid out of England. After this, the quene and Frenchmen came to Edinburgh, which was peaceably rendered to them, where they remained all that winter. About the same time, Nicholas Pelue the bishop of Autens, monsieur de la Brosse, & two doctors of divinitie, came to Scotland in September, and la Brosse was made lieutenant of the French armie, monsieur Partiguers colonell of the footmen.

And with them came a great companie of French soldiers unto the quene regent, so that then the French power was thirtie five hundred good men of warre, besides two bands of Scottish footmen, under the leading of capteine Anthoine Kennedy, and James Stewart of Cardonald.

The Frenchmen being thus entered France, the chiefest of the nobilitie were assembled at Edinburgh, of whom there was a day required of bearing to be given to la Brosse, and to the bishop, affirming that they were sent thither as ambassadors. To whom it was answered, that they did not seeke peace, as they did dissemble: but threaten war: for otherwise to what end were it to bring armed soldiers to dispute thereof? For the Scots were not so ignorant of the state of things, that they would commit them selves to that deciding of matters, in which they might be compelled to accept conditions answerable to the mind of the adversarie. But if amongst weapons it pleased them to make peace, they would also provide, that they would not rather seeme to be overcome thereunto by compulsion, than quietly led by reason. For if they did trust & from their heart require that in deed which they seeme in words, they would discharge those strange soldiers, and meet (as they have often done in other places) unarmed, as to a thing that by words and reason is to be decided, and not by swords the strength to be compassed. And thus much for the ambassadors.

Now you have heard before of the battell of Leith, the besieging and the regaining of Edinburgh: touching which, because it is omitted before in the recting of the things done in those places, I thinke it not amisse, though it come a little out of course, to set it downe (as Buchanan hath placed the same) next after the speeches used to those ambassadors. Thus therefore he writeth touching the defense of Leith. These noble men, meaning those at Edinburgh did write to the quene much after this manner, That they did greatly marvel, that the regent provoked with no injuries, did so soon depart from the former covenants, and expelling the ancient inhabitants of Leith, and placing there a colonie of strangers, she would in that place build a castle to the destruction of the lawes and liberties of the realme, and to the danger of the lives of them all. Wherefore they did earnestly intreat her, that she would desist from this thing rashly attempted, against the faith of her promise, the publike commoditie, and the lawes and liberties of the kingdome: least she inforce them by necessitie to raise in aid of the whole people.

Besides which also, they which were assembled at Edinburgh, did write to the same effect, about a moneth after that they had dispatched the other letters, adding these petitions to the same last letters; That overthrowing the new fortresses, she would command all the strangers and hired people to depart out of the towne, to the end that it might be free for all men (according to justice) there to traffike and use their mutuall trade of buying & selling one with another. The which if she refused to do, they would take it for a sure token, that she ment to bring this kingdome into servitude; against which evill they would provide all whatsoever remedie that they could. Althow three daies after, the quene sent Robert Forman chiefe herald to answer the matter, with instructions and commandments delivered to him in these words.

First of all, you shall shew unto them, that nothing could happen unto us more contrarie to our opinion, than that there should be any other having authoritie here, besides my daughter and her husband my sonne in law, upon whome all our authoritie doth depend; that the former acts of the nobilitie,

Fr. Thos. Buchanan, lib. 16.

Buchanan, lib. 16.

Fr. Thos. Buchanan, lib. 16.

Fr. Thos. Buchanan, lib. 16.

Fr. Thos. Buchanan, lib. 16.

1556.

Leith besieged

The Frenchmen were besieged.

The quene came to Edinburgh

And men sent in a Scotland.

tie, and this present request, or rather commande-
ment doth well declare, that they acknowledge no
other superiouritie; and that their demands (or rather
threatnings) with what shew of words soever they be
cloked, are sufficientlie enough knowen unto vs, as
no new things. Againe, you shall require of the Duke
of Chastelerault, that he call to mind what he hath
promised to vs by his words, and to the king by his
letters. Which was, that he would not onelie hear-
ken to the kings commandement; but also worke,
that his sonne the earle of Arrane should not at all
some with those tumults of the countrie, and whether
the things which he now doth, are the performance
of his promises.

To their letters also you shall answer; that we
haue openlie shewed our induror to bring things to
quiet; that we will grant to anie thing, which maie
not resist the pietie due to God, and doth not fight
with their duetie towards their king and quene, and
that I did neuer so much as once thinke of the over-
throw of their lawes and libertie; and much lesse, so
much as dreame of conquering the kingdome by
violence. For to whome, or for whome should I seeke
the kingdome, when my daughter doth already
possesse it? Touching the defense and fortifying of
Leith, you shall aske them this; whether that we at
anie time haue attempted anie thing that waie, be-
fore that they with manie assemblies, and at length
with conspiracie among themselves, did openlie
shew that they would shake off the lawfull gouerne-
ment, and before that they at their pleasure troubled
the whole publike state (vniknowledge to vs, who
held the place and authoritie of the chiefeest gouernor)
strengthened their factions with strong cities, and
made league and covenants with our ancient ene-
mies?

And to omit other things, what cause can they (in
the end) bring forth, whie it was lawfull for them to
retein an armie at Edinburgh, to inuade the go-
uernors of those affaires? And that it is not lawfull
for vs at Leith for our owne defense and safetie, to
haue anie other garb about vs? Truelie they seeke
this therein, that we should laboꝝ to shun their furie
(as hitherto we haue done) by continuall and daile
change of places. Is there anie thing in their let-
ters that mentioned their dutie to the right magi-
strate? Dosth there lie open anie waie for the resto-
ring of concord? Do they shew anie token that
they would haue these seditions pacified, and that
they would all things should be reduced to their for-
mer state?

Let them cloke this with what colour they will of
publike commoditie; yet it is manifest that they
thinke and seeke nothing lesse. For if they had one-
lie staied vpon a concord, we haue often shewed
them a waie thereunto. Neither are they ignorant
that these French had (by the commandement of
their king) bene long before dispatched out of Scot-
land, vnlesse their doings had bene the cause of
their staie. Wherefore, if they will yet now offer
anie honest conditions which may induce vs to hope;
and that (the maiestie of the gouernement alwaies
saied sound) maie declare that they will modestlie
and obedientlie obeie their superiours: we will re-
fuse no means to restore a concord & quiet amongst
them and vs, nor omit anie thing that maie tend to
the publike commoditie.

Neither are we alone so affected towards them,
but also their king and quene; who hath sent vnto
them a worthy knight of the order of the scallop
shell, and one of the chiefe of the ecclesiasticall order,
with letters and commandements touching the
same: whome they did so contemne, as that they
would not vouchsafe them answer, no not so much

as hearing. Wherefore, you shall demand, and
command the duke, the nobilitie, and all others of
what condition soever, that they depart in sunder;
or otherwise, that they shall not be kept together,
vnlesse it be by strength of armes. To all this the
next day, which was the thre and twentieth of Oc-
tober, the nobilitie answered after this order.

We easilie vnderstand by your letters and com-
mandements sent by the herald, how obstinatlie
you be euillie minded against pietie towards God,
the publike commoditie of the realme, and the com-
mon libertie of vs all: all which things we must &
do defend, as of right we ought. Wherefore, from
henceforth we do suspend and forbid your gouerne-
ment, in the name of the king and quene, or by
what other name or title you do usurpe the publike
administration of the kingdome; as persons cer-
teintlie knowing, that those things which are now
done by you, do with the mind of those princes fight
against the publike safetie of this realme.

And as you do not esteeme vs lawfull subiects of
those princes & of this kingdome, to make a publike
senate or counsell: so we do not acknowledge you
for a regent to execute supreme authoritie; speciallie
with the gouernement (if you haue anie such commit-
ted vnto you by the princes) is for most iust & weigh-
tie causes forbidden you: and that in the name of
the same princes, whose counsellors we are borne to
be, chiefe in matters which pertaine to the safetie
of all the people. And although we haue determi-
ned not to see anie danger, in deliuering of that
towne, in which you haue placed strange and hired
souldiers against vs: yet for the reuerence which we
beare vnto you, as vnto our quene mother; we
earnestlie with all faithfull intreatie beseech you,
that you depart from thence; whilest the cause of
publike commoditie doth inforce vs to recover that
towne by weapons.

Besides which, we further request, that you will
leade them out of the town with you, within foure
and twentieth houres; if there be anie which do chal-
lenge vnto themselves the names of ambassadoꝝ,
either to decide controuersies, or to gouerne the af-
fares. For it is but equitie that we prouide for the
safetie, and willinglie spare the blood of all those
hired souldiers, aswell for the ancient amitie which
hath bene betwene the French and the Scots, as
for the marriage of our quene with their king:
which friendship we would rather should be increa-
sed than diminished. The same day also, the said
herald declared at his returne to the regent, that the
day before it was perswaded in an assembled coun-
cell of the nobles and the other commons; that all the
deeds and sayings of the regent did onelie tend to
uerie tyrannie.

Whereupon, there was a decre made to take the
gouernement from hir: so that the whole com-
panie subscribed, as to a most iust matter: and
that there they did forbid anie ambassage, giuen or
sent to hir by hir sonne in law and hir daughter:
further, commanding hir to execute no gouerne-
ment, vntill the generall assemblee of a parlement
to be appointed by them in such place as they should
thinke conuenient. The five and twentieth date, the
lords of the religion sent an herald to Leith, to will
all the Scots to depart the town within foure and
twentieth houres, and to separat themselves from the
subverters of publike libertie. Thus much Bucha-
nan of this done about the state of Leith, before the
nobilitie besieged the same (as is before set downe.)
And so againe to the order of the historie.]

The lords of Scotland, perceiving the French
men increased, so that they by their owne forces onlie
were not able to resist them, sent William Apertel-
lan

They had
their request
granted them.
1560. Buch.
1559. Lesle.

Pledges sent
into England

Lord Hamil-
ton taketh
part with the
side of Argile.

The towne of
Glasgow is
taken.

Certaine
Frenchmen
killed.

1560. Lesle.

The towne
Burnt Island
is fortified.

The lords
for and vnto
the quene of
England.

lan to Elizabeth the quene of England for assistance, to expell the Frenchmen. Which the quene of England granted, not onelic for to serue the Scottish mens turne; but speciallie for the sueritie of hir owne realme and state, which as then was thought to stand in danger of trouble, in case the Frenchmen were suffered to remaine in Scotland: considering the euill dealing of the French king and his counceill in some points already shewed. The quene of England therefore sent the duke of Dorset to Berwick, whither came to him the earle of Argyle, the prior of saint Andrews, Harris the maister of Marwell, Robert Carnegie, and the young lord of Leithington, secretarie, & made agreement to haue aid of England, to the effect aforesaid.

And for sure keeping hereof, the Scottish lords delivered pledges into England, there to remaine during the life of the king of France, and one yere after his decesse. The pledges were these: David Hamilton, sonne to the duke of Chateleraut; another called Colme Campbell, coufine to the earle of Argyle; Robert Douglas, brother to the prior of S. Andrews; and the lord of Lochleuin, and a sonne of the lord Ruthuen. About the same time, James Hamilton earle of Arrane, eldest sonne to the duke of Chateleraut, and capteine of the Scottish compaignie of men of armes and archers in France, being fled for religion secretlie to Geneva, from thence came by the conuoye of maister Randall Englishman into England: which at his coming into Scotland he performed, and ioined himselfe with the earle of Argyle, and other lords in the cause aforesaid.

The duke of Chateleraut, the earles of Argyle, Arrane, and others, came to the towne of Glasgowe, and caused the images & altars to be taken downe, seizing the bishops living into their hands, and take the castell of Glasgowe pertaining to the bishop, and put certeine gentlemen into it to keepe it. Whereof the Frenchmen being aduertised, marched forthward to Glasgowe, to the number of five thousand men: the bishop of Glasgowe, the lords Sempill, Seiton, Ross, and diuerse others with them, took the castell againe, and staing one night of the towne, returned on the next morrow to Kirkintulloch, and from thence to Lishgou and Edenburgh.

After their returne from Glasgowe, a certeine number of Frenchmen went to Striueling, and passing by the bridge over the water of Firth, came into Fife, in purpose to haue gone vnto saint Andrews, and to haue fortified the towne. But they being in Kingcome, there assembled together in Fife the earles of Arrane, and Rothes, the prior of saint Andrews, the lord Ruthuen, the maister of Lindis, and diuerse other, hauing with them no great number: but yet they daillie skirmished with the Frenchmen, and would not suffer them to come from the sea side; where diuerse Frenchmen were slaine, and one of their capteins, with thirtie of his souldiours, and few Scottishmen, or in manner none: except that the earle of Southerland, who chanced to be with them at the pricking, was sore hurt and maimed in the arme with the dredge of a calauer shot.

As the Frenchmen were in their progresse, at the mouth of the water of Leuin in Fife, there arrived in their sight a naue of ships: which at the first knowing they took to be French ships, but shortly after perceiuing them to be the English naue, they returned with great diligence to Burnt Island, where they passed the ferrie of Kingcome in botes and craiers to Leith, and instantlie began to fortifie that towne, casting great trenches about it, and making great blockhouses for their defense, as preventing such perils as otherwise might haue befallen them, and

using remedies in due time, by warlike policie of present deuise, to prouide against afterclaps. The English ships came to the rode of Leith, where they cast anchors, the fourth 3des of Ianuarie.

* In the meane time, whilst these of the religion had almost destroyed all monasteries, certeine barons of Berne, partlie for hatred to the catholike religion (as the Romish cleargie fearmeth it) and partlie blinded with desire of partie (as in all assemblies of battell there will be some) ouerturned the monasterie of the Carmelite friers in Aberdeen. Who going about also to haue spoiled the monasteries of the Trinitie, and of the friers Minors, were hindered thereof by the lord Lelle, and the baron of Buchquhane, at the commandement of the earle of Huntley. Notwithstanding which, they could not be so sufficientlie repressed, but that they went to old Aberdeen (for so they call that place in that towne, which is beautified with the bishops palace, the canonrie, and the vniuersitie) and would haue assaulted the magnificent and statelie church thereof. But to keepe them from the same, the bishop, & John Lelle (the officiall of that place, the one by counsell, the other by preaching, and both by the aid of the earle of Huntley) did their indeuor, at what time the Lelles put them besides their purpose.]

The quene regent hearing of the arrivall of the English, sent vnto the viceadmirall of that fleet, named maister Winter, requiring to know of him, for what cause he was come into those waters. This gentleman addressing himselfe to accomplish the commandement imposed and laid vpon him, came face to face to the said viceadmirall, and with countenance, wherein appeared tokens of inward courage, put forth his demands as he was intreated. The viceadmirall answered, that he had bene abroad on the seas seeking after pirates, and in case any of them came thither, he was arrived there in the Forth to wait on them: where as the principall cause in deed was to impeach, that no Frenchman should land there in case any came forth of France, and also to keepe them that late in English from vitfels, and that no Frenchman should passe by sea forth of Leith.

* Whereupon the quene regent did send for naile the king of Frances orator in that realme, to request the quene of England, that she would call hir ships home againe, and that she would not send aiding souldiers to the lords of the religion (whome Lesseus neuer fearmeth by any other name than sectaries and seditious persons) whereby the peace might be broken with the French, and so occasion of warre giuen. Wherevnto hir maiestie answered (with no lesse care of hir kingdome than became the maiestie of so good a mother to haue of hir children) that she had no such mind as to make warre. But because that the certeinlie vnder stood, that great troops of Frenchmen did daillie land and increase in Scotland, for what cause she knew not: she could do no lesse than place souldiers in diuerse forts and hauens, which might defend the English from the malice or hurt of such strangers, if they should attempt any thing. Neither would she suffer that hir people should set foot in Scotland, vntil she that they were prouoked therevnto by iniuries offered them.]

About the same time, the quene regent, hearing that the duke of Dorset was come to Newcastle, as generall lieutenant of the north, sent an herald with a letter to him, in which letter it was signified that the herald had credit to declare whether matter than was contained in the same letter. But when he was demanded what he had to say, he denied to haue any credit at all. Wherefore William Flower, then Chester herald, and now Norwiche king of armes, was

In English name.

Lesseus lib. 10. pag. 563. 1560. Fr. Thun.

This Lelle is now called bishop of Ross and compiled an historie of Scotland in Latine, printed at Rome.

Lesseus lib. 10. pag. 564. Fr. Thun.

A Scots herald sent to the duke of Dorset.

They had their request granted them. 1560. Buch. 1559. Lelle.

Pledges sent into England

Lord Hamilton taken with the earle of Argyle.

The towne of Glasgowe is taken.

Certaine Frenchmen slaine.

1560. Lelle.

The towne Burnt Island is fortified.

Lords sent vnto quene of land.

The historie of Scotland.

was sent unto the quene, who comming to Holie rood house nere to Edinburgh, was receiued by sundrie heralds, & so was had to one of their houses, and there kept for that night. The next day after he had dined, he was brought to the court, and at his entering within the gates, there were a number of harquebussiers ready with their peeces that discharged and shot off the same.

At his comming to the presence of the quene, he with dutifull obeisance deliuered his letters, and after the same had bene read, he was demanded what credit he had to utter. Whereupon he declared, that the duke of Norfolk, being the quenes maiesties lieutenant in the north parts of England, marvelled greatly that he would send an herald with letters, and write therein how she had giuen credit to him; and yet when he was demanded to utter his credit, he should confesse that he had none. The quene herewith called for the herald, to vnderstand whether he had credit or not: who denied to haue any at all. Wherewith the quene seemed to be somewhat abashed, but neuertheless she brake forth and said, that she marvelled greatly that the quene of England should send hir ships into hir riuier, without giuing hir knowledge aforesaid.

Chester answered thereto, that where it was certeinly knowne, that the French king had prepared to send a power of men of warre into Scotland, without aduertising hir thereof; she could not but thinke that dealing verie strange, and therefore had in verie deed sent certein of hir ships, with vittells for provision to be laid within hir towne and castles on the frontiers. Which ships by tempest being dispersed, might happilie be driuen into the riuier there, albeit he had not spoke with any of them since there comming forth. But yet (as he had heard by others) they had bene verie incourteouslie vsed: for comming in after that maner for succor, the canon had bene bent against them. Herewithall the count Martigues standing by, began to speake verie stout words unto Chester, alleging that where it was perceived well inough, that the quene of England ment to make war against his maister the French king, he trusted she should gaine as little thereby, as his sister had done in breaking with hir father Henrie the late French king. Chester herewith answered, that he thought to haue found but one regent in Scotland, to whome he should need to make answer: whereupon Martigues was commanded to silence.

All this while the quene had talked with Chester in the Scottish tong. And because he did not so well vnderstand hir, he began to speake in the French language: whereat the quene seemed greatly to reioice, & so began againe to discourse with him of hir griefs; and he on the other part made hir answer as fell best to purpose. And at length, when he was demanded what further credit he had; he declared, that where she had requested a safe conduct for monsieur le Bzolle to passe through England into France, if she would see him safely conueied to Beruicke, he durst assure hir of a sufficient safe conduct for his safe passage through the quene his mistresse realme: but at length, there was another gentleman commended to him, in lieu for la Bzolle, that was his cousin. And now when Chester should take his leaue, he declared that he had not bene courteouslie dealt with: for since his comming thither, he could not be suffered to passe any where abroad out of his chamber, but at meale times. And therefore if any of hir messengers should come into the quene his mistresse dominions, he would procure (if he might) that they should tast of the like intertainment. But the quene seemed not to vnderstand that he had hir

in any wise so hardlie dealt with, shewing that she was not well contented therewith; and so Chester toke his leaue, and returned backe into England, without any reward for his paines taken in that iourne, at the hands of the Scottish quene: how so euer she liked of his message.

In the meane time, there was an armie prepared in England, of seven or eight thousand men, who were sent into Scotland; the lord Greie of England being appointed generall, who came to the links, beside the towne of Leith, on saturday the first of April. Before they pitched downe their field on the said links, monsieur Martigues, coronell of the French armie, issued forth of Leith with nine hundred harquebussiers of Frenchmen, to a little knoll called the Balke hill, where a foze, continuall, and hot skirmish was begun betwixt the Englishmen and Frenchmen, with hagbuts, calieues, and pistolets, which skirmish continued six or six houres, in the which there were manie slaine on both parties, and diuerse hurt. At length Martigues was forced with his companie to retire backe to the towne of Leith, and the Englishmen pitched downe their campe, and planted their ordinance beside the said hill.

The lord Greie being in Puskelburgh, sent to the quene regent, that late as then in the castell at Edinburgh, desiring an abstinence of warre for foure and twentie hours, that in the meane time he might send some of his counsell to declare to hir the cause of his comming with that armie, and to commune of such things as might stanch the shedding of blood. The quene granted herewith, and sent an herald to Leith, to cause the said assurance to be taken: but yet he came to the towne, the skirmish aforesaid was begun with forwardnesse inough of both sides.

In this meane time, the lord Greie sent sir George Howard, and sir James Cross to the castell of Edinburgh, to speake with the quene to that effect: who had long conference with hir upon the blockhouse at the vtter gate of the castell, during the time of the skirmish; where they declared, that the occasion of the comming of the armie, was for the cause aboue mentioned, desiring the quene to procure the Frenchmen to depart the realme of Scotland: and they promised in that case to returne againe into their owne realme, and neither to disquiet Frenchmen nor Scots. Whereupon the quene toke time to be aduised till the next day, that she might consult with the principall personages within the towne of Leith, requiring that it might be lawfull for hir to send to them to that effect, which was granted.

The next day she sent one Drummond a trumpetter, or herald (as saith Lesleus) with a letter to monsieur de la Bzolle, to the effect aforesaid, directing him to passe to the English campe, and to get a guide with him to go to the towne of Leith, as was agreed: and there was one appointed to go with him. But immediatly after his departing from the English campe, he was suddenlie called backe againe, and his letters taken from him, was commanded to repaire to the castell of Edinburgh to the quene, and to declare to hir that they would not haue any talke, but would be reuenged on the Frenchmen, for the slaughter of their men the night before. Thus the parole ceasing, the siege was enforced with right sharpe pursute, and strong defending on either part.

The Englishmen cast trenches upon the south east side of the towne, and raised a little mount which they called mount Bellam after the capitains name, and placed their ordinance aloft thereon: but because it was so faue from the towne, they did not so much scatch thereto as they intended. The lord Greie, lieutenant of the English armie, lodged (during this siege)

1560.
An English
armie.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 565.

They were
backed with
500 pikes
which kept
aloofe.

The lord
Greie sent
unto the
quene.

The castell of
Blacknesse
towne.

He more
hereof in
England.

Lesleus. lib. 10.
The quene
laboured for
an agreement

Men are sent
to speake with
the quene
mother.

The French-
men to depart
the realme.

Saint An-
thonies steep
baten downe

Mount
Summerfet

They are be-
ten backe.

Mount Fal-
con.

A trench cast
to little pur-
pose.

Martigues a
forward cap-
taine, but an
vntrue pro-
phet.

siege) within the towne of Leith, in the deanes house, and the most part of their dwellances and other housemen late in the same towne. The footmen with their capteins lodged in hailes, tents, and pavilions, upon the south and southeast side of the towne of Leith, and diuerse Scottish lords incamped with them in the fields, as the earles of Argyle, Arrane, Morton, and Glencarne; the lords Boyd, Ogiltrie, the prior of Saint Andrews, the maister of Spawell, and others. The duke of Chateleraunt, and diuerse with him remained in Holierood house: and with the quene in the castell, the bishop of S. Andrews, the bishop of Dunkeld, the earle Marshall, the lord Erskin capteine of the castell, maister James Macgill cleirke of the register, the prouost of Dunglas, called maister Abraham Chrichton, and diuerse others.

On Easter euen, capteine Wood, and capteine Dethicke, seruing on the sea vnder maister Winter the English admerall there, were appointed by him to passe by the river to Blackenelle, who with their bands going aboard into a barke prepared for that purpose, sailed forward: and on Easter day in the morning, presenting themselves before the castell, it was yielded to them by certeine Frenchmen that were within, and thereupon it was deliuered to the keeping of James Hamilton, an ancient gentleman; and capteine Wood, being set on shore, came to the campe before Leith by land. On blacke Monday, the Frenchmen, issuing forth of Leith, set vpon the Englishmen in their trenches, and did much harme: as in the English historie it further appeareth. During the siege thus afoze Leith, the quene regent was soze bered with sicknesse, but neuertheless, she continued to labor for agreement, not ceasing to send to the lords for to haue the matter taken vp. And for the better accomplishing of hir desire, she procured the earle of Huntley to come forth of the north, who toke vp his lodging in Edinburgh, and toke great paines to treat betwixt the quene and lords for some agreement: but when he perceived his trauell to be in vaine, he returned into the north againe, and left the siege lieng still as he found it.

In this meane while, the Englishmen, lodging on the southside of the towne beside mount Bellam, battered with their great artillerie at the parish church of Leith, and at saint Anthonies skæpe, in which the Frenchmen had laid certeine peces of artillerie, and at length beat it downe: but perceiving they could not do anie great hurt to the walles on that side, they cast new trenches vpon the south and south-west side of the towne, and raised a mount there, naming it mount Summerfet, & placed thereon certeine peces in batterie, and so beat the walles, that a great part thereof was ouerthrowne, and a breach made. Whereupon the Englishmen & Scots on a morning came with their ladders, and presenting themselves to the assault, found the breach nothing reasonable; so that although they egerlie pressed forward to enter the towne, yet they were fiercely beaten backe with great slaughter and bloodshed on both parts, but namelie of the assailants.

The Englishmen, perceiving that they were too rash in assaulting the towne, being not assaultable, devised other shifts to obtaine their purpose, raising an other mount of earth on the west side of the water of Leith, and named it mount Falcon. Aloft on this mount, when it was brought vp vnto a great height, they planted their great artillerie, which continually beat into the towne; soze annoyng them within, but speciallie beating the houses and places by the shore side, so that none might go vp nor downe the towne on that part, without danger to be slaine

with shot from that mount. The Frenchmen, during the time of the siege, manie times issued forth towards the lands, and sometimes towards the trenches, so that sundrie soze skirmishes chanced betwixt the Englishmen and them, with the slaughter of diuerse, both of the one part and the other. Amongest other of them within, there were slaine two Scottish men of name, to wit, capteine Kenedie, and young Henrie Drummond: and of them without, there was slaine a Scottish gentleman, called the lard of Cleish.

The English armie was thoroughlie furnished with vittels forth of all parts of the realme, and that vpon reasonable prices: but the French within the towne could get none, more than they had prouided before the coming of the English armie, which when it began to faile them, they were constrained to eat their owne horses, whose flesh seemed to them in that necessitie more delicious, than before that time anie maner of venison. Those within Insketh also were in great necessitie of vittels: but yet neither they within the one place, nor they within the other, would render their strength, looking still for aid forth of France. Whilest these things were done in Scotland, the French king, to shew how he fauoured the pope, and how farre he maligned the reformed lords of Scotland, sent his ambassadoys John Babone a Burdeise knight, and that eloquent man Anthonie Muret of France to pope Pius the fourth of that name, to yeld all the dominions of France & Scotland at the popes commandement.

In the meane time, the quene regent, perceiving hir sicknesse so to increase, that she looked for present death, sent for the duke of Chateleraunt, and all the lords of Scotland that were in the towne of Edinburgh, and in the campe: who came vnto hir altogether into the castell of Edinburgh, where she made vnto them a graue and pitthie exhortation, perswading them to vnitie and concord with their ancient friends of France; and now more stedfast to them than at anie time before, by reason of the marriage of the quene their god soueraigne, with the king of France. And herewith she brake out into certeine words, to dissuade them from the amitie contracted with the Englishmen, declaring that the Englishmen aided them not for anie other respect, than for their owne turne and commoditie. Moreover, for hir owne part she said, that she fauoured the weale of the realme of Scotland, as much as France; considering she had the honor to be quene and regent there, of, and hir daughter heritable quene of the same.

Furthermore she said, that if she had attempted anie thing that seemed or appeared to the noble men contrarie thereto; the same came to passe rather for lacke of wisdom and iudgement, than for want of anie gods will: and if it pleased God to prolong hir daies, she would be glad to amend that had bene done amisse: and if he called hir to his mercie, she praised them most hartlie to acknowledge their dutie vnto the quene their soueraigne, and to mainteine their ancient amitie with the king and realme of France, & to make some good accord with the French that were within the towne of Leith, who would gladly accept the same, to the end that as well they as the Englishmen should depart this realme. For she feared greatlie (as she said) least if the Frenchmen departed, the Englishmen would still remaine, and subdue the land to their obedience: and therefore she besought all good Scottishmen to haue respect to the libertie and weale of their countrie.

After she had talked thus a good while with manie teares, she desired the lords to forgive hir in anie thing wherein she had offended anie of them, during the time of hir being in Scotland, which they gladly seemed

The towne of Leith besieged of vittels.

Fr. Thin. Lescus lib. 10. pag. 568.

The quene sent for the lords.

The quenes exhortation vnto the nobles.

A mistrustfull mind.

seemed to doe: and on the other part, the forgave them with all his hart (as it appeared) all offenses which they had committed against him: and thus diuerse of them weeping, he took euerie of them by the hand, and so they taking leaue of him, departed, and returned into Edinburgh, and to their campe. Whilste the siege thus late before the towne of Leith, diuerse great troubles rose in sundrie parts of the realme, and speciallie betwixt the earle of Huntlie, and the earle of Atholl, so that there was taking of prisoners, and overthrowing of houses on either part, and great preparation made, and armies put in a readinesse to invade either others countreies.

But this businesse was pacified by the trauell and good mediation of maister Alexander Gordon, then postulat of Galloway, maister John Lelle official of Aberdeen, and William Lelle the young lord of Buchan, who agreed them for all matters in controuersie, & caused them to go to either others house. [During which siege of Leith also, the earle Bothwell, and Sarsalouse, then capteine of the souldiers, and gouernor of the castell of Dunbar, did at Dunbar with manie light excursions intercept manie of the English and Scots going to Leith, whome they ransomed for a great summe.]

At the same time, one maister Donald Frasier, archdeacon of Koss, took the bishops castell of the canonicie of Koss, and kept the same against maister Henrie Sinclair, then bishop there, and the chiefest men of authoritie in that diocesse, as Spachenzee, Balnagoun, Joulis, and the shiriffe Cromerchie, who assembled about the same, and besieged the castell, where great force was used, both by them without to win it, and of them within to defend it. The bishop being then resident in Cromerchie castell, hearing that the house wold not be gotten without great slaughter, thought it against his conscience, his profit, and honor, to win it in that manner: and therefore sending for maister John Lelle, official of Aberdeen, and maister Alexander Dunbar, subchantor of Spurete, by their labour and diligent treating in the matter, the bishop by reasonable appointment recovered his castell of them that held it against him.

The French king, vnderstanding in what distresse his men remained that were besieged within Leith, and perceiuing himselfe not able to send an armie to succour them within the time that their necessitie required, thought good to trie if the matter might be taken up: and to that effect sent two ambassadors, the earle of Randon, and monsieur Spouluc bishop of Valence, who declared to the queenes maiestie of England, the cause of their coming; which was, to desire him to retire his armie forth of Scotland, vpon some such reasonable conditions as might be agreed vpon. And herewith they declared that they were sent to the queene, and not vnto the subjects of Scotland: for it was not met that the king should send to his owne subjects (as they were by the marriage of their queene) to require peace, or to condition with them for agreement.

The queenes maiestie of England therefore sent sir William Cecill knight, his principall secretarie, and doctor Motton deane of Cantuarburie and of Poike, one of the priue counsell, with the French ambassadors into Scotland. Whilste they were yet vpon their iournie, the queene regent (whome they thought to haue found aliue, and to haue bled his helpe as an instrument to haue furthered the treatie to some good end) consumed partlie through melancholie, thought, and grievous displeasure, and partlie with long and incurable sicknesse, departed this life in the castell of Edinburgh the tenth of June, in the yere of our Lord 1560. * His bodie was first conueied into France, to the monasterie of Feschampe,

which is in Normandie, from whence it was caried to the abbey of S. Victor at Rheims in Champaigne (whereof his sister was then abbess) in which it was after most honorable buried. She was a wise and verie prudent princeesse, and in his time had learned good experience of the nature and inclination of the nobilitie and people of Scotland.

During the time that she was regent, she kept good iustice, and was well obeyed in all parts of the realme in Dikeneie, and the westernne Isles. And if she had to his owne experience joined the counsell of the nobles and wise men of the realme of Scotland, without following the aduise of strangers, there had bene neuer question nor debate betwixt him and the nobilitie, as some deemed. But because that others, and namelie, monsieur Dossell, and Kube, were adjoined to him by the estates of Scotland, who daile pressed him to deuise new alterations of lawes, impositions, tarations, and such things as were not in vse in Scotland: therefore the estates and people of the land did grudge, although not for any mistaking they had of him, who suerlie deceased, to the great griefe and lamentation of the whole number of the estates and people of the realme.

The death of that noble princeesse made the French men within Leith, and also the ambassadors more discouraged than otherwise they would haue bene. But neuertheless these four ambassadors of England and France coming to Edinburgh, entered in conference among themselves, vpon articles proposed as well for reliefe of the Scottishmen, as for the weale and suertie of the queene of England and his subjects. Wherevpon certaine lords of Scotland were admitted to talke with them also: and after long treatie, a peace was concluded the tenth of Iulie, in the yere of God 1560, with certaine articles touching as well Scots and French, as Englishmen. The effect whereof here insueth.

Articles of the peace.



Item, it was agreed, that all the Frenchmen should depart forth of the realme of Scotland by sea into France, & to that effect should imbarke and make saile within the space of twentie daies next following: and because the Frenchmen had no ships, the Englishmen should lend them ships, and certaine of the Frenchmen remaine as pledges in England, till the same ships were returned.

2 Item, that they should render the towne of Leith, and the Frenchmen to haue their munition, bag, and baggage, to conueie awaie with them at their pleasure; and that the walls of the towne should be thowne downe and demolished.

3 Item, they should cause monsieur Charlebois capteine of Dunbar, to demolish and raze the fort which they had built before the castell there.

4 Item, that the Englishmen should raise their siege and depart forth of Scotland: after the departure from thence of the Frenchmen, and razing of the walls of Leith and Dunbar.

5 Item, that there should be made an act of oblivion, in which the queene of Scotland, with consent of the French king his husband, should forget and burie in oblivion all attempts made by the lords of Scotland against their authoritie, from the tenth day of March 1558, to the first day of August in the yere of Grace 1560. And for confirming thereof, a parlement should be holden in Edinburgh, in the moneth of August next insuing, in which parlement the same should be ratified and allowed by the aduise of the estates of the realme of Scotland.

6 Also it was agreed, that there should be a commission

Lelleus lib. 10.
pag. 569.
1560.
The priue of
the queene
Dowager.

Copy awaie
the armes and
carme of
England.

possession to
be kept with
souldiers.

The French-
men depart out
of Scotland.

Parlement.

A confession
of faith publi-
shed.

Learned men
called.

Disputation.

R. Thin.

Lelleus lib. 10.
pag. 574.

The ambassa-
dors came to
Edinburgh.

They haue
conference.
Peace is con-
cluded.
1559. Buch.

Articles of
the peace.

French souldiers
depart
the realme.

Leith they
should render
it.

The fort be-
fore Dunbar
to be rased.
The English
men should
depart also.

An act of ob-
lition to be
made.

A parliament
to be kept.

Limings be-
dowed.

The Scottish
queene went
into Lorraine.

R. Thin.

Buch. lib. 17.

mission sent from the French king and the quene of Scotland, to hold the same parlement to the effect aforesaid.

7 Item, that the quene of Scotland and king of France should cause to blot out and put awaie the bearing of the armes of England out of their scutcheons.

8 Item, it was agreed, that there should remaine still in the Ile of Inchith three score Frenchmen, and as manie in the castell of Dunbar, to keepe (as it were) possession to the quenes vic.

The whole number of the Frenchmen (a few excepted that passed through England) went aboard the English ships in Julie, and sailed into France, and in companie with them went the bishop of Glasgou and the lord Seton. The Englishmen departed also, and in their way caused the fort of Dunbar to be razed, as by the agreement of the peace it was appointed. A parlement was holden in August, and the act of oblivion ratified by the states, & a confession of faith published in the same: it was concluded also to send ambassadors into England, which was done. And shortly after, the lords summoned the principall learned men of the realme forth of the universites of Saint Andrews, Aberdeen, Glasgou, and other parts, to giue a reason of their faith.

And amongst other of Aberdeen that took upon them to dispute with John Anor, John Wullocke, and maister Goodman [were John Welle (doctor of both lawes, chiefe iudge of the diocesse of Aberdeen called official; who shortly after was senator of the high court, and of counsell to the quene of Scots, and lastlie made bishop of Ross) Patrike Spirtan the treasurer, James Stragubine canon, and Alexander Anderson a verie graue divine. At what time these Roman prelats behaved themselves so well, that they were commanded not to depart the towne; but to be present at the sermons of the ministers.]

In the winter, the lords of the counsell gaue faculties of benefices to diuerse of their friends, who put forth the prelats, and receiued the fruits. The earle of Argyle disposed Dunkeild and Dunblan. The earle of Arran had the ordering of the bishopricks of Saint Andrews, also of the abbasies of Dunfermling, and Melrosse, and other small benefices. The like was vsed by other noble men, through all parts of the realme. Shortly after, Francis the French king, husband to the quene of Scotland, departed this life in December, and Charles his brother was crowned in his place. The quene being then widow, and Dowager of France, departed from Orleans (where the court lay when hir husband deceased) and went to the towne of Reims in Champagne, where she remained till the fifteenth daie of Aprill following.

And then purposing to returne into Scotland, she took hir iourne towards Januille, and so into Lorraine, there to take leaue of hir kinsfolke by hir mothers side. The bishop of Glasgou, and the abbat of Dunfermling Scottishmen, were still attendant on hir in this iourne. There were with hir also the cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, the duke Damale, and the marquesse Dalbent hir uncles. Amongst whom there had bene great disputation touching the quene of Scotlands returning into hir owne realme, whereunto hir uncles were verie willing; although some did seeme to staie the iourne, whose speeches tended to this effect as followeth.

That the iourne was dangerous, especiallie because the quene of England did not greatlie fauor it; then that she should come to men by nature barons & seditious, which would not easilie obete the

gouernement of a man. Whereof she had fresh examples before hir eyes, of hir father, and of hir mother, whom (when they either could not or durst not openlie oppresse) they forced to a desperation of things with their manie deuites, sith they daile liued by them in danger of honor or of life.

On the contrarie part, they which would haue the Dowager of France returne to hir naturall countrie, and were skillfull of the affaires of Scotland, did allege that those seditious were rather occasioned by the default of the kings & gouernors, than of the subiects; whilst they strived to reduce that kingdom (which from the beginning had alwaies bene free) to infinit bondage, and to the free power of the latwes: which that nation (being more warlike than welthie) could not indure. When contrarilie, they did not onelie defend all their gouernors (which did not attempt the ouerthrow of their liberties) from the outward enemie, and from the inward tumults of the people: but they also made them (through loue and dutie towards their kings) inuincible ouer their enemies, and famous amongst strange nations.

And that the chieffest meane at this time to pacifie all those troubles in Scotland, was not to make alteration of anie thing in Scotland, from the state wherein euen now it standeth. Whereupon the resolved to come speedilie into Scotland, thereof moost shall be said hereafter; vntill which, we will intreat of other matters done in Scotland. The quene of Scots hauing hir mind still settled vpon hir returne into Scotland; soalus a senator of Burdeaur landed before this in Scotland (whither he was sent) a little after the end of the publike parlement, for which cause he was staied and turned ouer to the next assemblie of parlement, which was appointed the twelue kalends of June.

But when at that time also the nobilitie assembled did not sit in counsell, because they were yet uncerteine of the quenes mind; in the meane time James Steward returned out of France, and brought with him a commission, which gaue them authoritie to hold a parlement, therein to treat and conclude of matters touching the common wealth. Whereupon in the end there was audience giuen to the ambassador, the effect of whose legacie was, to renew the old league with France, to vnde the league with England, and that priests should be restored to their linings, out of which they had bene thrust by violence.

To these things it was answered, that concerning the league of France, they were not anie waie guiltie of the breach thereof; and contrarilie that the French had manifoldlie neglected the same; but speciallie of late, in seeking the authoritie of their publike libertie, in that they would haue brought the people (their friends and gittles of anie euill) vnto miserable seruitude. For the league with England, they could not by anie meanes dissolue that, except they should be counted most vnthankfull, recompense so great a benefite with great wickednes, & conspire against the defenders of their liberties. And as touching restitution for such as they called priests, they did acknowledge that they had not anie office, vfe, or authoritie in the church.

In this counsell also it was decreed, to ouerthrow all the monasteries of monks, for which cause diuerse were sent out into all places of the realme to execute the same. By occasion whereof, the quene being in France, and desirous to haue peacefull landing in Scotland; would not for this present meddle with religion, but dissembled the same; although Dureus abbat of Ferline, and John Sinclair lately appointed bishop of Brechin, did vehementlie persuaide and labored hir to the contrarie.

Ann. 15.

An

To put awaie the armes and claime of England.

possession to be kept with soldiers.

The Frenchmen depart out of Scotland.

Parlement.

A confession of faith published.

Learned men called.

A disputation.

Fr. Thin.

Lesleus, lib. 10. pag. 174.

A linings bestowed.

The Scottish quene went into Lorraine.

Fr. Thin.

Buch, lib. 17.

Fr. Thin.

1560.

Abbridged
out of the
printed booke
therof.

In this yeare also on the ninth of March, was the election of superintendents at Edinburgh, which was published to serue for the election of all other ministers in this forme following (John Knox being the minister thereof.) First was made a sermon, in which these parts were intreated; principallie the necessitie of ministers and superintendents. Secondlye the crimes & vices that might vnable them of the ministerie. Thirdlie the vertues required in them. Fourthlie & lastlie, whether such as by publike consent of the church were called to such office, might refuse the same.

The sermon finished, it was declared by the same minister John Knox (the maker of that speech or sermon) that the lords of the secret councill had giuen charge and power to the churches of Louthian, to chuse maister John Spotswood superintendent, & that sufficient warning was made by publike edict to the churches of Edinburgh, Louthibugue, Strueling, Treuent, Haddington, & Dunbar, as also to earles, lords, barons, gentlemen and others, which haue or might claime to haue voice in the election to be present that daie at the same houre. And therefore inquisition was made; who were present; and who were absent.

After this was called the said maister John Spotswood; who answering to his name, the minister Knox demanded, if anie man knew anie crimes or offenses of the said Spotswood, that might disable him to be called to that office. Which thing thise demanded, there was after question moued to the whole multitude; if there were anie other whome they would put in election with the said Spotswood. Then the people were asked whether (if they admitted the said Spotswood for their superintendent) they would honor and obey him as Christs minister in euerie thing pertaining to his charge.

Whereunto the people answered that they would, which thus granted, there were further questions and matters touching the articles of the apostles creed, and concerning the state of religion propounded to the superintendent, intended to be created. Whereunto, when he had answered affirmatiuelie, the people were againe demanded for his allowance; which they easilie granted with the consent of the nobilitie. These things thus performed, and a certeine praier (to obtaine the spirit of God to be yntwined into this new elect vessel) finished, the rest of the ministers (if there be anie) and elders of the church present, in signe of their full consent, shall take the elected by the hand.

And to the chiefe minister giuing an especiall benediction (the forme whereof is there set downe, with the exhortation which they must also vse to the elected) this election is wholie finished (without anie imposition of hands on his head) and he sufficientlie created a superintendent minister; of whose election of elders, deacons, excommunications, and other ecclesiasticall regiment, I meane not to speake anie more (as matter impertinent to my discourse, though not to the nature of an ecclesiasticall historie) sith I haue onelie here in hand the politick and temporall gouernement, and not the discourse of religion and essentiall forme thereof.]

Before this, in the beginning of the winter this yeare, the lords sent the earle of Morison and Glen-carne, and the young lard of Leidington secretaire, ambassadors into England; to giue thanks to the queens maiestie of England, for the aid which they had receiued of hir, to expell the Frenchmen. The earle of Murreie passed through England into France. He departed from Edinburgh the eighth tenth of March, and in Aprill came to Vitrie, as hereafter shall appeare; where he found the queene,

meaning to submit himselfe. But the day before he came, maister John Lesle officiall of Aberdeen was come thither, who was sent from the earle of Hunt-leie, and other the lords spirituall and temporall of the north parts; he took ship in the roade of Aberdeen, and landing at Bule in Holand, passed through the lowe countries in post till he came to Paris, and from thence vnto Vitrie aforesaid [the eighteenth kalends of March] where he found the queene, whom he most dutifullie saluted.

After which (being most courteously receiued of hir) he opened vnto hir the effect of his ambassage, which consisted speciallie vpon these parts; to admonish the queene that she should not suffer hir selfe to be blinded or deceined with the flattering words of James the prioz of saint Andrewes (hir bastard brother) for his onelie drift was, that he (hauing no French aid with him into Scotland) might obtaine of the queene the whole gouernement of the kingdom, vnder the colour whereof he might more easilie teare & cleane ouerthrow the catholike religion; which he did assault by all meanes possible.

Wherefore Lesle did with all the firmest aduise and counsell which he might, vize the queene not to yeeld to his cloyed words. For the obtaining of which demand from the queene, he did litte ad to his perswasions, that James did rather aspire to the kingdom, than that he fired his mind and eie vpon the ouerthrow of religion. Wherefore, if she had anie care of hir owne and the realms affaires; she must prouide that this James should remaine in France, vntill the were arrived in Scotland, & had pacified all the tumults there.

But if she would not do so, that yet at least she should take order, that she with hir nanie should land in the north parts of Scotland, & first go to Aberdeen; for by that meanes she might prouide, that the setled lords of the religion might some be pacified; and the rest which were yet waivering, might more easilie and willingly be brought againe to the catholike religion. For there was an other order to be used in Scotland, than that which the French obserued, whilst they gouerned there; at which time vndoubtedly the Scots were hopelesse euer to haue intioed the presence of the queene.

But now, sith that the Scots doe vnderstand, that their queene (contrarie to their hope) will retorne vnto them, hir presence will (like the rising sun) so cause the clouds of all tumults to banish out of the minds of all hir subiects, that they will easilie incline to the mind of the queene, whatsoeuer she shall thinke, attempt, set downe, or decre, in restoring of religion. For the Scots are of that mind towards their princes, as they will in all things obeye their vpright gouernors; and are accustomed with no lesse mind to resist tyrants, if they blurpe vpon them in cracion of authoritie.

Wherefore Lesleus did earnestlie persuaide the queene in the name of the earle of Hunt-leie, and the other nobilitie, that she should not giue hir selfe (as vanquished) into the hands of the enemies, and especiallie of James Steward hir brother, from whome (as from a founteine) all their seditions haue had beginning. For James Cullen (kinsman to the erle of Hunt-leie, an expert seruitor in the warres by sea and land) was sent forth with Lesle (as capteine of that iourne) to bring hir safe to Aberdeen. For all the nobles of the north prouinces will some be readie with twentie thousand men to gard hir to Edinburgh, and to defend hir against all the counsels, decreits, and forces of all men.

Which message being thus ended from the mouth of Lesle, the queene commanded him not to depart from hir, vntill she returned into Scotland; and further

Euerie nation
is to haue his
peculiar go-
uernement in
religion, as
is best liking
to the godlie
disposers of
the religi-
on of that
countrie, sith
vniuers monstria
multorum capi-
tum.

Ambassadors
sent into
England.

1561.

The nobles
assemble at
Edinburgh.

Ships wait
in the narrow
leas.

A safe conduct
required.

Certaine
ships taken.

Spaniards
Dofell,

The queene
was comitted
into Calis.

She taketh
her iourne in-
to Scotland.

The queene
arrived at
Leith.

further gaue in charge, that letters should be written to the pères and nobilitie of Scotland, to let them vnderstand of hir comming into Scotland, & to be a witnesse of hir good will vnto them. The next day after came to the quene at Vitrie, in Champagne, James Stewart, (which is toucht a little before) the prioz of S. Andrews. Who after he had in reverence done his dutie, bound himselfe with all fidelitie, trauell, and diligence, most religionlie vnto hir; faithfullie further promising, that he would prouide that the Scots should willingly obeye hir, without anie fozten powers to be brought by hir into Scotland.

For it was thought that he went into France for that purpose, to dissuade the quene that she should not bring any power of the French with hir. But in the end, uttering his mind more fullie, and putting awaie all suspition of deceit, he did with more familiaritie request the quene to honor him with the erldome of Surreie. Wherevnto the quene did courteouslie answer, that she would satisfie his request when she came into Scotland. Wherefore, when this James perceived that the quene was somewhat well bent towards him, and that she credited his words, he attended on hir vnto Jancuille, and there remaining with hir a certeine space, did after go into Scotland (as is before said) to prepare the minds of the people, that they might receiue the quene comming into the realme, with good consent and dutifull honor; who passing through England, came into Scotland in the kalends of Maie.]

The duke of Chateaurault, the earles of Huntleie, Atholl, Marthall, and all other the noble men of the realme, aduertised of the quens comming, assembled at Edenburgh with all possible diligence. In the meane time, whilst the quene was preparing to take hir iournie, and to come into Scotland, the quene of England let forth some of hir great ships to the seas, to watch & gard the coasts of hir realme. Whereof they being aduertised in France, sent the abbat of saint Colmes Inch to the quene of England, to desire of hir a safe conduct, in case by wind or tempest she chanced to land in England. But before he was returned to Calis therewith, as he was appointed; the quene and hir retinue were safelie landed in Scotland, neuertheless, the English ships took some of the Scottish lords, as the earle of Glenton his ship, and others, which were brought into England, and staied for a time; but were after released, and sent home into Scotland.

The quene also, by the aduise of the K. of France, sent monsieur Doissell into England, to passe through the same into Scotland before hir coming, there to haue receiued the forts of Dunbar and Inkeith, of monsieur Charlebois, and to haue kept the same till hir comming. But he was staied, and passed no further than to London: for it was thought that his going into Scotland would turne to no great benefit of that realme: because that he & monsieur Kubele were the principall authors of all the troubles in Scotland, betwixt the quene regent, and the nobilitie there. She was attended on from Paris vnto Calis with manie noble men; namelie hir six vncles, the dukes of Guise, and Daumall, the cardinall of Lorraine and Guise, the grand prioz, and the marquesse Dalbeuf, also the duke de Nemours, and other of hir friends and kinsmen.

There were two gallies prepared, and certeine other ships to go with hir into Scotland, and there went with hir three of hir said vncles, the duke Daumall, the grand prioz, and the marquesse Dalbeuf: also monsieur Danuille the constables sonne, and diuerse other. She arrived at Leith the twentieth day of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1561, where she

was honorablie receiued by the earle of Argile, the lord Erskin, the prioz of saint Andrews, and of the burgesse of Edenburgh, and conueied to the abbey of Holie rood house. For (as faith Buchanan) when some had spread abroad hir landing in Scotland, the nobilitie and others assembled out of all parts of the realme, as it were to a common spectacle.

This did they, partlie to congratulat hir returne, & partlie to shew the dutie which they alwaies bare vnto hir, when she was absent; either to haue thanks therefore, or to preuent the slanders of their enemies; whereof not a few by these beginnings of hir reigne did gette what would follow; although in those so variable motions of the minds of the people, euerie one was verie desirous to see their quene offered vnto them (vnloked for) after so manie haps of both fortunes as had fallen vnto hir. For when she was but six daies old, she lost hir father among the cruell tempests of battell, and was by great diligence brought by hir mother (being a chosen and worthy person) but yet left as a preie to others, by reason of ciuill seditions in Scotland, and of outward warres with other nations, being further laid abroad to all the dangers of frowning fortune, before she could know what euill did meane.

For leauing hir owne countrie, she was nourished as a banished person, and hardlie preferred in life from the weapons of hir enemies, & violence of the seas. After which, fortune began to flatter hir, in that she honored hir with a worthy marriage, which in truth was to this quene rather a shadow of ioye, than anie comfort at all. For shortly after the same, all things were turned to sorrow, by the death of hir new yong husband, and of hir old and greued mother; by losse of hir new kingdome, and by the doubtful possession of hir old inheritable realme. But as for these things she was both pitied and praised; so was she also for gifts of nature as much loued and fauored; in that, beneficiall nature (or rather good God) had indued hir with a beautifull face, a well composed bodie, an excellent wit, a mild nature, and good behauior; which she had artificiallie furthered by courtlie education and affable demeanour. Whereby at the first sight, she won vnto hir the hearts of most people, and confirmed the loue of hir faithfull subjects.]

Being thus come out of France, she brought into Scotland manie rich and costlie iewels of gold worke, pretious stones, orient pearls, & such like, as excellent and faire as were to be found within Europe, with rich furniture of household, as hangings, carpets, counterpoints, and all other necessaries for the furnishing of hir princelie houses. The chiefest part of the hangings and other furniture of household, was shipped at Rone, and arrived at Leith in the moneth of October next following. After the quene of Scots had remained the space of foure or five daies at Holie rood house, the duke of Chateaurault, the earle of Argile, and diuerse other of the nobilitie being present, there was an act made by the lords of the counsell [in which none of the cleargie (as faith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 580) were present] with consent of the quene, that to remoue all causes of trouble in time to come for the matter of religion, it was ordeined, that no alteration of the estate of religion publikelie standing within the realme, at hir arriual in the same, should be made; & that nothing should be attempted, either publikelie or priuatlie to the contrarie, vpon great paine, which was put forth and published through all parts of the realme with great diligence.

After this, there were eleuen temporall lords, and one bishop chosen to be of the quenes secret counsell, by

Fr.Thin.

Buchanan, lib. 17.

Costlie iewels

Hir household stuffe.

An act made concerning religion.

Fr.Thin.

Some appointed to be of the quenes counsell.

The nobles assemble at Edinburgh.

Ships wait in the narrow seas.

A safe conduct required.

Certeine ships taken.

Monsieur Doissell,

The quene was conueied into Calis.

She taketh her iournie into Scotland.

The quene arrived at Leith.

Secretarie.
Comptroller.
Lords of the
privie counsell.

Fr.Thin.
Buchanan.
lib.16.

by whose aduise the should rule and gouerne things, six of them to remaine continuallie with hir in some of officers, as the secretarie, comptroller, and others. The lords of the priue counsell were these, the duke of Chatelaunt, the earle of Huntley chancelor, the earle of Argyle, the earle of Atholl, the earle of Marshall, the earle of Glencarne, the earle of Morton, the earle of Montrose, the earle of Erroll, master Henrie Sinclair bishop of Ross, and the lord Erskin, with the prioz of S. Andrew. * But among these reioysings of the quenes interteinment into hir kingdome, there happened a light fault, but such as did deepele enter into the minds of both the factions, of the catholikes (for sooth) and of the reformed religion.

For where it was agreed by the quene and the nobilitie, that no alteration should be had of religion in the publike state, yet was masse permitted to hir and to hir familie priuillie to be vsed. For the preparation wherof whilest the bestments and other things were caried through the hall into the chapell, one of the companie snatched awaie the war candels and brake them: by occasion whereof (if some of the houthold had not come betwene to helpe in that action, and ended the same) all the other furniture had bene thowne downe. Which matter was taken of people diuerslie, some blaining it as a most sawcie part; others interpreting it, that it was onelie done to trie the patience of the priest; and some iudged and said that the priest was worthy to be punished with that paine which the scripture appointeth to idolaters.

Which matter in the berie beginning was appeased by James the quenes bassard brother, not yet created, but in expectation earle of Murraye. For which cause he would not offend the quene, as I suppose, though afterward he not onelie offended hir, but deposed hir, and set vp hir sonne; as more plainlie shall hereafter appeare. At the quietting of this matter (saith Buchanan) George Gordon was greatlye grieved, being a man bent to all occasions of troubles, who thinking now to win fauor to him thereby, did say to the quenes vnclis that were present, that he would reduce the countrie beyond Callidon vnto the old religion. The which being indeed suspected of manie, and feared by such as had heard manie other things of his wit; they caried the same to the quenes brother, by meanes whereof this little sparke in the beginning was the occasion of all the long ciuill dissention in Scotland, as I am led to iudge by manie reasons.

But now although the gouernment (as befoze is touched) was appointed to twelue befoze named, or at lest to six, which by turnes should be assistant to the quene; yet the whole ded of ruling did in effect depend vpon hir bassard brother James, by reason of the fauor that the quene especiallie did beare vnto him. Wherefoze this James, vsing the quenes authoritie at his pleasure, did bestow manie liberall gifts vpon his felowes. Which the nobles so much misliked, that in the end manie of them began egerlie to beare his authoritie, as hereafter shall be more touched.]

The duke Daumall, after he had remained with the quene a certeine time, toke his leaue of hir, and with the gallies returned into France. The grand prioz and monsieur Danuille taried somewhat longer, and passed through England into France. The marquisse Daubeneuf taried in Scotland all the next winter, till the spring of the yere, and then returned into France through England. The towne of Edinburgh prepared great and costlie triumphs for the quenes entering, which she made into that towne in the moneth of September. After this,

she passed vnto Striueling, and from thence to Perth, and then to Dundee, and also to saint Andrews, into which townes she was receiued with great honor and triumph. From saint Andrews she returned vnto Edinburgh, where she remained all the next winter. In December there was a great assemblie of all the principall lords, spirituall and temporall of the realme; where it was demanded of the prelats, to grant the third part of the fruits of their benefices to the quene, towards the bearing of hir charges for the maintenance of hir traine, and to susteine the ministers, till some order were taken to mainteine hir houthold, and a gard to tend on hir, by the aduise of the estates.

The prelats agreed for the quenes pleasure to support hir with the fourth part of the fruits of their benefices, for one yeres space onelie, to helpe to beare hir charges, and to susteine hir gard; and in the meane time order might be taken by the aduise of the whole estates for the same. But notwithstanding the refusall of the prelats to paie the third part, the lords of the priue counsell made an act, and set forth letters, that all the prelats and beneficed men should be charged to paie yerelie to the quenes comptroller and his collector, the thirde thirds of all fruits of their benefices: and that it should be lawfull to the comptroller and his deputies, to take the third of what part of euerie benefice where he best pleased, and to deale therewith at his pleasure: also to haue to doe with the rents of hotherhods of common churches, and such like. This order hath bene obserued euer since, not without great grudge of the prelats, and other beneficed men of the realme, and their friends, as well those that professed the reformed religion, as others.

* Whilest these things were in doing, William Pettellan the yonger was sent ambassadoz into England, to salute the quene of that realme (as the maner is) & to declare the god mind that the quene of Scots bare vnto hir, & the desire that his mistresse had to haue peace and vnitie preserved betwene them. Besides all which, and manie other demands touching Scotland (which I suppress for manie reasons, because (as Salomon saith) *Cor regis insecretabile*, & the mysteries of princes gouernment are not to be laid open to common eyes and eares) this ambassadoz deliuered letters to the quene of England from the nobilitie of Scotland. In which there was a courteous remembrance of hir former fauor and of their god will. Requesting further that the quene of England would shew a publike and priuat liking and friendship to their quene, to the end that the quene of Scots prouoked by hir benefits, might not onelie remaine stedfast in the amitie already begun: but might also (if it were possible) be dailie more and more fast bound vnto hir: and they for their parts would not omit anie occasion with all god will and diligence to continue this amitie.

To which ambassadoz the quene of England made no lesse honorable than wise answer: the effect whereof, because it concerneth matter of great importance, & is long and largelie already set downe by Buchanan, in hir maiesties singular commendation to the whole world in the Latine tong, I thinke it not necessarie here to repeat: and therefore I do purposelie omit the same, least I might seeme by flatterie to intrude my pen into the eloquent speech of hir maiestie: and not being able to deliuer it with such grace as both she spake it, and Buchanan penneth it, I might dishonor hir, & ouerthrow my selfe, like vnto Phaeton. For as he, taking vpon him to rule the chariot of the sunne, was by his insufficiency therfore consumed with the heat and glorie thereof; so should I in presuming with vnskill to pen the tale

The quene visited the townes.

An assemblie of the lords.

The third part of the spirituall things demanded.

An act for the cleargie.

Fr.Thin.
Buchan. lib. 17.

Buchan. li. 17.

1562.
James Steuart made earle of Murraye.
Fr.Thin.

Fr.Thin.
Buchanan
lib. 17.

The quene of England desired to speak with the quene of Scotland.

The meeting time was appointed.

Fr.Thin.
Buchan. li. 17.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 587.

Daumall went with the two gallies into France. The rest went through England into France.

A preparation of triumphs.

tale of such a worthy prince, confirms my credit, in misreporting or defacing the maiestie, grauitie, wisdom, and life of his singular wit and eloquence. For which cause, leaving the same, I end in this sort being backe our pen to the continuance of the historie of Scotland.

The quene of Scots had a brother called John, a man desirous of authoritie, but yet not so severe in mind as was James the other brother. This John easilie perswading himselfe to obey the quene in all things, was the more deere unto her, and most fit for her, desirous (as saith Buchanan, but how trulie I know not) to confound all things. With this John (in absence of the other brother James) she did consult to hire a companie of souldiers to be about her, the cause whereof was this. In the night there was a tumult or stir, as though the earle of Arran would, in the absence of the nobilitie, secretly set upon the quene, and by strength haue labored to carie her to his castell, which was fourtene miles from thence. All which seemeth likely to be but a tale, either for the quenes mind that was estranged from him, or for the immoderate loue which he bare unto her: both which were sufficientlie known to the common people. Which tumult being spread abroad, these souldiers after they had all night scoured the fields, riding up and downe thither & thither, they thewed themselves the next day before the court gates, to the offence of some, and the iest of others.]

The Sunday before Shrouetidesaie, being the eight day of Februarie (as some write) James Stewart then prior of saint Andrews, and earle of Mar, base brother to the quene, was made earle of Marre, [in place (as saith Buchanan) of the earldome of Mar, which belonged to John Arskine] by the quens speciall gift, and was married the same day unto Agnes Keith, daughter to the erle Marthall, with great feasts and triumphs, lasting three daies. * In which marriage he did so much erre, that he greatly offended the minds of his friends, and ministered matter to his enemies to speake euill of him; and that the more vehementlie, because he had before time in all his life behaved himselfe far more temperatlie than he did at this time.]

The quene of England desirous to haue a meeting betwixt her and the quene of Scots her cosine, sent diuerse messengers with letters, desiring her most instancie to come to Forke, where she would meet her, to talke with her of diuerse matters, that might make to the confirmation of the amitie and friendship which nature had knit betwene them, by continuation and affinitie of blood. And after consultation had with her counsell, the quene of Scots agreed thereto: and so they were appointed to meet at Forke in the moneth of Iulie next following. But when things were prepared and put in a readinesse for the iourne, the quene of England sent word to the quene of Scots, that she could not keepe the appointment made for their meeting, desiring her to haue her excuse for that time. Which message was accepted, and so the iourne staid.

* Such about this time, or rather somewhat before, as in truth I suppose it was, James Hamilton being duke of Chatelaerault, and father to the earle of Arran, first wrote to the quene, then after went he unto her to saint Andrews, and with manie praies requested her that she would vpon sufficient pledges deliuer to him the earle Bothwell, and Gauen Hamilton, but he could not obtaine aie thing therein at her hands. At what time also the quene went to Dumberton (which Hamilton held since the time that he was gouernor) to demand the deliuerie of the same into her hands, which was accordingly deliuered unto her. Shortly after, the quene of Scots

toke her iourne towards the north parts of Scotland, and set from Strueling in the moneth of August.

About this time it chanced that the lord Ogilvie, and John Gordon of Finnerat, sonne to the earle of Huntlie, met on the calfe of Edinburgh & fought, where (after manie blowes and stripes giuen and taken) the lord Ogilvie and his companie were hurt. Wherefore John Gordon was taken, & put in ward at the tolbooth of Edinburgh, out of which he escaped, after he had remained prisoner thereon about twentie daies, and toke his waie northward: whereupon followed great trouble shortly after to the house of Huntlie. The quene accompanied with the earles of Argyle, Marre, and Roxton, the lord Cuthkin, and others, passed forwards in her iourne towards the north part, and caused John Gordon of Finnerat to be summoned to appeere and answer the law at Aberdeen, for breaking prison, and hurting the lord Ogilvie. The quene coming to the towne of Aberdeen, was honorable receiued with diuers orations, and Latine enterludes, before the grammar schole and colledge.

* These things thus done at Aberdeen, as the quene determined to go further, she was untreated by John Leslie a noble man, and follower of the Gordons, to buy his house in her waie, being 12 miles from the towne: to which she granted, & went unto the same. This place, because it was no common place of resort, was thought better convenient for the execution of the earle of Marre, whose death was conspired (as after shall appeere.) Whereupon Leslie, who was not ignorant of this secret counsell, besought the quene that she would not laie such a note of infamie vpon him and his familie, that he should seeme to haue betrayed the chiefest brother of the quene, no euill man, and one that was not his enemy, whereby he might come unto his death at his house. Whereupon it then crasled, and the next night was also quietly passed over at Rothmie, a towne of the Abernethians, because the next day the quens was determined to go to Strabogie.]

Whereupon the earle of Huntlie, having before heard that his sonne was thus summoned, assembled the principall earles, lords, barons, and gentlemen of the north, who came with him to Aberdeen, to helpe his son at the law day appointed for his appearance, which was in September. The earle came unto the quene himselfe, and at length it was agreed, that his sonne the said John Gordon should returne to prison againe in Strueling castell, there to remaine during the quenes pleasure. But he following the euill counsell of some young heads that were with him, neither fulfilled the quenes pleasure, nor his fathers appointment, but attempted to reuenge his extreme handling (as he took it) vpon the earle of Marre, whome he put most in blame for the rigor thewed against him, but his enterprize took not effect. Now the quene advertised of his disobedience, went not to Strabogie, notwithstanding there was great preparation made for her in that place, for the receiuing of her and her traine: but she went vnto Ballantrae, the earle of Athols place, and from thence to Kinlos, to Tarnelwaie, and so came to Inuernesse, and there lodged.

In this meane while, the earle of Huntlie, purposing to attend on the quene at Inuernesse, caused prouision to be made in the castell for his lodging. The quene suspecting his dealing, least this should be done vpon some policie, commanded the keepers of the castell to render the same to one of her heralds: but it was not deliuered till the next day, and therefore the captaine of that castell called Alexander Gordon, for refusing to deliuer it, was hanged vpon the towne

The quene made her progress into the north parts of Scotland. Lord Ogilvie and John Gordon fight together.

John Gordon breaketh prison.

John Gordon is summoned by the quene.

Gordon is accompanied with a great company.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan lib. 17.

James Stewart then prior of saint Andrews, and earle of Mar, base brother to the quene, was made earle of Marre.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan lib. 17.

The quene of England desirous to speake with the quene of Scotland.

Gordon is commanded to Strueling castell.

He disobeyed.

The meeting time was dissipated.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan lib. 17.

The quene suspected the earle of Huntlie.

Alexander Gordon was hanged.

to towne bridge. The lord Gordon & his brother John Gordon of Finnater came that night within a little space distant from the towne of Inuernesse, which caused great feare in the towne, so that there was a diligent watch all that night. The earle of Huntley being come to Kinlosse, and hearing that the castell of Inuernesse was commanded to be giuen by into the hands of an herald, sent with all diligence to the keepers, that they should deliuer it, & returned himselfe to Strabogie.

The quene remained in Inuernesse the space of foure or five daies, where the principall capteine of the clanes of the countrie came to hir, and with a great companie [of the ancient Scots (as hath Buchanan) thereof the chiefe were the Fraissers and Purreies, valiant families in those parts] conueied hir to Spine, where she was informed that the earle of Huntley had gathered an armie to come against hir, and made their asseble at Spaie. Whereupon, they took with them all the artillerie ouer Spine, and caried the same in carts, and all other kind of munition, and passed forward to Bamf that night. The earle of Huntley all this while came not forth of Strabogie. The quene as she passed forward, rode to the place of Finnater, and there in hir owne presence, caused the keepers thereof to be charged to deliuer it, which they refused to do. From Bamf the quene rode to the lard of Geichtis place, called Geicht, and the next day there was great preparation for hir entrie into the new towne of Aberdeen. She lodged one night in the bishops palace, and the next day she was honorablie receiued, and lodged in the prouosts house of the towne, where she remained all the time of hir abode in Aberdeen.

After this, the lord John prior of Coldingham, with diuerse gentlemen, was sent against the earle of Huntley to Strabogie, but he was escaped before they approached. The ladie Huntley receiued them verie courteously, and gaue them good intertainment, and so they returned. There was charge giuen to Louthian, Fife, Angus, Stratherne, the Pernis, and to the shire of Aberdeen, to come to Aberdeen quarterlie, euerie countrie to remaine there sixtene daies; and so they did, during the time of hir abiding there. The earle of Huntley sent his wife in message to the quene and counsell, but she was not admitted to come within a mile of them, but commanded to returne. After this, he sent a messenger, offering to enter in ward till his cause might be tried by the whole nobilitie: but this was refused. In the meane time all the principall of the Gordons that were landed men, were charged to enter into ward. About the same time James Hepburne earle of Bothwell, who (upon displeasure conceiued against him about a quarell betwixt him and the earle of Arrane, had bene committed to prison in Easter weeke last before past) escaped out of Dauids tower in Edinburgh at a window.

*The earle of Huntley, vnderstanding by his friends at the court how things passed, determined to flie to the mounteins: but after (trusting to the promises of his friends) he determined to abide battell in a place of some strength. Whereupon in October he came with his armie to Cornethie in Spar. By reason whereof the earle of Purreie, who at the first had scarce a hundred horsemen with him, began with James Douglas earle of Morton, and Patrike Lindseie, to lead an armie against his enemies, and gathered a greater number of eight hundred people of the regions adjoining. Therefore he first placed souldiers about the water passages, to keepe all those places, that Huntley should not escape, and with the rest went forward on a soft pale, to meet his enimie: whose comming Huntley did a-

bide, with three hundred men, keeping their places, although not a few of that companie were fled from the Gordons the night before.

When the earle of Purreie was come to the side of a hill, from whence he might see all the marshes about him, he incamped there in a slender order of battell. At length the armies met, at what time manie on the earle of Purreie his side did flie awaie, hauing before giuen a signe to the enimie. But the earle Purreie, which saw there was no succour in fleeing, stood to it valiantlie, called his men together, set vpon the enimie, caused them (which before followed his men fleeing awaie) now to flie as fast backe as they came forward. Which change of fortune when the traitors that before fled did perceiue, they came afresh and pursued the Huntleys, and (to cleare them from the first fault) committed all the slaughter that was done that daie.

There was killed of the part of Huntley a hundred and twentie, and a hundred taken: but on the other side not one. Amongst such as were taken, was the earle Huntley himselfe, and his two sons, John and Adam. But the father being old and short breathed by reason of his grossenes, was laine betwene the hands of such as took him, and the rest were late in the night brought to Aberdeen. The quene seemed sorie for the earles death. But in Nouember John Gordon was beheaded in Aberdeen, and shortly after the quene returned southwards, leaving foure commissioners in Aberdeen, the treasurer, maister James Macgill, maister John Spens of Cundie, and the lard of Bettarrow, to compound for the effects of them that were in the field with the earle of Huntley. Great summes of monie were taken and leuiued of them for that trespass. *The earle Bothwell was commayed the first kalends of December by an herald to yield himselfe againe to prison, but because he would not, he was declared a publicke enimie.]

The lord George Gordon, eldest sonne to the earle of Huntley, was taken by the duke of Chateleault his father in law, at Cumernoull, and brought to Edinburgh, where he was put in the castell, and after by a iurie conuict, forsailed, and condemned to die, and sent to Dunbar castell, there to remaine in ward, where he continued till the yere of God, 1565. *At this time was a monie mulla set vpon such as did eat flesh in the time of Lent. The setting forth thereof was not so much for religion, as for publicke commoditie, by the iudgement of Buchanan. The archbishop of saint Andrews, because (after an edict made therfore at the quenes comming into Scotland) he did not absteine from hearing and saing masse, was committed prisoner to the castell of Edinburgh, and the rest that were found in such actions were fined, with promise of a greater punishment to be laied vpon them, if they were found of sending againe in that sort.]

The quene held a parlement in Edinburgh, where the earle of Huntleys dead bodie was brought present before the estates in the tolbooth, and forsailed. The earle of Sutherland George Gordon was forsailed also, and diuerse other of their friends. And in this parlement the act of obliuion was ratified and approved, and diuerse other new acts made. This yere in August, the quene went on progresse into Argile. This yere deceased diuerse counsellors or senators of the college of Justice, as maister John Stephanson chancelor of Glasgowe, and the prouost of Corstrophine. In place of the first, maister John Leslie, official of Aberdeen, was promoted; and in the prouosts place maister James Baillfour succeeded. There came an ambassado: from the king of Sweden, to treat of a mariage to be contracted with the

Fr. Thin.

She came to Aberdeen.

The earle of Huntley is sent for.

The ladie Huntley is sent vnto the quene.

The Gordons are imprisoned.

The earle Bothwell escaped out of prison.

Fr. Thin. Buchan, lib. 17.

John Gordon is beheaded.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, lib. 178.

The lord Gordons taken prisoner. 1563. Buch. 1562.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, lib. 17.

1562. A parlement.

The act of obliuion ratified.

The quene goeth on progresse.

New officers.

1564. Ambassadors from Sweden.

The bishop of Rolle went into France.

The quenes progresse.

The earle of Lennox came into Scotland.

The progresse. Lord Darnley married into Scotland.

1563. A parlement.

Lord Darnley made lord of Rolle.

The quene of England dissolved that marriage.

Ambassado: sent into Scotland.

The earle of Purreie a suitor vnto the quene.

Dispensation had from Rome for to marrie.

Consultation to stop the marriage.

Gordon is created earle of Huntley. Bothwell is sent for. Fr. Thin.

Lord Darnley.

quene, but his message was not regarded. The second of Julie, Henrie Duncler bishop of Ross shipped at Leith to passe into France, to procure some helpe of his disease. He was cut of the stone in Paris, and died the second of Januarie next after. He succeeded to that bishopricke of Ross, maister John Lelle, parson of Doun, being then one of the senators of the session and college of iustice.

In the moneth of August, the quene passed into Atholl in progresse, and from thence to Badenoch, to Inverness, and to the canonrie of Ross, and returned through Spurreie to Gattlaie, Aberdeen, Dunnoter, and so to Edinburgh, where she remained the next winter. In the moneth of October, the earle of Lennor came into Scotland, and for his cause there was a parlement holden in December, in which he was restored to all his lands, honours, and dignities, within that realme. In December also, the bishop of Dunblane deceased, and after him succeeded maister William Chesholme his brothers son.

In Januarie, the quene took her iourneie through Fife, and in manie gentlemen places was banquetted; in which time, Henrie Stewart, lord Darnleie, a goodly man of personage, and sonne to the earle of Lennor, came into Scotland, where he came to the quenes presence in the Cleames, the ninth day of February. The quene so well liked him, that she assembled all the temporall lords together at Striueling, in the moneth of Aprill; and there obtained of them their consents, that she might marrie the said lord Darnleie. After this, he was made earle of Ross.

In the meane time, the quene of England sent sir Nicholas Throckmorton into Scotland, to understand the proceedings in the quenes marriage with the lord Darnleie, and for other affaires, who came to the assemble at Striueling to that effect. The quene of Scots sent maister John Hute abbat of Balmerinock into England to the quene, to mitigate his displeasure towards the lord Darnleie, and to obtaine his consent to the marriage, who answered, that she ment to send an ambassadoz of hir owne into Scotland for that and other causes, and (according to hir promise) she sent one. Shortlie after, certeine captains & men of warre in saint Andrewes, Dundee, and saint Johns totone, received monie about the same time of the earle of Spurreie, to take part with him, for the which they were after punished. After the assemble at Striueling, the quene seemed not to like of the earle of Spurreie so well as she had done before: whereupon he departed the court, and repaired to saint Andrewes, where (through the counsell of certeine persons) he sought waies to stop the marriage.

The quene nevertheless sent the bishop of Dunblane to Rome for a dispensation to marrie with the lord Darnleie, being hir cosine in the second degree of consanguinitie, which he obtained, & sent it home shortlie after. The quene was then principallie counselled by the earles of Atholl, and Lennor, the lord Ruthwen, and their friends. In the meane time, the earle of Spurreie perswaded the duke of Chateaufault, the earle of Argile, and sundrie other, to meet at Striueling, where they made a bond to stop the marriage, alledging the same to be made for maintenance of the religion. The quene advertised thereof, released the lord Gordon forth of prison, wherein he had bene kept within the castell of Dunbar, and restoring him to his fathers lands, created him earle of Huntlye. She also sent for the earle of Bothwell to returne home, who was banished, and was then in France [and the earle of Southerland to returne out of Flanders.]

In the moneth of Julie, the lord Darnleie earle

of Ross was made duke of Albanye. And on saturday at even, the eight and twentieth daie of the same moneth, before the marriage, he was proclaimed king by the quenes commandement at the market crosse of Edinburgh. And on the nine and twentieth daie of the same moneth, he was married to the quene in the chappell of Holie rood house, at five of the clocke in the morning. Shortlie after, the duke of Chateaufault, the earles of Argile, Spurreie, and their companies, were summoned to appeare before the quene, and hir counsell within six daies; & because they refused so to do, they were put to the horne.

The king and quene thereupon assemble their power, and by a herald demand the deliverie of the castell of Hamilton. But (he returning without the effect of his message) they addresse themselves to warre. At what time the lords of the congregation were at some variance amongst themselves, as severed into diverse opinions: for the Hamiltons that were of greatest power in those places, did affirme, that they should have no firme conditions of peace, except the king and quene were made atwaie: so long as they were in health, they could hope for nothing but new warres, new deceipts, and dissembled peace; a thing farre more dangerous than open war. For though manie times the injuries of privat persons mate be laid downe by travell and perswasion, and maie be recompensed againe with great commodities: yet there is no waie to appease the displeasure of kings, but by taking them atwaie.

Upon which had speech, the earles of Spurreie and of Glencarne (which well understood that the Hamiltons did not seeke the publike commoditie, but their owne privat riches as persons that were next to the crowne after the quens death) did abhorre the slaughter and gouernement of the Hamiltons, whom of late they had felt to be both cruell and contentious: and did therefore giue more mild and sound counsell, saicing that this dissention being ciuill, was not yet come to be bloudie: in which hitherto they had onelie contended with words & not with swords, being not yet so far, but that (if it were possible) the same might be ended with honest conditions.

To the perswasion whereof, he said that there were manie in the camps of the two princes, which gracilie desired to heare of peace, & would not faile to further their endeuor therein, no; to defend themselves & their cause with needfull weapons: all which did perchance foresce that the king and quene (by reason of their youth) had not yet faulted so greatly, as that it turned to the vtter overthrow of the common-wealth; & if they haue faulst (as who hath not) they were such as were rather to their owne privat reproch than otherwise, and therefore they ought not to be punished with flat death: but rather to be cured with easier remedies. For he did remember it to haue alwaies bene obserued heretofore, that in the life of kings, we should alwaies couer their secret bites, we should mildlie interpret their doubtful faults, and we should with patience beare their knowne evils: so that they did not by them bring vtter destruction to the common-wealth.

When this opinion was pleasing to most of the hearers, the other Hamiltons (except James, which was head of that familie) determined to rest in quiet; but he accompanied with sixtene horses remained with the lords. Who being now so weakened of their power, that they could neither wage battell, no; safely passe to their owne; did giue place to the time, and went that night to Hamilton. The quene assembled an armie, and went to Glasco to pursue them [at what time (as saith Buchanan) the earle of Lennor was made warren of the east marches; and the duke and earles with other of their companye

leie is made duke of Albanye. Lord Darnleie is proclaimed king. The quene is married.

Certain lords refuse to appeare before the quene.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan lib. 17.

Wicked counsellers alwaies swart to the guerd.

An armie gathered against them.
The lords went into Dunfreis.

Certeine townes are punished.

A great armie

The lord fled into England.

Their counsellers got their pardon.

The quene returned againe into Edinburgh.
The quene sent into France for aid.

The lords sent to the quene of England.

The quene of England sent to the quene of Scots.

nie came to Edinburgh, where the castell shot off at them, and therefore they departed towards Dunfreis, and were receiued by the lord Heris.

The quene hearing thereof, by aduise of hir council assembled forth of all the parts of the whole realme an armie, appointing the same to be at Weggan, in the beginning of October, to pursue the rebels. In the meane time, the hearing that the townes of saint Andrews, Dundee, and saint Johns towne, had helped the lords to raise men of warre for their support, passed thither hirselfe, and toke inquisition thereof, giuing order in those townes, that no such thing should afterwards be put in practise. But there were none that suffered death for that matter; but diuerse were committed to prison in the north parts of the realme, as the prouost and bailzeis of saint Andrews; also certeine of the towne of Dundee, and saint Johns towne, and other were banished; and diuerse barons, as Lundie, Lango, and Balward, were sent to Aberdeen, and to other parts, where they remained the winter following.

About this time, the quene toke the castell of Tantallon from the earle of Morton, because he was suspected to fauor the rebels. The keeping thereof was giuen to the earle of Atholl. The quene returning to Edinburgh in September, prepared all things necessarie for the armie, and departing from Edinburgh, came to Weggan, where all the noble men with their retinues were assembled the eight of October. From thence they passed forward to Dunfreis. In the meane time, the duke of Chateaufort, the earles of Murreie, Glencarne, Ross, the lord Ochiltre, the abbat of Kilwinning, the lords of Orange, Cunningham, Herdie, Pettarrow, maister James Haliburton tutor of Petcur, and others, hearing of the quens comming with an armie, fled into England & came to Caerleill, where they were receiued, the earle of Bedford at that time being lord lieutenant of the north.

The lord Heris then maister of Marbwell conuened them to the water of Sulweie, and afterward returned to Dunfreis to the quene, where (of hir clemencie) he got pardon of his offense; and the lords of Lochinwar and Dunlanrig likewise. After the armie had taried certeine daies, putting direction for obseruing of god order in the countrie, the quene returned to Edinburgh, where she remained all the next winter. The quene sent the maister David Chalmer chancellor of Rolse into France to the king, with letters for his assistance against the rebels. And shortly after, the French king sent a gentleman called monsieur Maluoffer into Scotland, with verie friendlie letters vnto the quene, promising his helpe & assistance against the rebels; which message was most thankfullie receiued, and the said Maluoffer honorable at his departure rewarded.

The duke of Chateaufort, and the other lords with him departed from Caerleill to Newcastell upon Tyne, and from thence sent the earle of Murreie, and the abbat of Kilwinning to the quene of England, making sute to hir grace for aid to be restored to their countrie againe. The quens maiestie promised them, that she would send a gentleman to the quene hir sister, and moue hir in their fauors, as she did; and so they returned to Newcastell, where the duke of Chateaufort, perceiving no other helpe appearing, sent the abbat of Kilwinning into Scotland to the quene with letters, submitting himselfe to hir graces will, and so he obtained pardon for him and his friends, with licence to passe into France, there to remaine the space of five yeares, and shortly after he passed through England, and so ouer into France, according to his appointment.

The king passed the most part of that winter in the countries of Fife, Strathern, Striuelinghire, & Louthian; spending his time in hauking. The quene remained at Edinburgh with the nobilitie, and because she was conceiued with child, trauelled little abroad. About this time was a new order taken for placing the king and quens name in all their writings and patents. For where, vntill this time, the kings name was set before the quens; now quite contrarie, the names of the quene was written before the kings; besides which, afterward the quene hir selfe would onelie set hir name to the writings in place of hers and his; and David the secretarie was appointed in his place to haue a stamp of the kings name, to vse when need required.

In the meane time a parlement was called, to be holden in the moneth of March next ensuing, and summons decreed against the earle of Murreie, and the other lords that remained in England, and also against the earle of Argile, lieng then in his countrie of Argile to heare them forsailed. The French king sent monsieur Kambeuillet into Scotland, as ambassador from him to the quene, with commission, to make the king hir husband knight of the order of S. Michaele. Which with great solemnitie and reuerence was accomplished in the chappell of Holie rood house the tenth of Februarie, being sunday: after the which, the said Kambeuillet returned into France, being highly rewarded.

From that time that the parlement was proclaimed, and the summons also published, the earle of Murreies friends being in Scotland, neuer ceased to seeke all the waies and means they could deuise to staie the same: in so much that the earle of Morton, the lord Ruthwen, and the lord Lindseie, secretly persuaded the king to staie the parlement, and also to consent to the restoring of the erle of Murreie and his complices, making to him faithfull promise, that if he would follow their counsell, he should be made & crowned king of Scotland absolutelie, and the quene so to haue lesse to doe with the gouernement afterward, where through he agreed to them.

And so after the parlement was assembled, the lords of the articles being chosen the seventh day of March, they perceiving the forfeiture like to proceed, and iudgement thereof to be giuen, the eleuenth of March next following, the king with the assistance of the said earle of Morton, the lords Ruthwen, and Lindseie, entered into the quens priue chamber about eight of the clocke in the night, being Saturday, and the ninth of March; where being arrived in warlike manner, the lord Ruthwen declared vnto the quene, that they would not suffer hir any longer to haue the gouernement of the realme, to abuse the same by the counsell of strangers, as she had done; and therefore pulled violentlie out of hir chamber David Richeo an Italian, that was one of hir secretaries, crying pittoullie, *Injustitia, Injustitia*: and in hir vtter chamber they suddenlie slew him with great crueltie. The king himselfe was also present, and his dagger was likewise found sticking in the dead bodie.

The quene was shut vp within hir chamber, and certeine appointed to attend hir, and to keepe all the doores and gates about the palace. The earles of Huntie and Bothwell escaped by a backe window forth in their chamber, whereof the king and his complices were right sorie. The erle of Atholl and others being with him, departed in the night season by a ferrie ouer the Forth, called the quenes ferrie, and went to S. Johns towne. On the morow being sunday (the quene being secretlie kept) proclamation was made, that all the lords that had voice in parlement

The king went a hauking.

Fr. Thin.

Bucha. lib. 17.

A parlement.

The lords that were exiled are summoned.

The king receiued the order of saint Michaele.

1566.

They persuaded the king.

The king was persuaded.

The king was persuaded.

The king was persuaded.

The king was persuaded.

The king was persuaded.

The king was persuaded.

The king was persuaded.

The king was persuaded.

The king was persuaded.

The king was persuaded.

The king was persuaded.

The king was persuaded.

The exiled lords come into Scotland.

They made their protestation.

The quene had conference with the king.

The king was sore persuaded.

Huntie and Bothwell.

Proclamation made.

Pardon is craved and obtained.

The murthers are excepted.

Amie pardoned.

The quene commeth to Edinburgh.

ment, should depart out of the towne of Edinburgh: and after none the same day, the earles of Spurre and Mothes, with other of their companies that came forth from Newcastle the saturday before, came to the abbey of Holm rood house about six of the clocke in the after none, where they were thankfullie received by the king and his companie. They brake also with the quene, who had no great comfort of their coming.

The morrow following being monday the earle of Spurre, and the other that were summoned, passed to the towne of Edinburgh, & made their proclamation there, that they were ready to answer in parliament, and none appeared to accuse them. After this, it was concluded to keep the quene in strict ward. But by his politicke demeanour, their purpose in that behalfe was broken: for by secret conference with the king, she perswaded him to thinke, that he had ioued himselfe with those that would be his destruction, if it happened with his otherwise than well; as was no lesse to be doubted, by reason of the high displeasure that she had taken being quicke with child: through the which perswasion, and other misliking of things, he departed secretly with her in the night season, accompanied onlie with two men, and first came unto Shotton, and afterwards from thence to Dunbar.

Thither the earles of Huntley and Bothwell heathily repaired, by whose counsell and others then with him, she caused proclamation to be made in divers parts of the realme, charging all manner of men in feats of warre, to come unto her to Dunbar, & to passe from thence unto Edinburgh within five daies after. She also sent letters to the same effect unto divers noble men of the realme, who prepared themselves with great diligence to meet her. The earle of Spurre and the rest of the lords being with him, hearing the preparation that was made against them, and perceiving themselves not able to resist, thought good earnestly of them to take some particular meane to obtaine remission at the queens hands. Which they obtained all of them, except the earle of Sperton, the lords Huntley, Lindsay, and such other as were with them at the murder of David Ritches. Whereupon they despatching of pardon, fled into England; where the lord Huntley died at Newcastle shortly after; as in place yet shall heare.

The earle of Lennox, being partaker with them, came to Dunbar, and got pardon: the earle of Glencairne and the lord of Cunningham had came thither also, and were pardoned. Likewise the earle of Mothes purchased his pardon at the same time. The earles of Argyle and Spurre, and the lord Bothwell, being at Lathquod, sent to the quene for their pardon, and obtained it, being commanded nevertheless to passe unto Argyle, and to remaine there during her graces pleasure, which commandment they obeyed. The eighteenth of March, the quene well accompanied came to Haddington towards night: and on the nineteenth day, the bishop of saint Andrews, and the Heralds met her at Spuskelburgh, and so likewise did the lords Levingston, Fleming, Home, Bothwell, and many other noble men, and accompanied her unto Edinburgh.

She lodged in the bishop of Dunkelds lodging, and tamed there a certaine space, having with her the earles of Huntley, Atholl, Bothwell, Crauford, Spurre, Bothwell, Southland, Cadzow, the bishops of saint Andrews and Ross; the lords Levingston, Fleming, and divers other noble men, by whose counsell order was taken for travelling of the state of the realme, whereby the same was shortly brought to great quietnesse. After this, the quene perceiving herselfe to be past the time of her deliverance, went to

the castell of Edinburgh, there to remaine till she were delivered of her birth. In the month of Maye, Thomas Scot shuffe, depuie of Berth, & a priest called sir Henrie Mart, servant to the lord Huntley, were apprehended for being doers in the slaughter of David, and were hanged and quartered. Their heads were set aloft, the one on the tower in the abbey, and the other on the nether bow.

In the month of April this yere, the bishop of Berth president of the session, deceased, and in his come succeeded to that bishopricke, a friend and counsellor to the earle of Argyle called Campbrell. In the end of April, the quene, willing to hear the earles of Argyle and Spurre joined with the rest of the counsell, sent for them to come to the castell of Edinburgh, where all gruels and controversies that rested betwixt them on the one side, and the earles of Huntley, Atholl, & Bothwell on the other side, were referred to the quene, who agreed them, and they all remained with her the residue of the summer. The quene hearing that the earle of Sperton, the lord Huntley, and the other their assistants were recruited in England, and remained at Newcastle: she sent maister James Thomson chanter of Spurre, with letters to the quene of England, and also to the king of France, and other her friends there: declaring by the tenor of the same letters the abuse and presumptuous attempts of certaine her subjects against her, desiring them not to receive them with in their realmes or dominions.

Shortly after, the quene of England sent a gentleman called Henrie Withgreve into Scotland, with letters and message to the quene, promising to cause them to depart forth of her realme of England: and withall sent unto them warning to depart betwixt that present time, and midsummer then next ensuing. But in the meane time the lord Huntley departed this life at Newcastle, with great repentance of his former life: giving God thanks, for that he had lent him time to call to him for mercie and forgiveness, whereof he did assure himselfe. And from thenceforth the earle of Sperton, and the maister of Huntley, remained secretly nere to Armdie, and other places of the borders, till they obtained pardon, and were restored. About this time there came from the king of France a well aged gentleman, named monsieur la Croche, as his ambassador, and remained in Scotland all the winter following.

In the month of June, the quene perceiving the time of her deliverance to approach, wrote unto all the principall noble men of her realme, to come and remaine within the towne of Edinburgh, during the time of her deliverance, where they assembled: and the king her husband, with the earles of Argyle, Spurre, Atholl, and Spurre, remained with her in the castell; and the earle of Huntley, Bothwell, and the remnant of the lords lodged in the towne. And upon the nineteenth day of the same month of June, betwixt 10 and 11 of the clocke before none, her grace was delivered of a gable man-child, to the great comfort of her highnesse, and all her subjects, whereof the nobilitie did geatlie reioice. And incontinentlie all the artillerie in the castell was shot off, and all the lords and people came together in the church of saint Giles, to give thanks to almightie God for his great and beneficiall goodnes shewed to them, in giving to them a prince, and withall made their humble prayers unto his divine maiestie, to induce him with the feare of God, with vertue and knowledge to govern the realme and subjects thereof, whensoever the same should fall unto his hands.

The same night at seven, there were great fires for joy made in the towne of Edinburgh, and in all the

The quene
heard the
marriage.

The quene
agreed with
the lords.

The quene
made sure of
the quene of
England.

The quene of
England her
answer.

The lord
Huntley
repented.

An ambassador
from the king
of France.

A prince
born.

the countrie about, and likewise through all the whole realme, as by aduertisements were certified therof. The quene remained still in the castell of Edinburgh all the moneth of Iulie following, till she had recovered hir health and strength. In the beginning of August, she passed by the water of Forth to Allowaie, where she remained certeine daies, the earles of Murreie and Mar being of companie with hir, and there the king hir husband came to visit hir. The same time monsieur Paluolir came into Scotland from the king of France, bringing letters to the quene, who was conueied by the bishop of Ross to Allowaie, where he was iustlicie receiued, courteously interteined, and highly rewarded. The quene of England sent maister Henrie Killegrewe to the quene with the like message, reioysing for hir safe and happie deliuerance, who likewise was receiued in most thankfull maner, and well rewarded.

The princes
godfathers &
godmothers.

Here is to be noted, that shortly after the was brought to bed, she sent one of hir gentlemen called monsieur Clarimouch, with letters to the king of France, and to the duke of Sauoy: desiring them to send ambassadores, which in their name (as godfathers) might receiue hir son at the baptisme. Moreover, she sent James Peluine to the quene of England with the like message, desiring hir maiestie to be godmother [who by hir ambassadoz Francis earle of Bedford, sent a present to the quene of Scots, (as I. Stow hath noted) a fount of gold curiously wrought & enamelled, weighing 333 ounces, amounting in value to 1043 pounds 19 shillings of English monie.] These princes were glad hereof, and promised to send ambassadores to that effect, as afterward they did. In the later end of August, the quene accompanied with the king hir husband, the earles of Huntlye, Murreie, Bothwell, and diuerse other, went into Peggat land, there to passe the time in hunting, where they remained certeine daies: and returning to Edinburgh, caused the prince to be conueied vnto Striueling castell, where he was committed in keeping to the lord Erskin, after erle of Mar, and his ladie. And from thence the quene went on progresse into Glen Arkenie.

Fr. Thin.
I. Stow pa. 1131
in quart.

* The king as a solitarie person goeth to Striueling, after which the quene determineth to go to Jedworth to assemble a parlement. About the beginning of October, Bothwell prepareth a iournie into Libdisdale, where he was hurt with a calauer by a base theefe. Whereupon with vncertaine life he was carried to the castell of Hermitage, to which the quene (hearing of his mishap) came, attended with a small traine from Bothwike, and from thence hauing scene Bothwell, did in short time after returne to Bothwike, whither she caused Bothwell to be brought: after whose comming thither, the quene fell so grievously sicke, that she was in danger of hir life, at what time the king came thither vnto hir.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. li. 17.

In Januarie the king came to Glasgowe, where he fell sicke, and removing from thence went to Edinburgh, and the quene accompanied him. She lodged at Holie rood house, but he was lodged at a house within the towne, nere to the kirke a field, within the which, on the tenth of February in the night he was shamefullie murdered, together with one William Parat. He was cast into an orchard, and herewith the house was blowne by with gunpowder. [Some giue report of his death, but touch not the maner thereof, onelie saying that he was shamefullie murdered in a morning (a beaute breakfast) by his owne (but unnatural and rebellious) people, whose innocent blood crieth out for vengeance at the hands of God, who in iustice will (when he seeth due time) giue them their portion with malefactors agreeable to their merits.

The king
murdered.
I 566. Stow.

The earle of Bothwell was euen at the first beheimently suspected to be the principall offender in this most heinous and detestable murder. But the matter was so handled, that he was not onelie acquit by an assise, as they call it; but also shortly after married the quene. By reason whereof, the suspicion that men had already conceived, that she should be also partie to the murder, was nothing diminished. But as I haue not to deale in that matter, so yet it is manifest, that some of the Scottish nobilitie, sore repining and maligning at such the speedie aduancement of Bothwell, who (as euery man perswaded himselfe, was the principall author of the murder) got them to armes on the sudden, before the quene or Bothwell were aduertised of their meaning, they being then at Bothwike castell, eight miles distant from Edinburgh.

The earle of
Bothwell
murdered
the king.

* Thus leaving the lords awhile at Edinburgh, we will say somewhat out of Buchanan, of things done by Bothwell & the quene, before that she was taken by these noble men of the congregation, hauing at that time taken armes against hir. After the death of hir husband, whome she had caused to be buried not farre from David Riche his secretarie, asaine (as was thought) by the means of the king of Scots: the quene (I say) after that, and also after the clearing of Bothwell from the murder of hir husband, was forceably taken (as she was on hir iournie) by the earle Bothwell, and carried to his castell, where she remained not long, but yet honorably interteined. Which fact of his bred great dislike in the peoples minds, and brought him in danger of his life, had not the quene (of hir clemencie) pardoned him the same.

The lords
got them to
armes.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. li. 17.

This done, there was a consultation had for a marriage to be solemnized betwene hir and the earle Bothwell, which (after a diuorle had betwene this earle and his then wiffe Katharine Gordon, granted by the iudges spirituall & temporell; and after the solemn bands asked betwene the said earle James Hepburne, and the quene Marie Steward) was with great solemnitie of the nobilitie (by their hands in writing consenting thereto) consummat at Edinburgh. Against which onelie the bishop of Orkney was found to resist; and at which monsieur de Crocke the French ambassadoz then in Scotland would not be present: being a thing which did greatly occasion the Edinburghers to dislike of the quene.

Which marriage breeding some euill opinion of the said quene of Scots, not onelie in hir owne realme, but in the mouths of forreine nations, she wistlicke consulted with hir friends, how she might establish hir power, and prouide to saue hirselfe and hir kingdome from tumults and insurrections. Whereupon, first she determineth to send an ambassadoz into France, to reconcile the minds of the king, and of the Guises, offended with this marriage. Which office of ambassage was laid vpon William bishop of Dunblane, with this charge (as saith Buchanan) almost word for word.

First, you shall excuse to the king, and to our vncles, that our marriage (to be consummate) came to their eares, before that we had opened our counsell touching that matter by any messengers. This excuse (as it were to a foundation) doth leane to the true exposition of his whole life, and chiefly to the offices and duties of the duke or capitaine of the marches towards vs, euen vnto that day in which I seemed god to vs to take him to husband. For the opening of the historie whereof you shall take occasion to treat from the beginning of the last times of his adolescencie (youth, or yeeres of discretion, as we terme it) in this sort.

That when he first began to manage his owne affaires

“ faires (being from the death of his father one of the
 “ chiefe of the nobilitie) he did wholie dedicate himfelfe
 “ to the dutie and fervice of the princes and kings of
 “ Scotland, as one bozne of a famous familie for his
 “ ancient nobilitie, & of great reuenues in this king-
 “ dome which he poffeffeth by right of inheritance. At
 “ that time alfo he did especiallie and altogether con-
 “ fecrate himfelfe to our mother, whyleft he had the
 “ gouernement of the realme.

“ In which dutie towards hir, he did fo constantlie
 “ perfeuere, that although the greater part of the no-
 “ bilitie, and almoft all the towne were fallen from
 “ hir obedience (vnder the colour of religion) yet he
 “ would neuer decline from hir authoritie, as a per-
 “ fon that could not be wone by anie promifes or be-
 “ nefits, or feared with anie threats, or losse of his li-
 “ uings, to neglect his dutie in anie part vnto hir: but
 “ that he wold rather fuffer his principall houfe, which
 “ was the head of his patrimonie, with his plentifull
 “ and pretious ftore of furniture thereof to be taken
 “ from him, and all his other lands to be left for spoile
 “ to the enimie, than violate his faith to our mother.
 “ Besides which, being deftitute of helpe both of vs
 “ and our people (when the Englifh hoft was brought
 “ by our domesticall enimies into the bowels of our
 “ kingdome, which directed their weapons to none o-
 “ ther marke, than that our now husband at that time
 “ earle Bothwell, fhould by force be enforced to flie) he
 “ fled into France, forfaking all his patrimonie, where
 “ he honozed me with all dutie and fervice (that he
 “ might) vntill my returne into Scotland.

“ Neither are thofe exploits to be omitted, which
 “ were done by him in the warres againft the Eng-
 “ lifh before my returne into mine owne countrie,
 “ where he fhewed fuch parts of warlike valure and
 “ graue wifedome, that he was iudged (being then ve-
 “ rie yong) meet to haue the gouernment of ancient
 “ perfons, to be made chiefe capteine of the armie of
 “ the countrie, & alfo to be chofen or fubftitute depu-
 “ tie and chancelor: as in truth he was. In which of-
 “ fice he did not deceiue the hope and expectation which
 “ men conceiued of him. For (by his affaires valiant-
 “ lie atchieued) he left a fingular praife and fame of
 “ him, as well amongst his owne people, as amongst
 “ the enimies.

“ After our returne into Scotland, he employed
 “ all his induoz to the enlarging of our authoritie, and
 “ fpared not to put himfelfe in danger, in fubduing
 “ thofe rebels which dwell about the borders of Eng-
 “ land. The difpatch wherof being fhortlie performed,
 “ and they brought to great quiet, he was appointed to
 “ doe the like in all the other parts of the kingdome.
 “ But as enuie doth alwaies accompanie vertue, fo
 “ the Scots repining thereat, and defirous of innoua-
 “ tion, did laboz to diminifh our fauour towards him
 “ (for his great labozs imploied in our behalfe) in mi-
 “ ftrouing his good deeds.

“ By which in the end they wrought fo much with
 “ me, that we committed him to prifon; partlie to fa-
 “ tisfie the minds of fuch as were emulous againft
 “ him, and could not bwoke the increafe of his follow-
 “ ing honoz and greatneffe; and partlie to appeafe fuch
 “ feditions as were likelie then to breake forth to the
 “ deftruction of the whole kingdome. But he (efcaping
 “ out of prifon) got him into France, to giue place to
 “ the power of his enimies, where he remained almoft
 “ two yeres next following. At what time the authors
 “ of the former fedition, forgetting my clemencie to-
 “ wards them, and their dutie towards vs, did raife
 “ warre, and toke weapons againft their quene.

“ From thence was he called backe into Scotland,
 “ & being reftored to his former honozs & poffeffions,
 “ he was againe made generall of all the armie: by
 “ whose helpe our authoritie began afrefh fo to florifh,

“ that all the rebels (fuddenlie forfaking their coun-
 “ trie) were enforced to flie into England, vntill part
 “ of them vpon humble fubmiffion were receiued a-
 “ new into our fauour. But how traitorouslie I was
 “ handled by the reft that were reftored (and especiallie
 “ fuch, whose anceftors I had with benefitis moft pro-
 “ moted) our vncke is not ignozant, and therefore we
 “ will touch that no more.

“ Neither is it to be ouerpaffed in fentence, with what
 “ diligence he deliuered me from the hands of fuch as
 “ detained me prifoner, and with what fpeed (and singu-
 “ lar prouidence of his) I did both efcape from prifon,
 “ and recovered my former authoritie: after that I
 “ had difperfed the factions of the confurators and fe-
 “ ditions perfons. In which trulie I am enforced to
 “ confefle, that his dutie and diligence at that time
 “ fhewed towards me, was fo acceptable vnto me,
 “ that I could neuer after forget it. Thefe things al-
 “ though they be great of themfelues, yet he hath hi-
 “ therto increfed them with fuch diligence and careful-
 “ nefle, that we cannot defire greater dutie, or with
 “ more affured truft in anie man, than we haue found
 “ in him; vntill thefe laft times which followed the de-
 “ ceafle of our husband.

“ But from that time, as his thoughts did feeme to
 “ tend higher, fo his adions did after a fort feeme to be
 “ more insolent. And although the matter went fo far,
 “ that we were to take all things in the beft part: yet
 “ thefe things did then moft grauouslie offend me; but
 “ especiallie his arrogancie, in that he thought that
 “ there were not other fufficient abilities in vs, to re-
 “ compenfe his defertings, vnleffe we gaue our felfe
 “ to him in marriage. Touching which, at the firft he
 “ fed fecret reasons and counfels: but in the end, when
 “ he faw them not to fucceed after his mind, at length,
 “ fhewing an open contempt of my authoritie, he fled
 “ to the benefitt of violence, and vfed force (to the end
 “ his attempt might not want due effect) to bring me
 “ vnder his gouernement.

“ Therefore all this courfe of his life maie be an
 “ example, to fhew how craftilie they can contriue
 “ their diſſis (in attempting great things) vntill they
 “ haue obtained their purpoſe. For I did fuppoſe, that
 “ all this his continuall dutie and carefulneſſe in ſpe-
 “ die obedieng of my commandements, had not iſſued
 “ from anie other founteine, than of a vehement defire
 “ to fhew his obedience and good will towards me:
 “ neither did I hope that a litle more fauourable coun-
 “ tenance (which we are accuſtomed to vſe to the more
 “ lowly perfons, to the end to win their minds to be
 “ more obedient to vs in dutie) ſhould ſo haue raiſed
 “ his ſtomach (more than anie others) that he would
 “ promiſe to himſelfe anie larger good will to proceed
 “ from me towards him, than he had before.

“ But he taking aduantage of all haps, & drawing
 “ all things (that chanced) to the furtherance of his
 “ purpoſe, and keeping all his counfels ſecret from me,
 “ did ſtill fhew his accuſtomed dutie, nourifhed my old
 “ fauour to him, & ſecretlie attempted a new thing by
 “ the helpe of the nobilitie. Which he brought to paſſe
 “ with ſuch ſpedie diligence, that (vnto me) he
 “ obtained of the peres of the realme (in the aſſem-
 “ blie of the parlement here) a writing with all their
 “ hands ſet therevnto, for the more credit of the ſame.
 “ In which writing was contained, that they did not
 “ onlie aſſent vnto the marriage; but that they alſo fur-
 “ ther promiſed to ſpend their life and goods (offered to
 “ all dangers) in the erecuting thereof, and that they
 “ would be vtter enimies to all ſuch as ſhould laboz to
 “ hinder it. For the more eaſie obtaining of whose con-
 “ ſents in this fort, he had perſuaded the ſaid nobilitie,
 “ that the ſame was not done againſt my mind and
 “ content. At length, when he had purchaſed this writ-
 “ ting from them, he began by little and little (with ear-
 “ neſt

“ nest intreaties & flatteries) to obtaine our consent.
 “ But when at the first our answers did not content
 “ his desire, he began to laie before me almost all those
 “ things, which are accustomed to happen in the at-
 “ tempt of such matters.

“ First, the outward tokens of our good fauour to-
 “ wards him, the reasons by which our friends or his e-
 “ nemies might hinder the same, & manie other things
 “ which being objected or willinglie happening, might
 “ frustrate his hope, or change the minds of such as had
 “ before subscribed. At length (fortune fauouring him
 “ therein) he determined to pursue the matter, & in one
 “ instance to hazard his hope and life about the same.
 “ Wherefore, when he had determined with himselfe,
 “ with all importunitie to attempt the successe of his
 “ determination, he soure daies after hauing conue-
 “ nient time and place therefore in the high waie, set
 “ vpon me with a strong hand, as I was comming
 “ from seeing of my deere sonne, and with great speed
 “ caried me to Dunbar.

“ Which euill deed how greuouslie we toke (espe-
 “ ciallie done by him, from whome all our subiects ne-
 “ uer looked to haue such things to proceed) euerie bo-
 “ die made easilie consider. For there I did vpheld
 “ him, with that fauour I haue alwaies vsed him,
 “ that honorable opinion I haue had of him and of
 “ his conditions in my speech vsed to others, and of his
 “ vnthankfulness to me therefore; with all other
 “ things that might deliuer me out of his hands. These
 “ matters I laied against him with bitter words. But
 “ his answers therunto were moze mild, and temper-
 “ ed with gentler speeches, in this, that he would still
 “ vse all honoz and dutie towards vs, and laboz by all
 “ means to haue our good will, whom he would not of-
 “ fend.

“ As touching this, that he had against our will cari-
 “ ed vs into one of our own castels, he humbly craued
 “ pardon therefore (in that he was inforced therunto)
 “ although in the same he had forgotten that reue-
 “ rence and dutie, which euerie subiect owght vnto vs.
 “ Whereunto he added, that he did the same for our
 “ safetie and defense. At which time also he began to re-
 “ peat vnto me the whole course of his life, lamenting
 “ his fortune, to haue them (whome he neuer hurt) so
 “ greuouslie offended with him, that their malice had
 “ not ouerpassed anie occasions vntillie to hurt him
 “ withall.

“ But especiallie in this, that their great enuie had
 “ burdened him with the murder of the king, and that
 “ his power was vnequall to resist the secret conspira-
 “ cies of his enemies, whome he could not know; he
 “ cause they did in shew and speeches dissemble their
 “ friendship: & not knowing them, there was no waie
 “ for him to foresee and auoid their deceipts. Whose ex-
 “ treme hatred was now growen to such height, that
 “ he could not liue in safetie in anie place, or at anie
 “ time, except he might be assured of the quenes vn-
 “ changeable fauour towards him. Which certaintie of
 “ hir fauor could not be shewed but by this one meane,
 “ to persuaue hir selfe to receiue him into the marriage
 “ bed. At what time he did most holilie sweare, that he
 “ gaped not after anie extraordinary gouernement,
 “ or that he would leape to the highest step of supreme
 “ rule thereby; but onlie to reape this fruit thereof, that
 “ he might serue and obete hir as long as he liued, in
 “ such sort as he did before. Whereunto he added the de-
 “ lights of such speeches as that matter required.

“ But in the end, when he saw that we could not be
 “ moued therunto, either with praiers or promises,
 “ he shewed vnto vs what he had done with the whole
 “ nobilitie, and the chiefe of the parlement, and what
 “ they againe had promised vnder their hands. Which
 “ being suddenlie and vn hoped for laied against vs,
 “ whether it did with iust cause greatlie astonish vs, we

leaued to the consideration of the king, the quene, our
 “ vnckles, and the rest of our friends. Wherefore, when
 “ I perceiued my selfe a prisoner vnder the power of
 “ an other man, farre from the helpe of all those whose
 “ counsell I did and should haue used; yea and that I
 “ saw them before my face, in whose former faith and
 “ wisdome I did repose my selfe; whose strength did
 “ defend our authoritie, and without which our power
 “ was but small or none: when (I say) I had seene
 “ all these to haue bound themselves to serue his de-
 “ sire, and that I was alone left a preie for him, I did
 “ with my selfe in my mind consider manie things,
 “ but could bring none of them to effect.

“ Besides which, he gaue to vs but short time to take
 “ anie aduise, but incontinente and importunatie did
 “ still bryge the same vnto me. At length, when I saw
 “ no waie to escape by flight, nor anie person of all our
 “ kingdome which had anie care of our libertie (for we
 “ well perceiued by their hands giuen, and by their
 “ deepe silence at that time, that they were all drawn
 “ to take his part) I was compelled (after that I a lit-
 “ tle pacified mine anger & displeasure against him) to
 “ refer my selfe to the discusse and consideration of his
 “ demands, & to laie before my selfe his dutie in times
 “ past, and the hope which we had of the following con-
 “ tinuance of the same towards vs.

“ And further, how greuouslie our people would
 “ suffer a strange king, and heauylie receiue one vnac-
 “ quainted, and not inbred with their lawes and cu-
 “ stoms, that they would not suffer me long to liue vn-
 “ married, and that the people (being by nature facti-
 “ ous) could not be kept in obedience, except our au-
 “ thoritie were supported and practised by a man which
 “ could equall them in bearing labor, and were able to
 “ brydle the insolencie of rebels in the administration
 “ of the common wealth: the weight of which charge,
 “ our power (being weakened and almost brought to
 “ nothing by continuall tumults and rebellions, since
 “ our comming into Scotland) was not able anie
 “ longer to susteine. For by reason of these seditions,
 “ we were inforced to appoint foure or moze deputies
 “ in diuerse parts of our realmes, which after ward al-
 “ so did (vnder the colour of the authoritie which they
 “ were permitted to vse vnder vs) inforce our owne
 “ subiects to take armes against vs.

“ For all which causes, when we well perceiued that
 “ if we labored to preserve the dignitie of kinglie ma-
 “ testie, that they would inforce me to marriage, that
 “ our people could not abide a forren prince, and that a-
 “ mongest our owne subiects, there was not anie
 “ which for the nobilitie of his familie, for his wisdome
 “ and valure, or for other vertues of bodie and mind,
 “ might be preferred before or equalled vnto him,
 “ I commanded my selfe to ioine with the whole con-
 “ sent of the parlement, and assemblie of the nobilitie
 “ before mentioned. After that my former constant de-
 “ termination was thus somewhat mollified by these
 “ and other reasons, he did bring from me partlie by
 “ force, and partlie by intreatie, a promise to him of
 “ marriage.

“ Which done, we could not yet by anie meanes and
 “ persuaasion obtaine of him (fearing an alteration in
 “ our mind) that the time wherein this marriage should
 “ be performed, might be deferred so long, as that we
 “ might participat the same with the king and quene
 “ of France, and such other friends as we had remai-
 “ ning in those parts. For he beginning with a bold at-
 “ tempt (after that he had once thereby attained the
 “ first step of his desire) did neuer after that cease to
 “ ioine importunate praiers to his persuaasions and ar-
 “ guments of reason, vntill he did without violence
 “ inforce vs to set end to the worke begun, and that at
 “ such time, and after such order, as seemed most con-
 “ uenient vnto him for the execution of his determi-
 “ nation

The quene
gathereth fo-
ces.

Carbarrie
hill.

The number
of the quene
power.

The power
the lords.

“ nation . In which matter I cannot dissemble , but
 “ that I was otherwise intreated by him , than either
 “ I would or had deserved .

“ For he was more carefull to satisfie them , by
 “ whose consent (shewed at the beginning) he thought
 “ himsele to haue obtained his purpose (though he did
 “ both deceiue them and me) than to gratifie me , or
 “ to weie howe meet it were for me , being brought vp
 “ in the precepts and rites of our religion; from which,
 “ neither he nor anie man living, whilst I did liue ,
 “ could draw me awaie (aliue) by anie action. In which
 “ thing trulie , though we do acknowledge our error,
 “ yet we willinglie desire , that the king and quene
 “ his mother , our vnckle , or anie friend of ours , do not
 “ er postulat with him, nor anie waie laie the fault on
 “ to his charge .

“ For sith things be now so ended , as that they
 “ cannot be againe vndone, we take all things in the
 “ best part : & as he is in deed , so he is to be accounted
 “ our husband , whome from henceforwards we haue
 “ determined both to loue & reuerence . Wherefore all
 “ they which professe themselues to be our friends ,
 “ must also shew the like to him which is ioined vnto
 “ vs with an indissoluble knot . And although he hath
 “ in manie things behaued himsele lesse diligentlie , &
 “ almost over-rashlie , which we willinglie impute to
 “ his immoderat affection towards vs ; yet we desire
 “ the king , the quene , our vnckle , and the rest of our
 “ friends , no lesse to loue and fauor him , than if all
 “ things had till this day bene done after their aduise
 “ and determination ; in the behalfe of which our hus-
 “ band, we promise that he shall in all things (which
 “ shalbe required of him hereafter) alwaies grati-
 “ fie them in what he maie .

These remedies being found to defend the quens
 credit amongst forein princes, other remedies were
 to be sought for defense of hir owne person against
 hir owne subiects . Wherefore (after that the earle of
 Spurreie was appointed to remaine as banished be-
 yond the seas in France , whither he took his iour-
 nie through England) the quene (deliuered of such a
 feare as he was to hir , & therefore better able to rule,
 or at least to make better chise , with such other as
 were conuised , to vse Buchanans word , against hir)
 vsed what diligence she might to gather forces, espe-
 ciallie in the spers and east Lothian .

The quene
gathereth for-
ces.

Carbarrie
hill.

The number
of the quens
power.

The power of
the lords.

And thinking that the enterprise of the lords had
 bene broken and disappointed , they marched from
 Dunbar on saturday the fourth of June , first to
 Haddington , & there resting till the euen, set forward
 to Gladsmore , and taking there deliberation in the
 matter ; they lodged that night at Seiton , and in
 the morning marched in order of battell towards
 Carbarrie hill , and there chose forth a plot of ground
 of great advantage , appointing to fight on foot ; be-
 cause the powder of the lords in number of horse-
 men , was stronger than the quens , and of greater
 experience . There were with the quene and Both-
 well , the lords Seiton , Pester , and Bothwellke ; al-
 so the lords of Mauchton , Bas , Dymilton , Wrea-
 verburne , Blackater , and Langton . They had with
 them also two hundred harquebusiers waged , and
 of great artillery some field peeces . Their whole
 number was esteemed to be about 2000 : but the
 more part of them were commons & countie-men .

The earles of Morton , Atholl , Spar , Glencarne ,
 the lords of Home , Lindseie , Ruthuen , Sempill ,
 Sauquhar ; the lords of Dumlangeis , Culibar-
 den , Grange , and young Selsford , were assembled
 together at Edinburgh with a power like in num-
 ber to the quens , but for the more part consisting of
 gentlemen , although not furnished with anie num-
 ber of harquebusiers , except a few of the townsmen
 of Edinburgh , that willinglie ioined with them in

that quarrell . Upon the fifteenth of June , they came
 forth of the towne , and approached their aduersaries .
 But there was monsieur la Croque , the French
 kings ambassadour , who took great paine , in tra-
 uelling betwixt the parties to reduce them to some a-
 greement . & who by his interpreto laid before them
 how carefullie he had studied for the commoditie &
 tranquillitie of the publike state of Scotland before
 this ; and that now also he caried the same mind with
 him . Wherefore he did vehementlie desire (if it
 were possible) that the matter might be so taken vp,
 for the commoditie of both parties ; that it might be
 ended without force or bloodshed . For the compas-
 sing thereof , he would imploie all his trauch , sith
 the quene also did not refuse to heare the counsell &
 persuation of peace . For the more certaintie wherof ,
 he did at that time promise them pardon and better
 forgetfulnesse of all things passed before time ; & did
 with great holinesse there pledge him selfe , that no
 hurt should fall vnto anie man there , for taking
 weapon against the highest gouernor .

After that the interpreto had deliuered these
 things , the earle of Morton answered , that he did
 not take armes against the quene ; but against him
 that had killed the king . Whome if the quene would
 deliuer to punishment , or separat him from hir ; he
 should well vnderstand , that they & the rest of hir sub-
 iects held nothing more deere vnto them , than to con-
 tinue in their dutifull obedience ; without which gran-
 ted to them , there could be no agreement made ; be-
 cause they came not thither to craue pardon for anie
 offense which they had committed (wherevnto the
 earle of Glencarne added) but rather to giue pardon
 to such as had offended .

Wherefore the ambassadour Croque returned backe
 to Edinburgh , and the quens part began to de-
 crease , diuerse thinking awaie from hir ; so that af-
 ter it began to grow towards the evening , Both-
 well fled to the castell of Dunbar . But the quene
 desirous to talke with William Kirkcaldie the lord of
 Grange , went to him , accompanied onelie with one
 capteine , and after some talke with him , she passed
 to the lords , who took hir with them to Edinburgh ,
 [the being in a short garment , base , & woone , com-
 ming a little beneath hir knees (as saith Buchanan)
 of which lords she requested that they would suffer
 hir to depart , & not to keepe hir in that sort . The Ha-
 miltons were on the wate comming to assist the
 quene , with seven or eight hundred horsemen ; but
 before they could reach to the place , the quene was
 in the hands of the lords , and so they returned .

The quene
commeth to
the lords.

Fr. Thin.

The lord of Cragmiller [then prouost of Edin-
 burgh] and sir James Balfoure also the capteine
 of the castell , were ioined in this confederacie with the
 lords , as shortly after it appeared . The quene after
 this was conuied ouer the Forth , and brought to
 Lochleith ; where she was appointed to remaine in
 ward vnder the safe keeping of William Dologlas
 lord of that place . The earle Bothwell , escaping to
 Dunbar , found meanes to flee into Denmarke ,
 where he was staied and committed to prison , where
 in at length he died . Diuerse persons afterwards
 were apprehended as parties to the murder of the
 king , and thereupon condemned , were executed ,
 confessing the said earle to be the principall executour
 of the same murder . & Leaving the quene therfore
 in this miserable plight , we will not yet forget (for
 the honor she once had) to set downe certaine verses
 made by Alexander Seton a Scot , in the commen-
 dation of hir ancessors , and of hir ; who in the first
 yeares of hir gouernement vsed hir selfe to the god-
 liking of all hir subiects . In which verses Seton
 doth further meane , that Lelle should hereafter set
 forth hir gouernement , as he hath done that of the
 Jan. ij. — other

Fr. Thin.

The quene
is sent to
Lochleith.

Fr. Thin.

LeDeus be-
fore the pre-
face of his
eight booke.

other king before hir. The verses be as followeth.

*Clara atavis, genus antiquo de sanguine regum,
Nympha Caledonij gloria rara soli,
Maiorum hic laudes, totos quos insula ab orbe
Dimisit, toto cernis ab orbe legi.
Hoc illis peperere decus, non gloria regni,
Non genus, aut diues gaza, fauorque virum:
Sed pietatis honos, fides constantia, morum
Integritas, belli gloria, pacis amor;
Queis tua maiores superet quum viuida virtus:
Qua tamen meritis laus fuit equa tuis?
Primum hoc Lesleo superest, tua fortia facta
Scribere, consilij multa peracta suis.
Et mihi sunt verbis saltem tua facta canenda:
A proavis ne sim degener ipse meis.]*

James the
sixt.

The nineteenth of Julie, Charles James the young prince of Scotland, after a sermon made by John Innes, was crowned king of the Scots in Sterling church, where were read certaine letters of commission and procuracion, with the quens priuie seale at them for the establishing of the same coronation. The first, for hir resignation of the crowne and gouernement of the young prince hir sonne. The second, to authorize the earle of Murreie to be regent during the kings minority. The third, to giue authoritie and power to seven other joining with the said earle of Murreie, in case he should refuse to exercise the same alorie; that is to say, the duke of Chatelerauld, the earls of Lennox, Argyle, Atholl, Forth, Glencarne, and Spar. The tenors of which letters of commission and procuracion do here insue, as we find them imprinted at Edinburgh by Robert Lekpzeut printer to the king of Scots, the first of Aprill 1568, among the acts of parlement begun and holden at Edinburgh, the fifteenth of December, in the yeare 1567, by James earle of Murreie lord Abernethie, &c: regent vnto the said king.

The tenor of the commission, where-
by Marie the queene of Scots resigneth
the crowne to hir sonne, appointeth
his gardians, and maketh the earle of
Murreie regent.

Marie be the grace of God queene of Scots, to all and sundrie our iudges and ministers of law, liegis and subiectis, quhome it effectis to quhair knagege thir our letteris sall come, greeting. Forasmuch as by lang trefelome and tedious trauell takin by vs, in the gouernament of this our realme and liegis thair of, we are sa berit and werit, that our bodie, spirit, and sensis are altogether become ynhabill langer to trauell in that rownte: and thairfore we haue dimittit and renuncit the office of gouernament of this our realme and liegis thair of, in fauouris of our anelie maist deir sonne, natie prince of this our realme. And because of his tender youth and inhabillie to vse the said gouernament in his alwin persoun, during his minority, we haue constitute our derrest brother James earle of Murreie, lord Abernethie, &c: regent to our said sonne, realme and liegis foirsaidis.

And in respect that our said derrest brother is aduallie furth of our realme, and cannot instantlie be present to accept the said office of regentrie vpon him, and vse and exercise the samin during our saidis derrest sons minority; we quhill his returning within our realme, or in cais of his deceis haue maid, constitute, namit, appointit, & ordainit, and by thir our letteris makis, constitutis, namis, appointis, and ordainis our traist consingis and counsaouris,

James duke of Chatelerauld, earle of Arrane, lord Hamiltoun, Matho earle of Lennox, lord Dornie, &c: Archibald earle of Argyle, lord Campbell and Loche, &c: John earle of Atholl, James earle of Forth, Alexander earle of Glencarne, and John earle of Spar, regentis to our said derrest son, realme and liegis; & in cais our said brother James earle of Murreie cum within our realme, and refusis to accept the said office of regentrie vpon his singular persoun, we make, constitute, name, appoint, and ordeine, our traist consingis and counsaouris foirsaidis, and our said brother regentis of our said deir sonne, realme, and liegis.

Geuand, grantand, and committand to thame, or onie fwe of thame coniuntlie full power for our said sonne, and in his name to ressaue resignatiounis of landis, make dispositiounis of wairdis, nonentrestis, releuis, mariageis, beneficis, escheatis, officis, and otheris casualiteis and priuilegis, quhat sumeuer concerning the said office, signatours thair vpon to make, subscribe, and cause be past throug the seillis. And to vse and exercise the said office of regentrie in all thingis, priuilegis, and commoditeis, siclike as frelie and with als greit libertie as onie regent or gouernor to vs or our predecessouris hit the samin in ony times bigan. Promittand to haib firme and stabill in the word and faith of ane prince, to quhat sumeuer thingis our saidis traist consingis dois in the premissis.

Charging heirfore to all and sundrie our iudges and ministers of law, liegis and subiectis foirsaidis, to answer and obeie to our saidis traist consingis, regentis foirsaidis in all and sundrie thingis concerning the said office of regentrie, during our said derrest sons minority, and ay and quhill he be of the age of seuentene zeiris complet: As ze and ilke ane of to will declair to our said maist deir son, your natie prince, and vnder all paine, charge, and offense that ze and ilke ane of to make commit and inrin againis his maiestie in that part. Subscritit with our hand, and giuen vnder our priuie seill, at Lochleuin; the fource and twentieth day of Julij, and of our reigne the fwe and twentieth zeir.

The commission, authorising certeine
noble men in the queens name, to re-
nouince the kingdome to hir sonne,
and authorising others to receiue
the same in hir sons name.

Marie be the grace of God queene of Scots, to all and sundrie our iudges, and ministers of law, liegis, and subiectis, quhome it effectis to quhair knagege thir our letteris sall come, greeting. Forasmuch as for our arriual, and returning within our realme, we willing the common commoditie, welth, profit, and quietnes thair of, liegis, and subiectis of the samin, haue emplotit our bodie, spirit, haill sensis, and foris, to gouerne the samin in sic sort, that our roiall and honorabill estate might stand and continue with vs, and our posteritie, and our liuing and kind liegis might inioie the quietnes of true subiectis. In traueilling quhairin, not anelie is our bodie, spirit, and sensis sa berit, brokin, and ynquiett, that langer we are not of habillie be onie meane to inpure sa greit and intollerabill painis and traueillis, quhair with we ar altogether werit, bot als greit commotiounis and troublis be sundrie occasiounis in the meantime hes ensuit thairin, to our greit greif.

And seing it hes bene the plesour of the eternall
God,

God, of his kindlie lufe, mercie, and gudnes to grant unto vs, of our awin persoun, ane sone, quha in cais be the hand of God we be besett, will, and of richt, and of equitie man, and aucht to succed to vs and to the gouernement of our realme. And knowing that all creaturis ar subiect to that immutabil decret of the eternal, ains to rander and gif by this life temporal (the hour and time quhair of is maist incertane) and in cais be decess we be takin fra this life, during the time of his minoritie, it maie be dowtit greitlie, that resistance and troublis maie be maid to our said son, now natiue prince of this our realme, in his tender yeires (being swa destitute of us) to succed to that rowme and kingdome, quhill maist iustlie of all lawis appertencis to him. Quhill inconuenience be Godis helpe and gud providence we mene to prevent, in such maner, that it fall not lie in the power of onie vnnaturall subiects to resist Godis ordinance in that behalfe. And vnderstanding that na thing eirdlie is mair solous, and happie to vs, nor to se our said decess sone, in our awin life time peccable placit in that rowme, and honorabill estate quhairto be iustlie aucht and mair succed to: we of the motherlie affectioun we betw toward our said onlie sone, haue renuncit, and dimittit, and be this our letteris frelie, of our awin motiue will renuncis, & dimittis the gouernement, guiding and gouerning of this our realme of Scotland, liegis, and subiects thair of, and all intronissoun and dispositioun of onie casualteis, properties, benefices, and offices, and all thingis appertening, or heir tofoir is knawin, or herefter fall happen to appertein thairto, in fauouris of our said decess sone. To that effect, that he maie be plantit, placit, & possedit thairin, vse & exerce all thingis belang, and thairto, as natiue king, and prince of the samis, & schlike as we of onie our predecessoris, kingis of Scottis, hes done in onie times bypast.

Atfoir, that this our dimissoun maie tak the mair solempne effect, and that nane pretend ignozance thair of, we haue giuin, grantit, and committit, and be this our letteris, geuis, grantis, & committis our commissioun full, fre, and plane power, generall, & speciall command, to our traist counsillis, Patrike lord Lindesae of the Stris, and William lord Ruthuen, and to ilk ane of thame coniunctlie and seuerallie, to compeir before fa monie of the nobilitie, clergie, burgessis, and vther pepill of our realme, as fall happen to be assembled to that effect in our burgh of Strivelling, or ante vther place, or placis quhair it fall be thocht maist conuenient, at onie date or daiss, and thair publiklie in thair presence, for vs, in our name, and vpon our behalf dimit, and renunce the gouernement, guiding, & reuling of this our realme, liegis, and subiects thair of, all intronissoun with the proprietie, casualtie, or vtheris thingis appertening to vs thairby, and all richt, and title that we had, hes, or maie haue be onie maner of way thairto, in fauouris of our said son, to that effect, that he maie be inaugurat, placit, and rowmit thairin, and the crowne roiall deliuerit to him, and be obepit in all thingis concerning the samin, as we, or our predecessoris hes bene in times bypast.

And in likewise be this presents geuis, grantis, and committis our full, fre, and plane power, to our right traist counsillis, James earle of Spottoun, lord of Dalkeith, John earle of Atholl, &c: John earle of Mar, &c: Alexander earle of Glenearne, William earle of Pentheith, John maister of Graham, Alexander lord Hume, Adam bischope of Dunblane, the procestis of Dundie, Spontidie, or onie of thame, to ressaue the said renuntiatioun, and dimissoun in fauouris of our said son, and thair efter the ressaue thair of, to plant, place, and inaugu-

rat him in the kingdome, and with all ceremonies requisit to put the crowne roiall vpon his heid, in signe and takin of the establisment of him thairin, and in his name to make, and gif to the saidis nobilitie, clergie, burgessis, and vtheris our liegis, his prince, lie and kinglie aith desfullie, & lauchfullie as effectis: and to ressaue thair aithis, for due and lauchfull homage to be maid be thame to him, in all times cuning, as becomis subiects to thair natiue king and prince. And generallie all and sundrie other thingis to be exerce, and vse, that for fore performance and accomplishment heirof maie, or can be done, firme and stable haillid, and for to haillid all and quhatsumuer thingis in our name, in the maneris leidis to be done, in the word and faithfull promiss of ane prince. And ordanis this our letteris (gif heid be is) to be publiit at all places neidfull. Subseruit with our hand, and giuin vnder our pressie seill, at Edinburgh in the fourte and twentieth daie of Julij, and of our reigne the five and twentieth year, 1567.

The commission, in which the earle of Murreie is alone appointed to be regent of the yoong king, and of his kingdome.



Atie be the grace of God, quene of Scots, to all & sundrie our iudgis, and ministeris of our lawis, liegis, and subiects, quhome it effectis, to quhais knalege this our letteris fall cum, greeting. Forsamuch as efter lang, greit, and intollerable painis, & labouris takin be vs sen our arrivall within our realme, for gouernement thair of, and keeping of the liegis of the same in quietnes, we haue not anelic bene verit in our spirit, bodie, and sensis thairby, bot als at length as altogidder sa verit thair of, that our habilitie, and strenght of bodie is not habill langer to indure the samin: thairfore, and because nathing eirdlie can be mair confortabill and happie to vs in this eird, nor in our life time, than to se our deir son, the natiue prince of this our realme, placit in the kingdome thair of, and the crowne roiall set on his heid, we of our owin fre will, an speciall motiue, haue dimittit, and renuncit the gouernement, guiding, and gouerning of this our realme of Scotland, liegis, and subiects thair of, in fauouris of our said son, to that effect: that in all times hereafter, he maie peccable, and quietlie enioie the samin, without troubill, an be obcit as natiue king, and prince of the samin be the liegis thair of.

And vnderstanding that (be resoun of his tender youth) he is not of habilitie in his awin persoun to administrate in his kinglie rowme and gouernement, as equitie requiris, quhill that herefter he cum to the yeires of discretioun; and als knowing the proximite of blude standand betwixt vs, our said sone, and our derrest bryther James erle of Arrar, lord Abirneithie, &c: and hauid experience of the naturall affectioun, and tenderlie lufe he hes in all times beyn, and presentlie beires towardis vs, the honour & estate of our said sone; of quhais lufe and fauour towardis him we can not bot assure our selfe: to quhome na greter honour, loy, nor felicitie in eird can cum, nor to se our said sone inaugurat in his kingdome, seirit, reuerencit, and obcit be his liegis thair of. In respect quhair of, and of the cerfanetie, and notoritie of the honestie, habilitie, qualification, and sufficiencie of our said decess bryther, to haue the pure and regiment of our said sone, realme, and liegis soirsaidis, during our said sonis minoritie: we haue maid, namid, appointit, constitut,

tute, and ordanit, and be this our letteris namis, appointis, makis, constitutis, and ordanis our said berrest brother James erle of Murray, regent to our said berrest sone, realme, and liegis foirsaidis, during his minoritye and les age, and ay and quhill he be of the age of seintene yeiris compleit. And that our said brother be callit, during the said space, regent to our said sone, his realme, and liegis.

And that our said sone efter the completing of the yeiris foirsaidis, in his awin persoun may tak vpon him the said gouernement, and vse, and exerce all and sundrie priuilegis, honouris, and otheris immunitis that appertenis to the office of ane king; als twill in gouerning his realme and pepill, according to the lawis, as in repelling the violence of sic as wald inuaid, or insullie resist him or thame, or his authoritie roiall. With power to our said berrest brother James erle of Murray, in name, authoritie, and behalfe of our said maist deir sone, to ressaue resignatiounis of quhatsumeuir landis holdin of him, or of offices, castels, towris, fortallicis, millis, fishings, woodis, beneficis, or pertinencis quhatsumeuir; the samin againe in our said sonis name to gif, and deliuer signaturis thair vpon: and vpon the giftis of wairdis, nonentressis, and releuis of landis, and marriageis of airis falland, or that fall hapin so fall in our said sonis handis as superiour thair of.

And als vpon presentatioun of landis, beneficis, eschietis of gildis monabbill and brounabbill, dettis and takkis, respittis, remissionis, superfedereis, and vpon the dispositioun of officis vacand, or quhen they fall hapin to baik, to subscribe, and cause be past the seillis the said office of regentrie, to vse and exerce in all thingis, priuilegis, and commoditeis, siclike as frelie, and with als greit libertie, as ony regent, or gouernour to vse, or our predecessouris vsit in ony times bigane, and siclike as gif euerieheid, priuilege and article concerning the said office wer at leny exprestit and amplifit in this our letteris. Promissand to hold firme and stabill in the word and faith of ane prince, to quhatsumeuir thingis our said berrest brother in the premiis hapinnis to do. Chargeing heirfoir zow all, and sundrie our iudgis, and ministeris of law, liegis, and subiectis foirsaidis, to answer and obey to our said berrest brother, in all and sundrie thingis concerning the said office of regentrie, as ze and ilke ane of zow will declair zow lussing subiectis, to our said maist deir sone, and vnder all paine, charge, and offense that ze and ilke ane of zow may comit, and inin againis his maistie in that past. Subscriuit with our hand, and geuin vnder our prelie seill, at Lochleuin the 14 day of Julij. And of our reigne, the twentie five yeir.

These comissions being read, the bishop of Argle, with two superintendents, proceeded to the coronation: the earle of Morton, and the lord Home toke the oth for the king, that he should rule in the faith, feare, and loue of God, and to mainteine the religion then preached and exercised in Scotland, and to persecute all aduersaries to the same. The whole ceremonie was done in the Scots English tong, the quene mother to the king remaining at that time prisoner in Lochleuin. * But before we enter into the augmentation of the historie of this kings time, I thinke it not vnmet to deliuer one thing, which I haue with some wonder obserued in all the kings of Scotland descended of the Stewards: that neuer anie one of them except the first & second king of that name was of the age of man, or of one and twentie yeeres when they put on the kinglie ornaments. A rare thing, and not vnmet to be considered of, although we can not enter into the

secret iudgements of God. The proofe of which matter, being after this sort, I haue set downe in a catalog of the orderlie descent of those kings. In the computation of the yeeres of whole age and first comming to the crowne I haue followed Lelcus.

Robert Steward the first king of that surname, was 57 yeeres old when he began his reigne, in the yeere of our redemption 1370. John Steward son of the said Robert began his reigne 1390. These two alorie wete of full age, when the title of the kingdome descended vnto them. James Steward, the first of the name of James, & the third of the name of Stewards, was within age at the death of his father, when the title and crowne descended vnto him: who although he received not the crowne at Scorne (because he was about eightene yeeres honozable kept as a prisoner in England) untill he was of mans age: yet being king in right, and the crowne inuested in him when he was withing age, I doubt not to make him king from the death of his father, and so within age to haue obtained the kingdome, though not the kinglie vse thereof, beginning his reigne in the yeere of our redemption 1424.

James the second, and the fourth of the Stewards, was six yeeres old when he was crowned, in the yeere of Christ 1436. James the third, and sixt of the Stewards, being seven yeeres old, was crowned king of Scotland in the yeere that the word became fleshy 1460. James the fourth, and first of the Stewards, being sixteen yeeres of age, was adorned with the ensignes of the kingdome, in the yeere of our saluation 1488. James the fifth, and the seventh of the Stewards, being one yeere, five moneths, and ten daies old, was crowned king of Scotland, in the yeere from the birth of Christ 1513. Marie the eight of the name of Stewards, being but seven daies old, was crowned quene of Scots, in the yeere of Christ 1542. Henrie Steward, sonne to Spathe warle of Lennox, and husband to the said Marie Steward, was not one and twentie yeeres old, when he came to be king in the right of his wife Marie: for he was not past one and twentie when he was slaine, as before in the yeere 1567. Charles James Steward, the first of the name of James, and the ninth of the surname of Stewards, sonne of the said Henrie Steward and Marie Steward, being about a yeere old, began his reigne in the yeere that God became man 1567. To whome Andzewo Speluite (this yeere 1585 in England) did whilest he was in Scotland dedicate these verses following:

*Dum tu, magne puer patribus datus ira vocatus,
Et populi pensas crimina lance paris,
Iura tibi, tuus ille Solon, tuus ille Lycurgus,
Quarelli puris fontibus hausta dedit,
Nobilium regum exemplis obsequat auiis,
Et tibi quid fugias, quidue sequaris habes.
Felix si fugias fugienda, sequenda sequaris!
Felix cum populo regis patre, suo.*

There was order taken by the magistrates of the reformed churches, assembled for that purpose, touching the discipline of excommunication, and the excommunicated, diuided into these heads: that is to say, that crimes be worthy of that seuer censare of the church by excommunication: how the minister shall behaue himselfe in publike audience of the people: of confession of the penitent: of the offences which merit publike repentance: of the order to proceed therein: the forme and the order of publike repentance: an admonition to the church: a thanksgiving for the conuersion and repentance of the censured: the forme of the excommunication: the prater for the obstinate that will not repent after that censare: the prater before the excommunication:

Out of the booke printed thereof.

The kings oth.

Fr. Thin.

Parlement hidden at Edinburgh.

In act for the abolishing of the popes authoritie in Scotland.

The castle of Dunbar and the fortress of Innes to be rased.

Fr. Thin, Buchanan, lib. 19.

cation: with th to rec church prair discour of scrip know gener ing see ted to name: Robert ant C On being reie l were the qu on the And l of M toke last p proccu made auth mer pers a con prot the s the i app: teen ning A A parli tress doth for: lem * 3 dete wit laur am by two ation son Tc wh go ha wi in ful the mi tra for: str pa to so fi br ch th a na an

cation: the maner to innocate the name of Iesus, with the sentence of excommunication: the order to receiue the excommunicate againe into the church: the forme of the absolution: and lastlie the praier for the church. Which booke containing the discourse of these matters at large, with authoritie of scriptures and reasons, was set forth by John Knox minister, and commanded to be printed by the generall assemblie, in the yere of Christ 1569, being sente and allowed by those which follow, appointed to that function by the said assemblie: whose names were John Willike, maister John Crag, Robert Pont, John Kohn, David Lindsay, William Christison, James Craig, &c.

In parliament
holden at
Edinburgh.

An act for the
abolishing of
the popes au-
thoritie in
Scotland.

The castell of
Dunbar and
the fortreffe of
Insketh to be
rased.

Fr. Thim.
Buchanan,
lib. 19.

out of the
booke printed
ereof.

On the fifteenth of December a parlement begun, being holden at Edinburgh before the earle of Murraye lord regent, in the which diuers acts and statutes were devised, made, and ratified: as first concerning the quenes demission of hir crowne, and resignati-
on thereof made to hir sonne king James the first. And likewise concerning the instituting of the earle of Murraye in the regencie of the realme, which he took upon him the two and twentieth day of August last past, according to hir letters of commission and procuracion aboue specified. Also there was an act made for the abolishing of the pope, and his usurped authoritie. And an other act for the annulling of former acts made in parlement for maintenance of superstition and idolatrie. And hereto was annexed a confession of the faith and doctrine received by the protestants of the realme of Scotland, authorized in the same parlement. There was also an act made for the indemnitie of those that had leuied warre, and apprehended the quene at Carbarrie hill, the fifteenth of Julie last past, and concerning the detei-
ning of hir in Lochleuin.

Moreover, it was ordeined by an act passed in this parlement, that the castell of Dunbar, and the fortreffe of Insketh, should be demolished and rased doونه to the earth. To be brieife, there were one and fortie acts or statutes made and established in this parlement, as by the register thereof it maie appere. * In the first beginning of the spring, the gouernor determined to make a progresse ouer the realme, with the iudges that were appointed to aduinsister law: which he ment to doe, to the end that he might amend and establish such things as were indamaged by the tumults of the yere before. Which matter working diuerse opinions in those of the quenes faction, did cause that Metellane and John Walsurie sought meanes to deliuer the quene out of prison. Touching which matter also the Hamiltons labored who (being next to the crowne, if the young king were gone, and the quene made a waie, both which perhaps was no great matter to procure) did soine with the quenes faction and fauourers. Whiche re-
fused not to take, because the mother of the one, and the wife of the other, were of the familie of the Hamiltons.

William Murraye of Tillibartine, for his contrarie opinion in the controuersies of religion, and for priuat quarrels, being estranged and grieued from and with the gouernor, did not onelie now depart from the kings faction (although before he showed great diligence in taking the quene) but did also draw with him a great compaignie of his friends intified thereunto with no small hope of benefit to rise into them thereby. And as these were heads and chiefe of such as sought the quenes deliuerance: so there were a great manie other, whom priuat necessity, secret grudge, desire of reuenge, hope of advancement, and necessitie of aliance to those which are before named, procured to follow, and to further

the cause of the quenes libertie. In the meane time, whilist the regent was at Glasgowe to minister law to such as required it (and that he had there heard of these things) this determination of setting the quene at libertie was put in execution, the manner thereof was in this sort. There was in the castell of Lochleuin, wherein the quene was kept as prisoner, the mother of the regent, and three of his brethren by an other father, with a great troupe of women: but none were admitted to see the quene, save such as were well known or sent thither by the regent.

Of all this household compaignie, there was none that seemed so meet to the quene to execute anie matter, as was George Dowglas the youngest brother of the regent, being a man of a pleasant wit, and easilie to be overtaken with the faire speeches of women. This man had accesse vnto the quene to playe at cards, and to vse hir with other courtlie pastimes: who determining to set hir at libertie, did with promises and gifts win the seruants of the castell to fauour him and his enterprises. Whereupon this Dowglas (not unwitting as was thought to his mother) omitted nothing that might seeme to serue for the quenes libertie: the which although manie there did perceiue & took not in verie good part, giuing intelligence therof to the regent; yet he gaue such credit to his owne people there, that he changed (as hath Buchanan) none of the keepers in that place, but onelie commanded his brother George to depart out of the Iland. This said George, when he passed into the next countrie adioining to the lake, in which the castell stood, did more liberalitie than before (by corrupting the keepers with monie) consult with the quene of all hir affaires.

Wherefore not onelie the Scots (whome the present state of things did mislike) being drawn into that faction; but also the Frenchmen by James Hamilton (which had bene regent not manie yeres before) and James archbishop of Glasgowe solicited thereunto, the Scots promised their bodilie force, and the French promised their helping purse. Now about the end of Aprill, an ambassado came out of France requiring in the name of his king, that he might haue leaue to go to the quene: which if he were denied, he made shew that he would presentlie depart. Whereunto the gouernor answered, that it was not in his power to grant it: that the quene was not committed to prison by him, and that he could not determine anie thing herein without their knowledge which first restrained hir of libertie, and after by decree confirmed that deed: but he would not cease in pleasuring his sister, and such a friend as the king (his maister) was, to doe all that he might: and further, that he would take order for an assemblie of the nobilitie the twentieth daie of the next moneth. Untill which time the ambassado seemed somewhat appeased, and the regent applied the administration of the lawes.]

On sundaie the second of Maie, in the yere 1568, at supper time, the quene escaped out of Lochleuin, by the meanes and helpe of George Dowglas brother to the lord of Lochleuin. The lord Seton, the lord of Riccarton, and James Hamilton of Dalbri-
ston, were readie to receiue hir, and conueied hir ouer the quenes ferrie, first to Pubrie the lord Seton his house, and from thence to Hamilton castell, where she remained till the thirtieth daie of Maie being thurdaie, gathering in the meane time such forces as she might from all places. The earle of Murraye lord regent was in Glasgowe, at what time she thus escaped out of Lochleuin; and upon knowledge had thereof, went at the first to haue withdrawen himselfe to Sterling: but suddenlie changing his purpose in that behalf, he determined to continue at Glas-
gowe,

1568.
The quenes
escape out of
Lochleuin.

The quenes
gathereth a
power.

The regents determination to stae at Glasgou.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, lib. 19.

coto, which is not past eight miles from Hamilton, because he was persuaded, that if she should shrinke backe neuer so little, he should incourage his aduersaries, and discourage his friends, and so consequentlie weaken his part greatlie. * Which they also supposed was the more weakened, by the departure of Robert Woid (vnto the quenes part) hauing untill that time wone a great opinion of his constancie towards the regent.

This man, being of a famous familie, was now in the decate of his house meanelie and sparinglie brought vp vnder his father, a valiant gentleman, and one that followed the frugalitie of the Scots, who (willing to prepare a waie to the readuance of his house, as manie of his other kindred did) was now content to take meanes therefore: for which cause both he and his father did first follow the Hamiltons then ruling all things. But after that their gouernment was possed ouer from them to the quene mother the regent; and that contention was moued about religion: he joined himselfe to the lords of the congregation, from whome his father was most estranged: in which this Robert Woid firmelie continued untill the quenes returne out of France. By meanes whereof, there was a great opinion of his valour & wisdom, on whose counsell Coline Campbell earle of Atholl did almost wholie depend. But when by chance certeine of the nobilitie had conspired or conspired (to the Buchanans word) for no euill act, but for the defense of the king, he subscribed to the same league.

But after, with like lightnesse both he and the earle of Argile (which hong vpon his aduise) wrote vnto the quene euerie thing that was done in the same assemblee, from which time this Woid was partaker of all the quenes secrets against his old friends, who with the quene did yet obtaine no greater opinion of constancie, than he did amongst others of lightnesse and inconstancie. But after that the quene was imprisoned, and the earle of Arrerrie made regent, he went then to the part of the gouernor: with whome he shewed such proufe of his wit and industrie, that he was admitted into the priuie counsels of the regent, contrarie to the opinion of others. But after when the matter should be tried by fight betwene the regent & the quene (after his escape from Lochleuin) he fled againe to the quene.] All which notwithstanding, the thirteenth daie of Maie afore mentioned, the quene with hir power marched from Hamilton, by the south side of Clede toward Dunbarton; and out of Glasgou on the other part marched the lord regent with his forces: so as at length both the armies met at a place called the Langside, nere to the house of Cathcart within two miles of Glasgou.

There were on the quenes part the earles of Argile, Castles, Eglington, and Roches, Claud Hamilton sonne to the duke of Chateleraunt, the lords Seton, Summervill, Wesser, Worthwike, Luingston, Herries, Marwell, Saugubar, Woid and Rolfe, lards and knights, Lochinwar, Was, Mauchton, Dalhousie, Roden the shiriffe of Aire, sir James Hamilton, and manie others. On the regents part were these accounted as principall, the earles of Dorset, Mar, Glencarne, Wentworth, the maister of Graham, the lords Hume, Lindse, Ruthuen, Semple, Ogiltrae and Cathcart, of lairds and knights, Bargatay, Blacquhan, Drumlanrig, Selsford, Lus, Buchanan, Talibardin, Peter, Grange, Lochleuin, Leffington, and sir James Walsour. At the first joining there was a verie sharpe encounter: for after they had bestowed their shot of harquebuzes and arrows, they fell to it with speares and swords. But at length, after three quarters of an houres fight, the

quenes part was put to flight.

The victorie remained with the regent, who suffered none to be slaine but those that were killed in the fight, before they turned their backs: among the which were foure score of the surname of the Hamiltons killed. There were taken prisoners about three hundred, of which number the principall were these: the lords Seton and Rolfe, sir James Hamilton, and manie other of that surname. Of the regents part, the lord Hume was hurt in the leg and face, and the lord Ogiltrae in the necke, by the lord Herries: the lord Lindseie, and the lards of Drumlanrig, and of Grange, bare themselves verie valiantlie that day, failing not in anie point that belonged to the dutie of hardie capteins. The quenes part was thought to be nere at the point of six thousand men, and the regents was reckoned to be foure thousand: so that there were ten thousand men in the field that daie, what vpon the one side and the other.

The earle of Huntlie was coming forwarde to haue assisted the quenes part, but the battell was stricken, and his people discomfited (as ye haue heard) per he could come, and so he returned. In this battell the valiance of an Hieland gentleman named Macferlane, stood the regents part in great stead. For in the hottest brunt of the fight, he came in with two hundred of his friends and countriemen, and so manfullie gaue in vpon the flanke of the quenes people, that he was a great cause of the disordering of them. This Macferlane had bene latelie before (as I haue heard) condemned to die for some outrage by him committed: and obtaining pardon (through sute of the countesse of Arrerrie) he recompented that clemencie by this peece of seruice now at this battell, [which was (as saith Buchanan) fought the third daie of Maie, and the eleuenth after the quene had escaped out of prison.]

The quene perceluing the ouerthrow of his people, fled from the place where she stood to behold the battell, and withdrew to Crawford towne, and so by the Saugubar to Dundrenan in Gallowaie: and after she had taried there two or three daies, she toke ship and passed to Worckington in England, where she was staied & conueied to Caerleill, and from thence to Bolton castell, belonging to the lord Scrope, who with sir Rafe Sadler (being sent downe for that purpose) had the custodie of hir, till at length she was committed vnto the earle of Shrewesburie. * The French ambassador, which looked for the good successe of this battell, and did promise to himselfe assured victorie on the quenes part; vnderstanding the contrarie, and being deceiued of his former hope, changed his copie, and with horse and guides hasted all he could into England, without bidding the regent farewell. In which iourne he was robbed by thieves: but James Dowglaſſe, capteine of the marches of Drumlanrig, did this honor to the ambassador, that he had all his goods restored vnto him.]

But now to the doings in Scotland. The regent sent to summon Hamilton castell, but the answer was respited till the next daie: and then he that had the charge came to Glasgou, and offered the keies to the regent. The castell of Drassan was also yielded at the same time to the regent. The eighteenth of Maie, the regent made proclamation, that the inhabitants of the shires of Arrens, Angus, Fife, Mers, Louthian, Kile, and Carricke, should prouide themselves of vittels for sixtene daies, and to meet him at Beggarr the tenth of Iune, to ride with him into the south-west parts of Scotland, to chastise certeine theues, and other disobedient persons. Wherevpon, the eleuenth of Iune, the regent marched forth of Edinburgh, and came that night to Beggarr. The armie being assembled, contained foure or five thousand

The quenes part discomfited.

Four score of the Hamiltons slaine. Prisoners taken.

The earle of Huntlie coming forwarde to aid the quene.

Fr. Thin.

The quene of Scots fled into England.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan lib. 19.

The armies met at Langside.

Lords on the quenes part.

Lords on the regents part.

They joine in battell.

The castell of Woghall. Shirling castle. Crawford.

Saugubar.

Barbarack.

Saint John Slazghan.

Kenmore.

The water of Sir. Dunfreis.

Haddom peeld to the regent.

The lard of Drumlanrig.

Dunard bestowed to the gouernor. Lochmaben.

Two houses called Johnston taken by the regent.

The regents iourne into the south-west parts of Scotland.

land horsemen verie well appointed, beside a thousand footmen, gunners and halberdiers: of botes and pong men that went with the cariage; there were about foure thousand.

The castell of Boglehall, pertaining to the lord Fleming, was surrendered to them. The twelfth of June Shirling castell was rased (a faire house) to the end that other vnderstanding therof, might be put in greater feare. That night they came to Crawford, where the castell was to them surrendered; it belonged unto sir James Hamilton, whom they had in their hands. The thirteenth of June they marched to Saucher, a castell, the which being rendred they spared, because the lord Cheichton the owner thereof, promised at a certaine daie to come to the regent to Edinburgh. The fourteenth of June they came to Barbacast, where they laie that night, and the lord Wederborne was sent to speake with the lord of Louchinware. Wednesday the fifteenth of June, they marched to a place called saint John Schagban, stailing there in trust of the lord of Louchinwares coming unto them, but he came not: whereupon, the next daie being the sixteenth of June, they rased the house of Kennure, and an other house also, for that the owners were friends to the said Louchinware.

The seventeenth of June they came to a gentlemen's house, standing by the water of Ur, where diuerse gentlemen came in, and were receiued. The eighteenth of June they marched to Dunfreis, and remained there all the next daie. A strong house standing in that towne, & appertaining to the lord Marwell, was offered unto them. Diuerse of the Marwells, Johnsons, Pretwines, Grahams, and Wels, came unto the regent, and offering themselves to be obedient, were receiued. Two daies before this, the lord Marwell, the lords of Johnson, Cowhill, and Louchinwar, had bene at Dunfreis with a thousand men, and spent all the wittels. It was thought that the lord Marwell would haue come in, if the other had not counselled him to the contrarie. The twentieth of June they marched to Hoddum, a place belonging to the lord Herries: a thousand of the broken men were assembled and offered skintith; two or three were taken, they laie within a mile of the regent that night.

The one and twentieth the house was yeilded, and the custodie thereof committed to the lord of Drumlanrig that was appointed warden of those marches. It was thought verie strong, so that the defendants might haue kept it longer if they had bene disposed. Great hunger began to pinch the armie, a pint of wine was sold at seven shillings Scottish; and no bread to be had for anie monie. The regent sent forth the earle of Morton, and the lord Hume with a thousand men, to trie if they might haue drawn the broken men to a chase: but it would not be, for they went their waies and would not carrie it. The two and twentieth of June the campe laie still, but the regent with a thousand men went to Annand, and had it deliuered unto him: where he met with the lord Scrope, and after returned to the campe. The three and twentieth of June they went to Lochmaben and receiued the castell, the which the regent deliuered to Drumlanrig: but some of the Marwells being close lie hid within an od corner of the house, after the regent was gone, brake out and seized the house againe into their hands.

The same daie, two houses belonging to the lord of Johnson, the one named Lochwood, and the other Lowhouse, were taken, but not burnt: because the lord Johnson had put in suertie to come in by a day unto the regent. The same daie they took great store of cattell, and that night with a shot of the great artillerie, they shote two thieues among three score o-

thers that came and approached verie nere to the armie, as the maner of the pickers is. The armie laie that night at Milton holms. The foure and twentieth of June they came to Peebles, and the next day to Edinburgh, so ending that iourne, in the which they had passed through the countries of Clidessdale, Gallowaie, Middledale, Annandale, & Tweedale. Much a do and great trouble arose within Scotland, by reason that the Hamiltons and their adherents made parts against the regent, and those other lords that gouerned under the king; whereof as I haue no certaine notes, so I must passe the same with silence.

Whilest these things were thus in doing, letters came to the regent from the queene of England: for she was perswaded by such as were fled with the queene of Scots into England, that there was great iniurie done unto the queene of Scots, being burdened with high matters, through the enuie of hir euill subiects, in which chieftie the kinglie authoritie was remiled, and the regiment of sacred maiestie defaced. A thing which did not alone pertaine to the priuat person of the queene of Scots, but to the example of all other princes. Which euill of expelling kings, was speedilie and soundlie to be prevented, least it might creepe anie further. By which and other perswasions, the queene of England required of the regent to send sufficient men, that should declare to hir the order of all things as they were done, and that should answer all such reproches as were laied against him.

Touching which matter, although it appeared grieuous and heauie in it selfe, to call things in question which before were by parlement established; and to bring in a new kind of iudgement of their causes before forren iudges and kings who were their enemies, and first perswaded against the regent by such as maliced him and his faction; and that after a sort the same seemed dangerous and full of shame: yet on the other side there were manie things that forced him to accept that request of the queene of England, although it were vniust. Therefore when he had determined to send ambassadors, and that they could not agree who they should be, with the chieftest, and those of the nobilitie refused it: at length the regent professed that he would take that iourne upon him. For the performance whereof he chose certaine persons to accompanie him into England, contrarie to the mind of William Metellan, which onelie denied and stood against it. Therefore he caried the said Metellan with him (sauoring the queene) not doubting in the end by one meanes or other to win him to his part.

The rest that went willingly with him, were James Douglas, Patrike Lindreie, being of the nobilitie, the bishop of Exeter, & the abbat of Fermilindon, churchmen; James Macgill, and Henric Balmaue, lawyers of the college of iudges. To whome as the ninth was ioined George Buchanan author of the Scottish historie: with whome the regent accompanied to the number of 100 horses; toke his iourne into England, and came the fourth mones of October to Poerke, to the assemble appointed there by the queene of England. On which day, and almost at the same houre, Thomas Howard duke of Northfolke came thither also; to which duke were associat in commission, to heare the controuersie of the Scots, the earle of Sussex, and sir Rafe Sadler knight. After a few daies, came thither such as were sent by the queene of Scots, which did complaine of hir vnkind subiects, and required helpe to restore hir to hir kingdome. These men being heard (sundered from the regent and the earls) did (after they had protested that they came not unto them as iudges, hauing anie right to make lawes to bind

Great trouble in Scotland.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 15.

e queene
t discomf-

urtaene of
hamil-
o latine.
soners ta-

The castell of
Boglehall.
Shirling ca-
stell.
Crawford.

Saucher.

Barbacast.

Saint John
Schagban.

Kennure.

The water of
Ur.
Dunfreis.

Thin.

e queene of
ots faith
England,

Hoddum pe-
bled to the re-
gent.

The lord of
Drumlanrig.

Thin.
hanas
19.

Annand deli-
uered to the
gouernor.
Lochmaben.

Two houses
of lord John-
son taken by
the regent.

e regents
enie into
southwest
ts of
otland.

blind them) with manie words open the injuries which the Scottish subiects had done vnto their quene, and required of the quene of England, that either she would perswade hir unkind people to receiue their prince againe; or if they refused the same, that she would giue them an armie, with which they might compell them thereto.

In fewe hours after this, the regent (calling the matter to the deciding of law, before equall arbiters) did contend (sith nothing was done but by right, by law, by the ancient custome of their countrey, by the determination of the assemblie of parliament, and by the subscription of manie such as were there present to accuse them) that he alone by his authoritie could not vndo the same: but when the English commissioners had denied that they could be satisfied with those things done at home, & here pronounced by the Scots, except some cause were shewed that enforced them so seuerelie to pronounce against their quene; the regent answered that he did chieslie see that matter, least he should be driuen to accuse his quene and sister. Which he denied to do, not willing to late abroad to forren nations hir wicked deeds, as Buchanan fearmeth them. To the contrarie whereof he would not be enforced, unless the quene of England would promise to defend the cause of the now king, and to take him into hir protection: if he did manifestlie proue, that the quene of Scots had murdered the king of Scots hir husband. Wherevnto the English answered, that they had authoritie onelie to heare both parts, and to declare their whole request vnto their quene.

By reason whereof, in the end they wrote to the quene of England all the state of their doings; who did write backe, that the earle of Murreie should send one or more to the English court, fullie to informe hir thereof, sith she would do all therein that belonged vnto hir. Which letters receiued, the earle of Murreie sent Metellan (a man before suspected, and that did after soine in conference with John Leslie bishop of Ross) to the court of England, associated with James Macgill. Now after these men were come to the quene at London, it was thought most convenient by hir and hir counsell, that the regent himselfe should be present, when all matters of controuersie were intreated vpon. For which cause, sending part of his companie backe into Scotland, the regent came with a small traine to London: where the same difficultie was objected against him which was done at Forke: to which he answered as before. Whilst these things were doing at London, the quene of Scots did by James Balfoure moue warres in Scotland. For the furtherance whereof, she wrote letters to hirs and Bothwells friends, and made manie deputies to execute hir authoritie in Scotland.

When the regent saw himselfe thus beset on euerie side, he determined to returne with all speed into Scotland aswell as he might, without dispatch of that for which he came. Wherefore the English still instantlie vrging him to tell the cause (which being vtold, they could not determine anie thing therein) that moued them to do those things in Scotland: the regent (loath to offend the quene of England) made a long protestation how unwilling he was to accuse the quene, and his sister; and therefore requested one thing, that they which were the occasion to lead him into this battell might be present thereat, for because he would vse their witnes in the weightiest matters. Which for manie great reasons being denied by the English, the quene of England required, that the quene of Scots (by force and armes expelled) might be restored home; & therewithall giuing the regent a day, to shew cause why the re-

uengers of the kings death had taken armes against the quene: although the earle of Murreie were none of them: for he was in France at the time of the deed done. Wherefore the regent shewing all he could against the quene of Scots for the defense of hir aduersaries; in the end, the quene of England deferring the same to another day, permitted the regent to depart home to appease the troubles there, and that he should leaue some one of his behind him, to answer all such euils as should be objected against him.

But the regent desired them whilst he was there, that his accusers might be brought out. Wherevpon the accusers being present, and saing that they had not then anie thing to saie; but that they would further shew their accusation where it pleased the quene: the matter with much controuersie ended on both parts, & the counsell brake by without anie finall sentence therein. But whilst the regent remained thus in England (as is a little before touched) there were manie things without successe attempted by the quene of Scots followers. For James Hamilton (who a little before had bene gouernour) being grieued with the mishap of things at home, falling out contrarie vnto his mind, did therefore depart into France, where (remoued from all companie, and onelie attended vpon with a man or two) he did secretlie liue to himselfe.

But when the quene of Scots was escaped the prison of Lochleuin, and that she was after subdued in battell, being within a fewe daies after compelled to land in England; the Frenchmen that could not draw the earle of Murreie (now by his friends called home into his countrey) into their faction, thought it best for manie reasons (sith they might not for the troubles in France send him succor or monie) to raise by the said Hamilton against the earle of Murreie, and especiallie at that time whilst the regent was in England. Wherefore he comming out of his den abroad into the world, enriched by the French with a fewe golden crownes, and overcharged with manie faire promises, was importuned by his friends and kindred, whilst he hastened from England into Scotland, that the quene of England with the authoritie of the quene of Scots, would induce the earle of Murreie to deliuer by his regentship of Scotland vnto him; sith that place was of right due vnto him (by the manners and lawes of all nations, but chieslie by the custome of his countrey) as nearest in blood, and next in succession.

For the proue whereof, it is not necessarie to reckon by the memorie of histories from the first times, considering it is knowne to all men, that gouernors haue bene giuen to those of yong yeares (not able to rule the kingdome) of such as haue bene nearest of blood. For so, after the death of James the third, Robert his vnkle had the gouernement in the absence of James the first; and Murbac the son of the same Robert succeeded him therein. And of late time in our remembrance, John duke of Albany did gouerne the yong yeares of James the fifth; and Hamilton himselfe, in the minority of Marie the quene that now is, being as then neither fit for a husband or a kingdome, did a fewe yeares rule all the affaires of Scotland. Who now by certeine rebels, was through vnlawfull voices excluded thereof with force and violence, and that (which is worse) a bastard is aduanced thereto in contempt of lawfull blood. Which honor, if it were restored vnto him, he would shortly appeale all those ciuill bialles, and restore the quene of Scots vnto hir kingdome, without anie force or tumult of armes.

Wherevnto the king of Scots legats did answer, that Hamilton did not onelie demand a thing quite contrarie

contrarie to the lawes and old customs of Scotland; but also a thing most vnjust, if no authoritie of law were against it. For our ancestors (by reason of many murders committed by those of the kings blood) almost a thousand three hundred yeares past, did change the order in creating of their kings. For whereas before, they which were of the familie of Fergusius, the first king of that name, were in the life of the king chosen after to reigne, not as necessity of blood; but as persons most worthy to weild a kingdome: Kenneth the third (to the end to take awaie from the court all treacherie towards the kings familie, and cruell murders of kinreds amongst themselves) did establish that order which is now obserued in creating of our kings; which was, that the next in blood should be aduanced to the place of the deceased king.

But afterwards, when men were taught by the successe of things, that it could scarce be chosen; but that in such inconstancie of fortune, the right of the chiefest magistrat must sometime light vpon children and vpon heires also vnfit for gouernement, they did ordaine, that he should be chosen to the administration of the publike wealth; which did excell others in wealth and wisdom. Which course our ancestors haue kept almost these six hundred yeares, leauing the kingdome whole & sound to posteritie. According to the which, when Robert Bruce was dead, there were gouernors chosen by voices: which were Thomas Randolph earle of Murrie, Donald earle of Mar, Andrew Murrie, John Randolph, & Robert Stewart. For sometime, as manie were chosen gouernors together; so when James the second was a child, Alexander Levingston, being no kin to the king, no not so much as of the nobilitie, but onelie a knight, was appointed gouernor to the young king.

Which may not be excused, in saying that the same was then so done, because there wanted men of the kings blood to supplie those places. For at that time were liuing John Kennedie head of the familie, the kings kinsman by the sister of James the first; and the uncle by his fathers side: James Kennedie also, bishop of saint Andrews, a man of most account in the kingdome for all kinds of vertue, being borne of the kings aunt: and Dowglas also, earle of Angus, with Archembald earle of Dowglas, both of the kings blood; whereof the last was in riches and power almost equal to the king, but far beyond the wealth and power of all others; of whome, none did ever complaine to the parlement, when they were put besides the gouernement, and others not so nere of blood appointed thereunto. Not long after, foure tutors were appointed to James the third, which were not made in respect of blood; but chosen by the voices of the nobilitie.

And although of late, John duke of Albanie was by the nobilitie called out of France to the gouernment of Scotland, during the tender yeeres of James the fifth, and confirmed in the same by publike decrees of parlement; yet was it not giuen vnto him in respect of nearnesse of blood. For he had Alexander his elder brother in life, who although perhaps he was inferior to the duke; yet he was farre aboue James Hamilton (in all kind of vertue) which did sometimes reach after that place. But in the absence of James the first, Robert his uncle ruled the kingdome. But by what right? Was he admitted thereunto for nearnesse of blood? No trulie.

What then? Was he chosen of the people? No. How then was he made? Marie when king Robert the third was not sufficient to rule the kingdome, either for strength of bodie or mind, he did substitute Robert his brother as his deputie, & commended his

children to his gouernment; who in the end furnished Dauid the eldest, and also threatened death vnto the younger sonne James, which he did auoid by fleeing Scotland. Which Robert being in the possession of authoritie by tyrannie (and his brother killed with thought) did leaue the same to Murdac his sonne. So that it cannot be doubted that the mind of the last king Robert was to his brother, for he would neuer (if he had liued and bene in health) haue made him tutor of his children, whom at the houre of his death he cursed as the butcher of his children.

That time also, in which this Hamilton gouerned, doth remember vnto vs manie things (though what sooner was then done, is no proofe that it was well done) which are to be considered of. For when the cardinall Beaton did labor by subtiltie to inuade the chiefe gouernement, this Hamilton rather leaning to the hatred which good men did beare towards Beaton, than trusting to the fauor of the people towards himselfe, did leape into the empty place of a gouernor; in which he ruled with much crueltie and couetousnesse, and in few yeeres after, both sold the gouernment (obtained by force) and the quene, whom he had vnder his authoritie. At what time was shewed the fauour which the people bare vnto him, when they preferred the gouernement of a strange woman, before the bondage which they had vnder him.

You see now (I hope) the request of the Hamiltons to be against our countrie lawes, and decrees of our ancestors, and that so contrarie vnto them, that wanting other sufficient arguments, he is constrained to confirme the same onelie with lies. But if there were anie such custome, I suppose there is none but doth see how vnjust it were. For what can be more vnrighfull, than to commit yong, weake, and faultlesse yeeres to his faith, which doth daile either loose or with for the death of the pupill? Whose whole familie hath alwaies bene at daile and deadly warre with the house of the king that now is? What defense can be here by nearnesse of blood against old malice, vnmeasurable couetousnesse, and the headie violence of (alreadie tasted) tyrannie? Laodice the quene of Cappadocia is supposed to haue killed hir owne children, as they came to yeeres of discretion, and to haue bought the small continuance of hir gouernement with the blood of hir sonnes.

Wherefore, if the mother spated not hir owne flesh, for the gaine of short authoritie; what will old enemies do, inflamed to crueltie with the brands of couetousnesse (may rather what is to be thought that they will not do) against a child, which deferreth effect of their hope of gouernement? If this example seeme ouer old or obscure to anie man, or to be ouer farre set, I will lay downe some nerer home, and those most notable. Who is so ignorant of this latest lie done, that he knoweth not that Galeas Sfortia (growne to discretion, a husband, and sonne in law to a most mightie king) was slaine by his vnkle Lodowike? To whom are the calamities vnknewe, which followed so cruell a parrieide and kin-slaier? For the most beautifull countrie of Italie was almost brought thereby to utter destruction: the familie of the Sfortias, the mother of manie a valiant person cleane destroyed, and the barbarous people (from whose crueltie and couetousnesse nothing was safe) brought into the pleasant places about Padus. Who is he that is borne in Britaine, that hath not heard of the crueltie of Richard (the third king of that name in England) against the children of his brother? But with what bloodshed was that in the end purged?

Now, sith these did not feare to do such evils to their

their nearest blood, by the onelie enforcing desire to gouerne, being otherwise twofold persons: what shall we looke for from him, whose inconstancie of mind all the Scots doe know: whose unskillfull gouernement they haue tried with manie slaughters: And (which is more) whose familie not content with the murder of this kings great grandfather, did go about to intrap his grandfather by the mothers side, whilest he was in life; and when he could not kill the grandfather by the fathers side, he thrust the poore father out of the kingdome, brought forth the mother to be slaine as a sacrifice, & sold hir kingdome (when they could not inioy it) to strangers: out of which bondage she (by the prouidence of God) being deliuered, they haue throwne themselves into these troubles in which they now are. Whereby we may easilie vnderstand, what the iudgement of the common people was touching that matter, in that those men doe now seeme to be deliuered out of a prison of miserable bondage, and to behold the sweet light of libertie, when they (which knew not how to order it) did sell their gouernment to a strange woman.

These things being thus heard on both sides before the councell of England, the queene thereof by hir said councell declared to Hamilton, that he required an vntrist thing, and that he should not hope for anie aid from hir; and that she hath promised the kings ambassadoe, that Hamilton should not depart England, before that the said ambassadoe had leaue likewise to go home. After that these things were done, and that the regent somewhat indifferentlie dispatched his affairs in England, he obtained leaue to depart, and was honorablie conducted home with the English, who sufficientlie garded him: but especiallie the nobilitie and companie of the north parts, sith it was great honor for hir maiestie safelie to returne him home, who (vpon hir letters had) was come out of his owne countrie. Which regent comming to Edinburgh the next day after the kalends of Februarie, hee was there receiued with great pompe.

Few daies after this, those of the kings faction assembled at Striueling, where the regent declared vnto them what he had done in England; which being well liked, was in the end confirmed by all the nobilitie. Much about that time, James Hamilton chiefe of that familie came out of England, being by the queene of Scots authorized with a new and arrogant letter: in that she called him hir father, and made him hir vicar and deputie of the kingdome. This man at his first comming made proclamation, that no man should obeye anie other than such as were substituted by him. Wherevpon those of the kings part (bestowing summes of monie vpon soldiers, to make them readie, if need required, to the vttermost conflict) met on a day appointed at Glasgow.

But when there was a great assemblee of the common people at Hamilton, more than they looked for, a meanes of agreement was attempted, with this condition: that Hamilton, comming to Glasgow, should acknowledge the king for chiefeest gouernor: which if he did, all other things should easilie be agreed; but if he denied that, he should come in baine: all which he promised to doe, and the kings armie was dismissed. When he came to Glasgow, they obtained their former goods and honors the same day, in which he and his friends professed themselves subiects to the king: but yet so, that in the meane time they should remaine in prison, or else giue pledges of their next kin; with further notice, that if anie of the said part would so doe, they should also be receiued on the same covenants, wherevnto the earle of Argile and the earle Huntleie refused to subscribe.

Hamilton comming at the day appointed to Edinburgh, did deferre the performance of his promises, deuising manie delaies; vntill the other principall of the factions were come, whereby the covenants might be established by all their contents, for which he prayed day till the tenth of Maie: and that in the meane time he might vnderstand the mind of the imprisoned queene of Scots: all which in the end was denied vnto him. Wherevpon Hamilton (confessing the truth) said, that he consented to those conditions by compulsion; and that (if he were free) hee would not allow of anie of them. For which answer, Hamilton & Marwell were committed prisoners to the castell of Edinburgh. The earle of Argile was suffered to be quiet at home, but the earle Huntleie was more hardlie dealt withall, because that in the absence of the gouernor he had taken manie, and had made deputies about Crawford and Ogilvie.

Wherevpon there was day giuen vnto them both to meet at the assemblee at saint Andrews, whither the earle of Argile first came: with whom there was no extreme dealing, because he ceased to trouble the realme anie more, was of kinred to the gouernor, and they two were of great friendship together euen from their yong years. But when the cause of Huntleie (long before his comming) was well debated, the gouernor pronounced, that he would pardon all priuate faults done to him, or to the king: but that he neither could nor would pardon anie injuries done to any other. And if Huntleie, or his friends that followed his faction, could passe away with those spoils, he would willinglie labor that arbitrators chosen by both parts, should temper the value of the damage. At what time also there grew a further mischief, whether all they which took part with Huntleie should also be pardoned; but in the end, vpon deliberation, all things seemed indifferentlie well pacified.

During these things, the queene of England sent letters into Scotland in the behalfe of the imprisoned queene, either that she might wholie be restored, or iointlie rule with hir sonne; or admitted to liue priuatlie in hir owne countrie. All which being denied to be granted, the Scots sent Robert Petcarne, a man of great wisdom and fidelitie, to deliuer their answer vnto the queene of England. Whilest these things were in doing, the gouernor fearing the power of the imprisoned queene, which now waxed great, did call William Pettellan before him, from Perth to Striueling; who requested the earle of Argile to go with him for his better suertie. Afterwards, this William sitting in the councell, was accused by Thomas Crawford of the kings death, wherevpon he was commanded prisoner to a chamber in the castell, and others were sent to apprehend James Balfurie.

But in the end, the gouernors mildnesse suffered no great hurt to fall vpon them; for Balfurie by his friends some obtained pardon; and Pettellan being led to Edinburgh, was left in a house there not farre from the castell: to whome certaine hoarsemen were appointed keepers, vnder the charge of Alexander Hume a noble yong man, appointed chiefe ouer them. But William Bircadie, capteine of the castell of Edinburgh, about ten of the clocke at night, did counterfeit letters signed with the hand of the earle of Spurreie, and brought them to Alexander, willing him to deliuer William Pettellan, which he did accordinglie. Wherevpon Pettellan was caried by Bircadie into the castell, to the great dislike of the nobilitie, being almost vncertaine whether they should impute the deed to Bircadie, or to the gouernor, not being vnacquainted with the boldnesse of Bircadie: in such sort, that the same was like to grow to a commotion, if the innocencie of

Buchanan.
lib. 19.

Buchanan.
lib. 19.

1569.
Rebellion in
the north of
England, by
the earles of
Northumber-
land & West-
merland.

Proclamation
made at Minc-
ster by Sir
Jo. Foster.

The castell
Winewike a
warden was
fortified by
Jo. Foster.

Sir John
Foster kee-
peth New-
castell against
the rebels.

Sir Henry
Perrie again
his brother
the earle of
Northum-
berland.

of the gouernours had not before bene sufficientlie knowne.

1569.
Rebellion in
the north of
England, by
the earles of
Northumber-
land & West-
merland.

In the yere 1569, the earles of Northumber-
land and Westmerland raised a rebellion against
the queenes maiestie of England; but by the god di-
ligence and prudent circumspection of the earle of
Sunder, then lieutenant of the north parts, and by
such direction as was given by his maiestie and his
councell, for the leuieng of an armie vnder the lea-
ding of the earle of Westmerke, and the lord admerall
Clinton, the said two earles were kept so in feare,
that they durst not aduance farre forward in their
wicked beginn enterprise, but were constrained to
retire backe towards Durham. Whereupon the earle
of Sunder, supposing that their meaning was for
their last refuge and safegard to take the castles of
Alnewike and Markeworth, he wrote vnto sir John
Foster lord warden of the middle marches, either
by force, policie, or some other means, to get into his
hands the possession of those two castles, and the
same to fortifie with such number and garrisons of
men, as to his discretion should be thought conueni-
ent, for the safe custodie and gard thereof.

Sir John Foster, being at his house nere to
Alnewike, when he received these letters, accompa-
nied with his seruants, friends, and tenants, & some
souldiers that were come to him from Westmerke,
marched vp to the castell on foot, where finding the
house garded with a great number of the earle of
Northumberlands seruants, retainers, and tenants,
he made proclamation before the castell gate, that e-
uerie of them within the castell should come forth,
and withdraw to their owne houses, vpon paine to
be reputed rebels to the queenes maiestie: and that
which of them soeuer did refuse to obeie this procla-
mation, staidng either in the castell or elsewhere in a
nye vnlawfull assemblie, it should be lawfull for eue-
rie man to spoile his goods, and him to kill if he
made resistance.

Proclamation
made at Alne-
wike by sir
Jo. Foster.

This proclamation notwithstanding, they with-
in the castell, at the first refused to yeld it vp. And
thereupon sir John Foster marched through the
towne into the market place, and there made the like
proclamation in behalfe of all the inhabitants that
were the earle of Northumberlands tenants, for
their repairing home to their houses. And coming
here with backe towards the castell, they within per-
ceiving themselves destitute of succor, and sir John
Foster to increase in power, did vpon better ad-
uise yeld themselves vnto him, who saued all their
liues. After the same manner he got also the castell of
Markeworth, and fortified them both with suffici-
ent number of men. This done, he assembled such
forces as he was able to make, so that he got to-
gether to the number of eleuen hundred horsemen, and
tooke order for laie and stop the passages, so as the
earles friends and tenants in Northumberland
should not go vnto him.

The castell of
Alnewike and
Markeworth
fortified by sir
Jo. Foster.

Sir John
Foster be-
sieged Newca-
stell against
the rebels.

After this, hauing in his companie the lord
D. gle, and Thomas Foster his brother, and other gen-
tlemen, he went to Newcastell, where, with Thomas
Gower esquire, that had the principall rule therof at
that time, he tooke order for the defense of that town
against the rebels. Whither came to him sir Henrie
Perrie, offering his seruice against his brother, and
other the rebels, to the uttermost of his power. Here-
upon diuerse excursions were made forth of New-
castell into the bishoprike, where the two earles
were incamped, and sundrie skirmishes chanced be-
twixt the two parties, though no great hurt followed
thereof. The earles yet on a day came from Durham,
and with their armie marched towards Newcastle.
Sir John Foster, and sir Henrie Perrie, hauing
intelligence thereof, issued forth of Newcastle with

all their forces, and certaine peeces of great ordi-
nance. They had also with them certaine bands of
the souldiers of Westmerke, meaning thereto haue
ioined battell with the earles: sir Henrie Perrie
showing himselfe as willing and forward thereto
as any other in all the companies.

At Chester deane, midwaie betwixt Durham and
Newcastell, the armies approached the one nere to
the other, a small brooke running in a hollow di-
uiding them asunder, so that there was no passage for
them to conueie their ordinance ouer, the banks on
either side being so steepe and cumbersome. Where-
upon the earles, perceiving that they were disappoint-
ed of their purpose, after some skirmishes betwixt
the horsemen, they returned vnto Durham: and
from thence the next day they went to Berham, and
after being in utter despaire, fled into Scotland:
where the earle of Westmerland lighted among those
that thifted him awaie so from place to place, that he
escaped out of that realme, when he could no longer
remaine there in suertie. But the earle of Northum-
berland fell into their hands, which deliuered him vn-
to the regent, who thought he could do no lesse than
put him in safe keeping, considering the amitie
that was betwixt the two princes, the queenes maie-
stie of England, and the king of Scots.

Chester deane;

The earles of
Northumber-
land & west-
merland fled
into Scot-
land.

But shortly after, the regent (as he was riding
through Lithgow) was wickedlie shot in with an
arquebuse, by one James Hamilton, and so wound-
ed, that the next day he died of the hurt [as saith
Buchanan out of a wood gallerie, in which were clo-
thes hanged as it were to an other use.] * But the
night before the slaughter of the regent, Walter
Scot, and Thomas Bar also of Ffernithirst entered
into England to spoile the borders, which they did
more cruellie than euer was done before, rather for
desire of reuenge of some iniurie, than for the gaine
of any booties. Besides which, the capitaine of the ca-
stell there Pettellan was prisoner, was now com-
manded to let the same Pettellan at libertie: who
vpon oth before the nobilitie (which allowed and con-
firmed the same) did purge himselfe of the death of
the king, and of the ciuill warres moued in Eng-
land (wherewith he was charged) adding that he
would proue the same at any time when day should
be appointed to him therfore. After which, there was
an assemblie made for the election of a new gouer-
nour.

1571. Buch.
1570.
The earle of
Murrrie lord
regent slain.
Fr. Thin.

Buchan, lib. 20.

At that time Thomas Randolph, being sent thi-
ther ambassador for the queene of England in the life
of the regent, had audience granted vnto him; whose
message was to demand, the deliuerie of such re-
bels of England as had fled thither: which ambassa-
dor the deceased gouernour had before refused to
heare at Strimeling. Whereupon, with all things
were then in a turmoile by his death, they departed.
But now, when there was a parlement for the cho-
sing of a new regent, Randolph which had bene in
Scotland some yeres before, because he seemed best
to know the men and their conditions of Scotland,
and because he had before dispatched some other am-
bassages for the benefit of the realme, was held
deere and well esteemed of the nobilitie, and therfore
was brought into the councell.

Who, after that he had declared what the mind of
his prince had bene vnto the Scots, he shewed that
he would not now abbate the same vnto them in
these trouble some times, no more than he had be-
fore done. After which he remembered the inuasions
made into England, with the slaughters, spoiles, and
burnings committed a little before: all which he well
knew was not done by the counsell or labor of the
publike state: and therfore his queenes fauor was
not diminished to them, but that the same god will

D. f.

did

old remaine to them now, as ample as ever it was. And where she was grievously offended (and that without hir desert) yet she was not now determined (although by right the iustlie might) to demand publike restitution and recompense for such evils: nor to exact punishment of the whole nation for the misdoing of a few.

For she was not ignorant that tumults and troubles of all things was of late raised amongst them. Notwithstanding this civil, she did not yet aite whitt doubt of the fauor of the god and vertuous men vnto hir: and that she would not onlie for their cause separate the offense from the publike consent: but also (if they themselves for the domesticall seditions could not inforce the disturbers of the quiet to make restitution of such spoiles) that she would ioine hir power with them, to the end by common counsell they might take iust punishment vpon the truce-breakers. Which if they could not then doe by that meanes, that yet she would prosecute those iniuries with hir owne people, whose armes should without anie damage to them passe through such places as would be quiet, and take no reuenge vpon anie that were not guiltie of that iniurie. The rest of the parts of his ambassage did containe admonitions alwaies profitable in all lawfull assemblies, but most necessarie for the present state of Scotland.

Whereof the first aduise was for the defense of religion, with an especiall care of diligence therein: sith the same alone dooth teach vs the forme of our dutie, and peace towarde God, our prince, our equall & christian neighbors. For no common-wealth diuided in it selfe can long continue: for which cause they must chieflie labor with all their power, with might and maine, with saile and oars, that peace and quiet maie be hollic and vertuoullie nourished at home amongst their people. For sith God the creator of all things, hath imparted a kinglie gouernement ouer this nation, it is iust and meet that they obeye their princes; and in dutifull sort bestow all honor, reuerence, and obedience vpon them; sith peace, concord, amitie, and loue, with all men (as much as in vs lieth to vse) is most acceptable to God, and dooth take awaie (or at the least hinder) the thirst and shedding of mens blood, a fault which God of all others dooth most hate.

Which vnitie increasing the wealth of euerie one, maketh all nations more fearefull to their enemies, and is the preseruer of iustice: whose chiefe part consisteth in punishing the euill, is especiallie to be imbraced: when contrarie dissention and treason is a thing most detestable to all lawfull gouernement: sith such kind of people are to be pursued with all extremitie, and not be succored with anie fauor, with anie mercie, or with anie pardon, into that countrie soeuer they flee for refuge of their hated wickednesse. All these things did Randolph both godlie and wiselie admonish vs of, and iustlie and modeestlie require from vs.

But because there was no regent chosen for the supreme gouernement, there could no certeine answer be giuen therevnto: for which cause he was for that time put backe to the kalends of Maie. At last, William and James Dowglaſſe, brothers of the staine regent by one mother, were heard in this parliament, who required that the vntowrthie death of their brother might be reuenged, sith the same was taken awaie not for anie priuat grudge, but for the common-wealths cause. Vpon the opening whereof men were of diuerſe opinions about his death, though they all agreed that the offenders should be punished: for some would haue a day giuen to such as were suspected of the murder: for the names of manie persons were there shewed to answer the

same. But it better pleased other not to wait for anie appointed day of law to be giuen to them, who had already taken armes with violence to defend that deed which they had already done; & that they should not onlie raise their weapons against them, but also against all such as were condemned in that assemble of the nobilitie.

To which opinion all the knights and souldiours did some agree, who yet could not hold their determination, especiallie sith the earle of Atholl and Forston did dissuade them from it: whereof the first would haue them tarry, untill there were a greater assemble of the nobilitie: and the other supposed that it would come to passe, that if they ioined manie faults in one, that the reuenge of the regent would perish and come to nothing, and the matter would burst out to ciuill wars, whereby all they that feared peace, would flee to the part of such as were guiltie of the murder. Wherefore their faults were to be diuided, and (if it were possible) to treat of them by law, and that nothing should be done or changed untill the kalends of Maie, on which there was an assemble or parliament appointed.

Vpon which persuation the companie was dissolved, though the greatest part of the nobilitie did condemn this delaie, as moued therunto: because that the other would saie that all things were done at the becke of the kings enemies, who had thus protracted the time; to the end that the malice of the death of this regent might by little and little vanish in the meane time, and the aduerſe faction gather greater power together. Which opinion of the common people was confirmed by manie things that went before, and manie things which followed. For presentlie (before the death of the regent was fullie spread abroad) James Hamilton (morgaging his lands to John Summeruill of Canineham) borrowed monie thereof: with which, and with other monie taken vp of the rest of his friends, he sent to his fauorers (to hire souldiours) being warned before, that they should alwaies be ready at all times, and for all causes which should happen by the taking awaie of their deable enemy, the earle of Arrerie: neither after that time did the quenes factions cease from meeting in diuerſe distant places.

On the fifteenth kalends of March, there did assemble the chiefe of the rebellious faction (for by that name and epitheton dooth Buchanan alwaies terme those that toke the quenes part) to deuise of their affaires. At what time the earle of Argile, and the lord Boid did write vnto earle Forston, that they would willinglie (sith they did not yet know who killed the regent, and who were consenting thereto) consult with the other nobilitie about the same matter, both to search out and to punish the same: and that they would not come to Edinburgh about that matter. But if the kings faction would be so persuated, they would willinglie come to Lithgow, to Faulkirke, or to Striveling, there to meet with them. Wherevpon, the earle of Forston, consulting with Petellan about the same (for so it was desired in the letters) in the end it came to no effect. At the same time, Thomas Har wrote to Lincolne (to vse Buchanans word) to the gardian of the castell, to see if he could obtaine of the quene of England to staie hir armie: which if he brought to passe, that then he would take such order, that he would easilie pacifie the borders without anie further trouble, and that they should remaine in that dutie which they were wont: but if she did refuse this condition, he would continue in his attempt, not doubting but the god subiects would shew their obedience towarde their imprisoned quene, & would ioine themselves together, because aid would shortly come out of France vnto them.

On the first nones of March, the Hamiltons, the earle of Argyle, and Boid came to Lithquo; but the murder of one hired souldior did trouble all their de-
 use by a sudden tumult that was raised thereupon. Therefore the next day after the archbishop of saint
 Andrews did bring the Hamiltons home, the rest of
 the quenes faction, especiallie the earles of Hunt-
 leie, Atholl, Crawford, and the lords Ogilvie, Hume,
 Seton, and Metellan, met at Edinburgh: in which
 the earle Morton was accompanied with a small
 traine, untill the earles of Glencarne and Spar were
 come with their retinue. The fourth nones of March
 the chiefe of the factions met together to consult of
 the estate of things: but the same did proceed verie
 slowly, by reason of the absence of the earle of Ar-
 gyle, whose power and authoritie was then verie
 great.

This man did Huntleie seeke to persuade to ioin-
 with the rest of the faction, but he returned without
 doing anie thing (as it was supposed by most men)
 through the subtiltie of Metellan, which would haue
 things long deferred, that more conuenient meane
 might be had in that troublesome state of the king-
 dome, for the imonation of things. The grea-
 test thing done in this assembling, was the argu-
 ment for the chosse of a new gouernor, which (as it se-
 meth) came to no effect. Now when all these assem-
 blies tended to little purpose, those of the quenes fa-
 ction returned to solve sedition by procuring Eng-
 lish warres, thereby to draw the common-people to
 assist their part. Therefore they send the capteine
 (that before had done the like) a fresh at this time to
 erecte the same, who left nothing undone that
 might tend to extreme crueltie.

During which, the heads of the faction doctored
 the quene of England, and slander the nobilitie of
 Scotland, as though they were the clients and fol-
 lowers of the English; further threatening abroad in
 euerie place, that they would vse the aid of the
 French and Spanissh, if the lord of the congregation
 prayed in aid of the English. Much about that time,
 (as it were by chance) landed (out of France) at
 Dunbreton, Geriacke, one of the chamber to the
 French king, which advanced the mindes of the
 quenes faction, with manie large promises: by
 means whereof the Hamiltons appointed an assem-
 blie of their people at Lithquo the first ides of Aprill.

At which day, when a great assemblie was made
 of the quenes faction, they began there openlie to
 treat of those things which before were whispered
 in secret: which was, that the death of the king and
 regent might be either forgotten, or at least war cold
 in the publike turmoile of the realme, by making
 warre upon the English. After which consultation,
 they determined to go to Edinburgh the third ides
 of Aprill, there (besides manie other commodities
 which might grow to them by that place) to ioin-
 to them the citizens, by whom there was great helpe
 of good successe to be receiued. Which they thought
 they might easilie bring about, by reason that Wil-
 liam Kirkcaldie was gouernor both of the castell and
 towne, against which deuise the citizens did yet con-
 tend. But in the end, with hard conditions, the
 quenes part was admitted into the towne. After
 which, not thus contented, they persuaded the citizens
 to deliuer by the keyes of their towne, which they
 most wiselie refused.

All this while there was a great resort to Metel-
 lan then lieng of the govt, for which cause his house
 was commonlie called the scholehouse, and himselfe
 the scholemaster. In which meane time, the earle of
 Atholl did not spare to traueil hither and thither, to
 draw those of the other faction to that assemblie at
 Edinburgh. But they would not come thither at all,

untill the kalends of Maie (which was a day appoint-
 ed for the parliament) unlesse they knew some iust
 necessitie which might preuent that day: and then if
 there happened anie thing of moment, which might
 not suffer anie delaie, they would communicate the
 same to the earle Morton, whose house was but foure
 mile from thence, & he should giue other knowledge
 thereof. In the end, a day was appointed by the earle
 of Atholl, in which a few of both factions should meet
 at the towne of the earle Morton, called Dalkeith,
 which place did not like the quenes faction, whose
 strength was much helpen by such prisoners as Kir-
 cadie had set at libertie out of the castell of Edin-
 burgh.

But all the deuises and helps of the quenes faction
 were quailed, by the rumor of the English armie
 comming to Berwik. Whereupon, Alexander
 Hume, and John Hartwell latelie deliuered out of
 prison, without anie publike authoritie, or leave to
 set them free, went home to defend their owne pos-
 sessions; and a portion of that monie, which they had
 gathered to hire souldiers, was giuen to the said lord
 Hume, to strengthen his castell of Hume. Thomas
 Bar, and Walter Scot (who were iudged to haue
 made some roads into England by the persuation of
 the bishop of saint Andrews, whereby wars should
 rise in England) being forsaken of those which inha-
 bited nere these places, & fearing their owne estate,
 sent vnto the chiefe of the faction, requesting helpe
 of them: or if they would not do so, that at least they
 should come to Lithquo the next towne; and from
 thence shew or make warre upon England. Which
 when they could not obtaine (nor anie of the publike
 monie) they forthwith departed to their owne lands
 in great anger.

After this, whildest manie other things passed, as
 that the quenes faction sent an ambassado; to the
 earle of Suffe, to staie his iourne into Scotland;
 that they also sent letters to the quene of England
 concerning their cause; and that a seruant of mon-
 sieur Lausac in France, had brought letters to the
 quenes factions (with thanks for their fidelitie) di-
 rected also vnto other that were indiffernt, to ioin-
 with the imprisoned quene; and that he promised
 them aid out of France; and that the quenes people
 were assured, that the kings part would come to
 Edinburgh at the kalends of Maie: after all these
 things (I say) they of the quenes side departed to Lith-
 quo, supposing that place most commodious to as-
 semble their confederats. Whither when the Hamil-
 tons and their clients were come, they beset all the
 way to Edinburgh: for when they understood that
 John Arskine earle of Spar was comming thither,
 they laid ambushes vnder the next hills to intrap
 him.

But he knowing the infurie of the place, passed
 the riuer two miles aboue, and came to Edinburgh
 the third day of Maie about euening. Shortly after,
 the kings part remaining at Edinburgh, and the
 quenes at Lithquo, the three earls, Arran, Argile,
 and Huntleie appoint a parlement at Lithquo, the
 three nones of August. The other faction sent Ro-
 bert Petcarne ambassado; to the quene of Eng-
 land, to intreat with hir about the suppression of the
 common enimie; and further to let hir vnderstand,
 that such were the good mindes of the Scots vnto hir,
 that they would chosse a regent by hir appointment.

Besides which, the said lords of the kings part with
 generall consent wrote letters vnto the erle of Len-
 nor, then remaining in England, to repaire home
 with all conuenient speed into Scotland. & He maie
 read in the historie of England, in what sort the erle
 of Suffe lord lieutenant of the north parts, entring
 into Liddale the seven & twentieth of Aprill, burnt
 Do. ff. the

the Housse tower, the towne of Crawling, the castle of Fernherst, the towne of Botwike, and the castle of Baurton, that belonged to the laird of Buckelwgh, with diuerse other castles, piles, towne, villages, and hamlets belonging to the lairds of Fernherst, Buckelwgh, and others in those parts: also how the lord Scrope invaded the west borders of Scotland at the same time: and likewise how the said earle of Suffer wan the castle of Hume, with diuerse other matters which here I passe ouer, referring you to the said historie.

But now about the same time, the earle of Lennor, hauing got licence of the queene of England to make his returne into Scotland, was set forward, and came to Bertwike towards the latter end of April, where being visited with sicknesse, he remained by the space of fourtene daies or moze. In the meane time the duke of Chateleraut, the earles of Huntley, and Cassils, the lord Fleming, and sundrie others of that faction, seeing the time serued well for their purpose, now that the regent was aaine and dispatched out of the waie, gathered a power, to the number of thre thousand men, and came downe to Edenburgh. But after that they had knowledge that the erle of Lennor was comming out of England with a power of Englishmen, by the queens maiesties appointment; aswell for the safeguard of the young king, as also for the safe conduct of the earle of Lennor home into Scotland: the duke and earles aforesaid retired themselves from Edenburgh to Glasco, where they besieged the castle by the space of five or six daies, vntill the earle of Lennor approached thitherwards. For ye haue to vnderstand, that after the earle of Lennor was recovered of his sicknesse, there was appointed a power of horsemen and footmen, to go with him into Scotland, vnder the leading of sir William Durié; as in the English storie ye may read moze at large.

There were diuerse valiant capteins and gentlemen that went with him in that iourne, aswell such as had charge, as those that went with him of their owne good wils, to see the order of things, and to helpe to aduance their princes seruiue. With charge there were these; sir George Carie capteine of an hundred lances, Henrie Aysell capteine of fiftie lances, William Curleie capteine of fiftie lances, maister Henrie Carie capteine of two hundred light horsemen, capteine Case lieutenant of the generals band of light horsemen, being also two hundred: sir Robert Constable sergeant maior of the footbands, sir Thomas Paners, capteine Baskwell, capteine Carnill, capteine Game, capteine Lambard, capteine Erington, John Constable, and Humfreie Bertwike leaders of the footmen. Capteine Erington was also lieutenant to sir George Caries companie of lances. Other gentlemen that went of their owne good wils, there were diuers; as maister George Deuereur, sir Jerome Bowes, maister William Knolles, maister Robert Knolles, maister Michaell Carie, maister Catwodie, maister William Durié of Suffolke cousin to the generall, maister Grenill, brother to sir Fulke Grenill, maister Contweie, brother to sir John Contweie, maister Edmund Verneie, and manie others, whose names I could not leaue.

The footmen laie the first night at Coldingham. The next day the earle of Lennor himselfe with sir William Durié and the horsemen overtoke the footmen, and lodged that night at Dunbar. The next day they made such speed in their march, that they came through to Edenburgh, where they found the earles of Morton, Durreie, Glencarne, the lords Ruthwen, Lindsie, Sempill, Glamis, Methuen, Agiltre, and Cathcart, with diuerse gentlemen of

the kings side; who receiued the said earle of Lennor, and the Englishmen verie courteously. From Edenburgh they passed to Lithqah, as in the English historie it maie appeare: and from thence the footmen passed to Faulkirke, and there lodged. But the earle of Lennor, and the Scottish lords, with sir William Durié and the horsemen rode to Sterling, where the king laie, then being in the custodie of the earle of Spar. From thence they went to Glasco, where the duke had besieged the castle, which was valiantlie defended by the lord of Spinto and his brethren, with their seruants, being not past eightene persons in all; and yet they kept it five or six daies against the duke and his whole power, slateng (as hath bene reported) aboue fortie or fiftie of his men; but in the end they were in great danger to haue bene taken, if they had not bene the moze speedilie relieved. But the duke and his adherents, vnderstanding of the comming forward of the erle of Lennor with the English forces, brake vp his siege and fled awaie, with losse and dishonor, as in the English historie we haue likewise noted.

After that the earle of Lennor and his friends were thus come vnto Glasco, finding the siege raised, he remained there by the space of five or six daies. During which time, there came to him of his kintred and friends, which owght him their seruice, according to the vse of the countrie, the number of foure thousand men, verie well appointed after their maner; the moze part out of the countries of Lennor and Darneleite, which mustered before the said earle, and sir William Durié, generall of the English there. This done, the earle of Lennor, accompanied with the earles and lords before mentioned, & likewise with the Englishmen, marched to Hamilton, where they entred into the palace belonging to the duke, and lodged therein that night.

The next day they besieged the castle, whereof Andro Hamilton of Sperinton was capteine, hauing vnder him fiftie souldiers to defend it; and would not therefore deliuer it, till that two peces of great ordinance being brought from Sterling, were planted in batterie. For then perceiving themselves in danger to be taken by force, the capteine offered to yeld the house to the Englishmen; but not to the lords of Scotland, with condition, to haue the liues of all them within saued. Which was granted, vpon promise, that they should neuer after beare arms against their king, and to depart the realme within a certeine terme, and hereinto they were sworn. But they kept not long their oth, for the night next ensuing, they did beset the lord Sempill that was lodged at that present in a house not far off, and not able to keepe it till rescue came, yelded it and himselfe prisoner, so that he was kept by the Hamiltons in safe custodie by the space of twelue moneths after. The castle of Hamilton being yelded (as ye haue heard) was blown vp with powder. Diuers other houses there in the countrie about were burnt also, as Hoplocke, the abbat of Kilwinning house, with diuerse other of the Hamiltons houses in Clid-desdale.

After the castle of Hamilton was thus wone and overthrowen, the lords returned to the palace, and lodged there againe that night; and on the morrow, they set fire both vpon the same palace, and also vpon the towne of Hamilton; and therewith the Englishmen taking leaue of the lords in Scotland, departed homewards; as in the English historie ye may reade moze at large. The erle of Morton went with them; but the earle of Lennor and the other earles and lords with their companies toke their way towards Glasco, and from thence euerie of the

The earle of Lennor sent forward to returne into Scotland.

The duke of Chateleraut gathereth a power.

The duke retirith to Glasco.

Capteins and gentlemen that went with the earle of Lennor into Scotland.

The earle of Lennor with the Englishmen come to Edenburgh.

Faulkirke.

The earle of Lennor and sir William Durié ride to Sterling.

The castle of Glasco besieged by the duke of Chateleraut.

The breaketh by his siege.

A muster of foure thousand Scots.

Six moze heretofore in England.

The castle of Hamilton besieged.

It is deliuered to the Englishmen.

The lord Sempill taken.

The castle of Hamilton blown vp and rased.

The towne and palace of Hamilton burnt.

A convention of the lords. The earle of Lennor made regent.

The earle of Huntley.

A parlement proclaimed by both the factions at one day and place.

The earle of Huntley commeth no more than Bzchne.

The earle of Huntley escapeth.

Execution.

The castle of Downe yelded.

Commissioners sent into England.

the noble men departed home to their houses. Shortly after, there was a convention of the lords at Striueling, where the earle of Lennor was made lord lieutenant of Scotland: and afterwards in August following, there was an other convention at Edinburgh, where, by the consent of the three estates of the realme, the said earle was made regent of Scotland.

A convention of the lords. The earle of Lennor made regent.

The earle of Huntlie.

A parliament proclaimed by both the factions at one day and place.

The earle of Huntlie commeth no nearer than Brechin.

The earle of Huntlie escaped.

The castell of Downe yielded.

Commissioners sent into England.

And about the same time, the earle of Huntlie took vpon him to be lieutenant of Scotland for the queene of Scots that remained still in England, and thereupon in his name summoned a parliament to be holden at Lithquho the one and twentieth of September then next following. Unto the which parliament, as well the earle of Lennor then regent, as all the residue of the lords of both parties were summoned. Whereof the regent being advertised, caused a parliament to be summoned in the kings name to be kept at Lithquho, at the selfe same day which was appointed by the earle Huntlie. At which day there appeared the lords of the kings partie, & also sundrie great lards, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of eight thousand, verie well furnished, looking for the earle of Huntlie comming, according to his appointed order; but he came no nêter than Brechin.

Whereupon it was decreed by the regent and nobilitie there, to pursue him: and to that end, James Dowglas earle of Morton was sent before with a thousand horsemen to have taken him vpon the sudden in the towne of Brechin, before he should haue any warning of their comming, the regent following after with an armie. But Huntlie hauing warning of their approach, escaped their hands, although verie narrowlie; in somuch that some of his footmen were so put to their shifts, that they were driuen for their refuge (being so beset on the sudden) to take the castell of Brechin: the earle of Huntlie promising before he went from them, to succour them within eight daies; but they being straitlie besieged, and the earle not keeping promise with them, after those eight daies were expired, they yielded themselves and the castell vnto the regents mercie.

Execution.

The castell of Downe yielded.

They were in all about three hundred, of which number one and thirtie of the chiefeest were executed. Some of them had borne arms against the king before that time, and had bene pardoned, and therefore were now thought by the regent and his friends the more worthy to die. After this, the regent returned to Striueling, and from thence passed to the castell of Downe, and besieged it; being kept by the seruants of the lord of saint Colmes Inch, who yielded it to the regent after three daies siege. During the time of the regents being there, he sent one of his seruants called John Dorne, with letters into England, directed to the queene of Englands counsell: who (for his secret practising and conference had with such as were enemies to the king and regent before his departure out of Scotland, and for receiving of their letters to be conueied also, and here with discovering sundrie secrets to them, the which were committed vnto his credit and trust) was apprehended, and the same letters which he had secretly receiued being found vpon him, and the matters aforesaid proued against him, he was by law executed.

About the same time the earle of Morton, the abbat of Dunfermeling, and James Macgill, cleark of the register, were sent into England commissioners vpon the kings partie; the bishop of Ross, the abbat of Kilwinning, & the lord Lenington, appointed for the queene then being in England. In Januarie following, the regent then being at Edinburgh, Claud Hamilton, one of the duke of Cha-

teleraults sonnes, entred the house of Dasseie, then being kept by the seruants of the lord Sempill: and seizing vpon all things which they found as food with his pleasure, he fortified the house with men, munition, and vittels, such as he could get either in the towne of Dasseie, or nere thereabouts. The regent advertised thereof, repaired thither with a power in all speedie wise, and laid siege to the house: They within sued for a truce, which was granted to them for the space of six daies, the better to aduise of their owne estate: which terme being expired, proclamation was made by the regent, that if they would yield the house, so manie of them as had not borne arms before that time against the king and regent, should haue their liues saued, the rest to remaine at the regents pleasure.

Dasseie taken and kept by Claud Hamilton.

The regent besiegeth Dasseie.

Dasseie is surrendered to the regent.

Whereupon contention rose among them within the house: for whereas the more part of them hauing not serued in anye tourne or exploit against the king before that time, would needs yield; the other, being the less number, were not able to defend it of themselves. Whereupon they were ready to draw their weapons one against another; but yet in the end they agreed to surrender the house, and yielded themselves, vpon such condition as the regent had prescribed: whereupon five of them were executed, & all the rest were pardoned of their liues. The capteine John Hamilton, lard of Coughnall, and his two brethren excepted, who were sent to the castell of Glasco, there to remaine in prison, and shortly after the said John Hamilton was executed.

In March following, the regent returned to Glasco, and for that Gilbert Bennedie with the erles of Castles & Eglinton refused to shew themselves obedient to the king, and would not come to the regent, who had sent for them by letters at sundrie times, the regent gathered his power at Glasco, and with the same marched towards Arwin and Ait, and so forward to the earle of Castles countrie, who hearing of the regents comming, sent forth his brother to offer his submission. Whereupon it was concluded, that the messenger should remaine with the regent as pledge for his brother, by the space of twentie daies; and then the said earle to make his appearance before the regent at Striueling, to answer such matters as should be laid to his charge.

1571.

The regent goeth against the earle of Castles.

The same time also Hugh Montgomerie earle of Eglinton, and Robert Boyd lented their hands also to appeare and answer in like sort: and as well the one as the other (according to their assurance giuen) appeared at the day appointed; but yet not agreeing to such articles as were required of them, they were both committed to prison, the one in the castell of Dunbretton, & the other in the castell of Downe. Afterwards there was a truce taken betwene the regent, the Hamiltons, and their adherents for twentie daies, to wit, vntill the last of March. Which truce once ended, the regent determined with himselfe to giue an attempt to the castell of Dunbretton, which had bene long kept by the lord Fleming against the king, and the earle of Arrerie late regent, who had besieged it for the space of halfe a yere or more, but could not by anye meanes compasse to win it.

The earles of Castles and Eglinton committed to ward.

A truce for twentie daies.

But now on the first of Aprill, the truce being then expired, the regent going forward with his purpose, caused all the passages round about the countrie to be stopped, as well by land as by water; and the same night sent thitherward captein Thomas Crawford, and capteine Hume, with an hundred souldiers, chosen out for the purpose: who the second of Aprill, about foure of the clocke in the morning, came to the castell, where the souldiers with ladders, ropes, and other deuises, found meanes to cline vpon the rocke,

which

Faukirke.

The earle of Lennor and sir William Dowie ride to Striueling.

The castell of Glasco besieged by the duke of Chatterault.

The breaketh by his siege.

A muster of foure thousand Scots.

He more hereof in England.

The castell of Hamilton besieged.

It is deliuered to the Englishmen.

The lord Sempill taken.

The castell of Hamilton blown up and rased.

The towne and palace of Hamilton burnt.

The castle of
Dunbzeiton
taken by a
politic.

Captaine
Crawford &
captaine
Hume.

The lord
Fleming es-
capeth.

John Hall.

The strong
situation of
the castell of
Dunbzeiton.

The ladie
Fleming ho-
norable in-
treated.

which is of an exceeding great height, and so with great paine, and more danger, at length god willed the wall of the castell, standing upon the height of the rocke, to the which wall they reared up a ladder, by the which entered first one Alexander Hamilton, ensigne-bearer to captaine Crawford, & leaping over the wall, was straightwaies assailed by three of the watchmen, of the which he slue one: and a souldier named Wederborne that followed him, being the second that entered, slue another of them: the third of those watchmen was also slaine, as he was about to flee from them.

Where with captaine Crawford & captaine Hume got over the wall, and entering the castell with the rest of their souldiers, strooke up the drum, & cried, A Dorneleie, being their watchword; and seizing upon the ordinance, maintained the same. The lord Fleming captaine of the castell, hearing that sudden fight and tumult within the house, fled out by the posterne gate at the neither baile, and so escaping, got a fishers boat, and passed into Argyle. The souldiers of the castell, perceiving their captain fled, and the castell possessed by the enemies, yielded themselves, and were pardoned. There were taken within the castell John Hamilton, the archbishop of saint Andrews, monsieur de Meriacke a Frenchman, sent thither by the French king, also the ladie Fleming, wife to the lord Fleming, and John Fleming lard of Boghall, Alexander the sonne of William Levingston, and John Hall an Englishman, being partener of a new intended conspiracie, as was after proued against him, for the which he was arraigned, condemned, and executed at London; as in the English historie appeareth.

The third of Aprill, being the morrow after that Dunbzeiton was thus strangely wonne, the regent came thither, and entered the same, where he calling the captaine and souldiers together, caused them with him to kneele downe upon their knees, and to giue God humble thanks for their good successe in that enterprize, brought to passe rather by the prouidence of God than otherwise, sith the castell seemed to all those that knew it, impossible in manner to be wonne, by reason of the great height of the rocke, and the strange situation, being inuironed almost round about with the water of Clide on the one side, and the water of Leuin on the other. The report of the winning of this castell was so full to the townes and countries about, which before had bene a continuall scourge to them, by reason that the souldiers that kept it, would issue out at sundrie times, robbing, spoiling, and carieng awaie the commodities of the inhabitants thereabouts, as well by land as by water.

The regent dealt verie honorable with the ladie Fleming, suffering hir to depart away with all such plate and iewels, as appertained either to hir or hir husband. He granted also a safe conduct to monsieur de Meriacke, to passe homewards through the countrie, but the archbishop of saint Andrews was sent prisoner to Striueling. The spoile of the goods found in the castell was giuen to the souldiers that ventured so dangerouslie to achieve so high an enterprize, bringing it to the wished effect by policie with so little bloudshed as deserueth perpetuall remembrance. The day next ensuing, being the fourth of Aprill, the regent appointed John Cunningham lard of Dumfriessell, a man of good seruice, and seruant to the regent, to be captaine of that castell, and leaving him therein, departed to Striueling, where he caused the archbishop of saint Andrews to be examined upon certaine articles, as well touching the murder of the late king Henrie, as also for the death of the earle of Murreie the late re-

gent. At that time there came in a priest without compulsion of any (as hath bene said) and before the regent declared, that one John Hamilton, being in extreme sickness, under confession told him, that the bishop did send him with three others to the murder of the king. And as touching the murder of the erle of Murreie, the bishops flat answer was, he might haue letted it if he would. There with the people that heard him, cried, Awaie with him, hang him. And so for these and other offenses, for the which he had bene forsailed afore that time, he was now executed on a gibet, set up in the market place of Striueling towne. After this, the regent summoned a parlement, to begin at Edinburgh the fourteenth of Maie next ensuing, and passed from Striueling to Lithquo.

Here the earle of Morton (with the rest of the commissioners for the kings part, being returned out of England, with other of the nobilitie) met the regent, and then they passed toward Edinburgh, where they thought to haue bene received, and so to haue kept the parlement there. But they were not suffered to enter that towne, nor yet the castell, the same being defended against them by the lard of Orange, who after the death of the earle of Murreie, was revolted from the kings part to the Hamiltons side, and had fortified both the towne and castell: so that the regent and nobilitie being kept out there, held their parlement in the Cannogate street, within the suburbs of the towne, where sundrie of the quenes part were forsailed. This being done, and sundrie skirmishes had with them that issued forth of the towne against them without, the regent returned to Striueling, there to remaine for a season.

In the meane time the earle of Morton, hauing certaine shuffe come forth of England by sea, and brought to land at Leith, sent the lard of Carmichell with his household seruants, & two hundred shot, to fetch the same from thence vnto Dalketh, being five miles distant from Leith. At their returne with the shuffe, they were set upon by the earle of Huntleie, and the lord Hume, who issued out of Edinburgh with their power: so that betwixt them was a verie hot skirmish. But in the end the earle of Huntleie, & the lord Hume were constrained to flee, and were pursued by Carmichell and his companie even vnto the gates of Edinburgh, some of their men being slaine, and others taken prisoners. For reuenge of which overthrow, shortly after the earle of Huntleie, and Claud Hamilton, with their forces marched from Edinburgh, to Dalketh, purposing to haue spoiled the towne.

But the earle of Morton, hauing knowledge of their intention and coming, sallied forth of Dalketh with the power which he had there with him, although not comparable in number to his aduersaries; & meeting them in the field, there was a sharpe skirmish betwixt them, and manie hurt on both parties: but in the end the earle of Morton was put to the worse, fourtie or more of his men taken prisoners. And the cause was, for that his souldiers were too forward, wanting helpe of their horsemen that should haue succoured them. About the five & twentieth day of Maie following, captaine Cullen issued forth of Edinburgh with two hundred shot, meaning to intercept certaine harquebusiers, which were appointed to come out of Fife ouer the river of the Forth, vnto the earle of Morton, who kept still at Dalketh.

Where upon the said earle, hauing knowledge of Cullens enterprize, aduertised the regent thereof, who being then at Striueling, the next day came downe to Dunfermling in Fife. But before his coming thither,

The archb.
shop of saint
Andrews
executed.

A parlement
summoned.

The castell of
Edinburgh
kept by the
lard of Orange
against the
regent.

The lard of
Carmichell.

The earle of
Huntleie and
lord Hume
put to flight.

The earle of
Morton put
to the worse.

A skirmish.

The abbat of
Bilwinning
slaine.
The lord
Hume and
captaine Cul-
len taken.

Fr. Thin.
Leith fortified
th.

A proclama-
tion.

The chal-
lenge of the
lard of
Orange.

The lard of
Carmichell.

John Ches-
holme.

hither, Cullen had met with a bote upon the water, wherein were aboord five and twentie shot, whome he took prisoners, and led them alwaie with him to Edinburgh. The next day the earle of Morton came to Leith, where he met with sir William Durié; and there they lodged that night. The next morning sir William Durié passing forth of Leith towards Edinburgh, accompanied with sundrie captains; and other gentlemen for his conuoye thither, they within Edinburgh perceiuing them coming, imagined that they were come forth to offer a skirmish, whereupon they issued out of the towne and castell to encounter them.

So that being ready on either side to begin the skirmish, sir William Durié, being come to talke with the parties for some accord to be had; took in hand with great diligence to appease them: and at length procured them to agree vpon a truce to indure till eight of the clocke at night. But yet when both parts staid in the field for the space of an houre, because they could not agree whether companies should first retire from the field, they fell at length in skirmish (notwithstanding the truce) and fought verie sharpe for the time, till in the end they of the towne and castell had the ouerthrow: the abbat of Kilwinning being slaine, with diuerse other; and there were taken aboue an hundred prisoners: amongst the which the lord Hume, and capteine Cullen were accounted principall. Those that escaped were chased, & constrained for their safetie to flee into the towne of Edinburgh, & capteine Cullen was afterwards beheaded.

The regent immediatlie after this skirmish came with all speed to Leith; as well to fortifie the towne, as to make some further attempt against his aduersaries within the towne and castell of Edinburgh. Whereupon was Leith (whose capteine was Adair) intrenched round about, being esteemed a place of great importance, standing both in the face of the enemies, and so ready to annoy them, and also serving well to prevent them of such succour as they looked for daile out of France. In this meane time, the lord of Grange, then capteine of the castell, and prouost of the towne of Edinburgh, caused proclamation to be made, that all those inhabitants which were not willing to take part with him in his doings, should depart out of the towne. Whereupon, manie of them departed thence, together with their wiues and children, and took with them also such goods as they could secretlie conueie: and coming to Leith, offered their seruice vnto the regent, who thankfullie accepted their offer: and so they remained at Leith, serving against the contrarie faction vpon their owne expences.

After this, the lord of Grange, vnderstanding that report had bene made by some of the kings part, that he was a traitor to the king, and an enimie to his countrie, offered the combat to anie that would iustifie the same. Which being aduertised to them within Leith, diuerse gentlemen were desirous to undertake the challenge: but the regent granted it to the lord of Carlisch, being a Steward, & his kinsman, who had earnestlie requested it. Whereupon, after diuerse messages by heralds sent to and fro betwixt them, the time and place was appointed; but the matter went not forward, excuse being made on the behalfe of the lord Grange, that by reason of the charge which was committed to him, it was not thought conuenient that he should hazard the whole cause vpon his owne person.

Shortlie after, there came out of France one John Chescholine, who was sent with monie to the lord of Grange for the payment of his souldiours: he brought with him also a certeine quantitie of powder, and

three hundred calceuers. Upon his enterling into the water of Forth, and coming by the same, he learned how the regent was in Leith: whereupon he landed at Bient Island, and afterwards for feare his himselfe betwixt two cliffs of a rocke, not farre from the quenes ferrie: but at length he was found out by the abbat of Saint Colmes Inch, and deliuered to the regent at Leith, in which towne the said regent laie aboue two moneths, vying sundrie meanes, as well by practise and policie, as by force to haue taken the towne of Edinburgh. In the meane time sundrie skirmishes chanced betwixt them, and diuerse prisoners were taken on either part.

At length, the regent caused a parlement to be summoned, appointing the same to be holden at Striueling the two & twentieth of August next ensuing. And when that day approached; he left the lord Lindsay at Leith in charge, as his lieutenant to gouerne the towne, and all the men of warre appointed to remaine in gard thereof; and repaired himselfe to Striueling, where at the prefixed daie did assemble the earles of Morton, Mar, Crawford, Sutherland, Montrose, Eglington, Glencarne, the lords Ruthwen, Glamis, Methuen, Sempill, Ogiltree, and Cathcart, with manie lords and gentlemen. The first day of this parlement the king was conueied thither, the crowne, scepter, and sword being borne before him.

When he had taken his place, he vttered a certeine speech as had bene taught him, touching the assembling of that parlement, which matter the regent more at large declared vnto the whole house: and this done, they proceeded further to other affaires, concerning the state of the common-wealth. Whereouer in this parlement, the duke of Chateleraut with his two sonnes, the abbat of Arbroth, and Claud Hamilton, the earle of Huntlye, the lord of Grange and sundrie others were forsailed. This parlement continued by the space of seven daies: at the end whereof, to wit, vpon the second of September, Claud Hamilton, the lord of Bonclugh, the lord of Dumfries, and diuerse others, to the number of three hundred horsemen, verie earlie in the morning entered the towne of Striueling, and suddenlie beset not onelie the regent, but also the rest of the nobilitie within their lodgings.

The regent hearing a great hyrre raised within the towne (in which George Ruthwen was slaine) and not vnderstanding the cause, nor who were the authors thereof, after he perceiued how the house wherem he lodged was beset on ech side, he defended the same against the enemies for a good space: but at length despairing of succours, and doubting least the house had bene vnderlaide with some barrells of powder, and that it would be blowen vp if he yelded not as some told him: and the enimie to increase that doubt, crying still, Blow by the house, what shuld we stand longer about him: at length he was contented to yeld to the lord of Dumfries, but not before he saw that some of his stoutest captains had yelded themselves before his face. He yelded, with condition to haue his life saued: but promise in that behalfe was not long kept. For those that had thus taken him, when they perceiued rescue coming downe from the castell, so that they should not be able to carrie him alwaie, capteine Cander with a pisset shot him into the bodie, before he could be recovered out of their hands.

The rest of the nobilitie, to wit, the earles of Morton, Eglington, and Glencarne, and diuerse other being taken prisoners, were presentlie rescued by those that issued out of the castell. The earle of Morton being in the hands of the lord of Bonclugh, took the same lord prisoner, he yelding himselfe vnto him: and

Parlement summoned.

The duke of Chateleraut forsailed.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Lennox taken in his lodging

The earle of Lennox wounded.

and likewise the earle of Glencarne took his keeper prisoner, and so did sundrie others take their takers: but Claud Hamilton, with others their companies, hauing first gotten all the hozsles that were found in the towne into their hands, when they heard that the rescue was comming, shifted for themselves, and fled awaie. The regent, being mortallie wounded, but yet deliuered from his enemies, rid vp to the castell, and calling there vnto him the whole nobilitie, when he perceiued his end to approach, he vsed these wordes (or the like in substance) as followeth.

The earle of Lennox his wordes before his death.

My lordes, it is not vnknowne vnto you all, that my comming hither to take this regiment vpon me, was not of mine owne seeking, but at the request of you all. And that which chieflie moued me herewith to, was, for the defense of the kings person, being yet (as you see) an infant; of whome by nature and dutie I was bounden to haue carefull consideration, and that in his minority, the good and quiet gouernement of this common-wealth might be aduanced; and iustice executed vpon those that most cruellie did murder the late king, my sonne the kings father, and his vnckle the good earle of Murreie, late regent: whose mischeuous and diuelish deuises if in time you do not preuent by your wisdoms and discretions, they will procure the finall ouerthrow and destruction of you all. In this action (as you see) I haue spent my bloud, and haue played the last part of my tragedie, and now I see death to draw nere at hand.

Wherefore I require you all, for the due regard that you haue of your duties, first to almighty God, and next to the king your most lawfull and naturall prince now in these his tender yeeres, wholie to imploye your seruice in his defense, with care to mainteine the state of this common-wealth, whereby you shall not onelie accomplish your duties towards God, but shall be assured to find in your king in time to come (God lending him life) all that good which you can iustlie require. And I shall farther commit to your friendlie protection, my poore seruants, who

for their good seruice haue well deserued, and yet remaine vndercompensed, desiring you all to be good to them. And lastlie, I desire you to commend me vnto the ladie Margaret my deere wife, now being in England: vnto whome I beseech God to be a comforter. And now sith my spirits begin to faile, and that my life draweth nere to an end, I take my leaue of you all, desiring you to praye to God for me. These wordes being ended, he called to God for mercie, and continuing in praye vnto the end, with in a while after he departed this life, and was buried in the kings chappell in the castell of Striueling.

The earle of Lennox departeth this life.

Thus haue I hitherto continued this historie of Scotland, not so largelie nor perfectlie as I could haue wished, but skambled forward with it in such sort as you maie see; hauing deliuered nothing vnto you to impaire the credit of the Scottish nation, otherwise than I haue found in authours, or learned by credible report (as I take it) hauing put off the parciall affection, which I beare of dutie to mine owne countrie, in this respect, that I shuld not seeme to wrest the wordes of writers, either to the aduantage of the English people, or disadvantage of the Scots, speciallie in politike gouernement, warlike exploits, ciuill demeanour, and other vertuous exercises: which as I haue found them either in anie one person particularlie, or in the multitude in generall; so haue I reported the same, not sparing the truth herein, as I haue found it recorded, either for loue or hatred, dread, fauour, or enuie: but yet in no wise presuming (as else where I haue said) to vse mine owne censure, but rather leauing the iudgement of other mens reports vnto the readers discretion. To whome I with such vnderstanding and knowledge in the truth, as maie satisfie himselfe, and rebound to the publike commoditie of his countrie, and pleasure of the almighty; in whose hands are the hearts of kings & gouernours, guiding the states of realms and common wealths, as to his diuine wisdom seemeth most expedient. To whome be glorie, hono, and praise for euermore; Amen.

Thus farre the painefull industrie of *Raphaell Hollinshed*, and others.

The sequele, concerning the continuation of this Scottish historie, is a new addition before this time neuer in English published.



THE ANNALES OF

Scotland in some part continued

from the time in which Holinshed left,

being the yeare of our Lord 1571, untill the yeare of our

*redemption 1586; by Francis Boteuile, commonlie
called Thin.*



Socrates (good reader) being demanded how a man might speake that which should be best and acceptable to all men, most wiselie (as one in all his life wholie giuen to serch and saie the truth in euerie thing) answered: That we then speake best & most to be allowed, when we speake nothing but that which we best and perfectlie know. For we know nothing excellentlie well, but such things as are often heard by vs from others, manie times repeated by our felues; and that which is commonlie receiued, embraced, approoued, and vsed by all men. Now those things are most vsed which concerne publike affaires, and such publike affaires are most knowne when they end in publike action; & publike action, so farre forth as it concerneth the thing doone, must needs be true that the same was so doone in that order, as it was openlie sene to be doone. Whereby might be concluded, that in droningling and treating of publike affaires, we should speake that which is best, which is most acceptable, & most true: bicause we report things doone in the eyes of all men. But how trulie that is performed in some new writers, it is well knowne to all men of iudgement.

For such is the affection of our age, that some of malice, and some for flatterie, and euerie one to feed their owne disposition, doo so glose things publiklie doone, as with a certaine witcherie of words, they like Circes transforme the things doone in publike shew to be of other shapes than they were indeed. Whereby Socrates maie now seeme to be confuted, in saing, that they speake best that speake things receiued of all men, and that be common to the world: for so shall misreporting and flatterie, a thing commonlie knowne and vsed of all men, be the best speed; which in truth neither is nor can be. Now what I haue seene and knowne in that, as well of things at home as of things abroad, I forbear to write; and for that cause also might most iustlie restrain my pen (writing vpon the report of others) both now and hereafter from treating of such publike affaires, to the end my selfe should not run into the danger of a like falsifier or misreporter. But then on the contrarie part, when I fall to an other exposition of the same saing of Socrates, that he speaketh best, that speaketh that which he best knoweth, and that we best know the things which are commonlie receiued, and that we receiue those for soundest which time trieth to be most true, and those things which be most true are such as are knowne to be publiklie doone; I suppose I shall speake best and most acceptable in writing publike affaires; considering that I am not sworn to anie faction, nor carried with hate or loue, nor bewitched with promise of gaine or honour, nor infixed to turne to the right or left hand, but onelie left at libertie to make truth the daughter of time to be the common end, knowledge, and report of publike things: sith the end of labor, of contemplation of studie, & fruit of writing, (as appeareth 2. Met. 4.) is the attaining of truth, and not that perpetuities or memorie of a famous name or report, a thing alwaies sought by me to be auoided, being onlie content in secrecie to relie my selfe vpon the recording of truth, which of all things (in my mind) is most pleasant, bicause the same is alwaie a conqueror. For as saith Nichemias, Truth is great and dooth mightilie preuaile. Wherefore, as I said, sith those things be most true & best knowne which are publiklie doone, and that they are publiklie doone that sort to anie action in the common-wealth: we then conclude that we write best and most acceptable, when we trulie set downe a common truth of common occurrents doone in the common-wealth; bicause that such things trulie reported, doo conclude with Socrates that we speake and write best in declaring a deed trulie doone, in that order (without ambages, gloses, or parcialities) as the same was most trulie performed touching the truth of that outward act.

Accept therefore (good reader) that which I doo suppose I haue best spoken (by this my argument grounded vpon Socrates) in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland vnwillinglie attempted, but by inforcement of others, whose commanding friendship it had beene sacrilege for me to haue gaine said. And therefore rather carelessle to hazard the hard opinion of others, descanting vpon my sudden leaping into the printers shop (especiallie at the first in a matter of such importance) than the losse of the long and assured friendship of those which laied this heauie charge vpon my weake shoulders, I haue like blind baiard boldlie run into this matter, vnder the hope of thy fauourable acceptance. And though herein I shall not in euerie respect satisfie all mens minds and iudgements, that for fauour of persons, times, & actions, will like Proteus at their owne pleasure make black seeme white, alter euerie matter into euerie shape, & curioully carping at my barrenness in writing, bicause I omit manie things in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland, & haue reported things in other formes than some mens humors would haue had me to doo: I must desire thee to consider for the first that the Scots themselves, besides manie others of our owne nation are the cause thereof, who either for feare durst not, or for pretended aduise and consultation in the matter would not, or for the restraint of others might not, impart to me such things as should both concerne the honour of the Scottish nation, and the substance of their owne cause. For the other matter, if I should bind my stile to the affections of some, I should breake the rule of Socrates, and not speake the best, sith I should then speake publike and common things, publiklie knowne to all men, contrarie to that order, in which they were commonlie and publiklie seene to be doone of all men; and so by that meanes fall into the reproch of a disdeined reporter.

The Preface.

Now, if thou which art the reader, thinke that I (vnacquainted with matters of state, especiallie in an other countrie, better knowne to all men than to my selfe) am far vnable to breake the dangerous ice of such matters, and so more vnmeete to enter into the bosome of princes (whose harts as Salomon saith are vnsearchable) should for my vnadvisednesse seeme worthe the punishment of Prometheus, that stole the fier from Iupiter, and caried it abrode into the world, because the affaires of princes are not to be made common, to be submitted to the censure of their subiects, nor to be written vntill the ashes of all those whome the things concerne were vtterlie consumed: thou must yet remember that men haue escaped punishment in dealing with higher matters than with things of chronicles, or of such like which onelie touch the life of the bodie. And therefore in punishing thereof vpon Prometheus, Iupiter went beyond himselfe. For if the greater, that is for matters touching the soule, went not onelie free from punishment, but receiued eternall reward, as after shall appeare, how much more should Prometheus haue bene spared, that but onelie medled with the bodie? Now it is manifest that in diuinitie and matters of the soule (a thing that so far exceedeth the bodie as the sunne dooth the moone, as angels doo inferior creatures, and as light dooth darkenesse) there be manie which haue leapt into heauen, and by contemplation placed their pen amongst the sonnes of God in writing, and laing abrode to the world (as much as in them laie) the vnsearchable works of the Almighty, whereof we cannot comprehend the least cause, order or perfection, and haue therefore not onelie not receiued punishment, but eternall reward both in bodie and soule; as Enoch was translated to paradise; Elias taken vp in a fierie chariot; Paule rapt vp into the third heauen, with manie others. For which cause I saie, if they which lepped into matters farre beyond the reach of men, to excell in the meaneest degree of perfection, were not punished for meddling therein, and writing thereof; much lesse ought I to be punished with Prometheus in meddling with the discourse of matters vpon the earth, and such as concerne the actions of mortall creatures, as battels, mutations of kingdoms, death of princes, and such other earthlie accidents. Into which yet I would not haue so rashlie descended, or taken so hard a prouince in hand, had not (as before I said) the commandement of such as I durst not gainsaie, interponed it selfe as a shield to receiue and beat backe the sharpe darts of enuious tongues. For which cause fith I was bound to him by desart, and that he had better opinion of me than there was cause whie; I feared not (though I deemed it the part of him which doubted the iudgement and reproch of the wiser sort, not to haue hazarded his credit) to enter into this dangerous sea, being not so much furnished with hope to performe it well, as desirous to discharge the request of him, and to shew the hope I conceiued at the well acceptance thereof by thee. In which discourse I had rather good reader thou shouldst complaine of want of sufficiencie in me to performe so hard a thing: than that he should mislike of my goodwill in answering his desire. And should I feare to enter heereinto, being a thing meet onelie for great counsellors and men priue of matters of estate; as though there were no place for Greeke poets but onelie to Homer and Sophocles; and for Latine poets, but to Virgill, Ouid, and Horace? Did the singulartie and amplenesse of Platos knowledge in philosophie feare Aristotle to write in the like argument? Or hath Aristotle staied the pen of others? Shall no man be painters but Appelles or Zeuxis, or caruers or grauers but Phidias and Lyfias? Shall no man be orators but Cicero, Quintilian, and Demosthenes? Shall none write histories but Casar, Liue, Sabellicus, Paulus Iouius, Comineus, Guicciardine, or such like? Or shall none deliuer their traueell to the world because they cannot write in English as did sir Thomas Moore, sir Iohn Checke, Roger Askam, Gefferie Fenton, or Iohn Lilie? Yes trulie, for when they haue doone their best, and written what they can, a man may yet imagine a far more excellent thing, euen of and in that whercin they haue best trauelled, written, painted, or graued, and that euen by the selfe same thing which they haue doone. And more good reader thou canst not doo either vpon the basenes of my stile, the disorder of the matter, or the barrennesse of supplieng of things requisite for the furnishing and maiestie of an historie, than to suppose and saie that a better forme and method of writing, a more ample discourse for the matter, and a sweeter stile for the manner might haue bene had for the historie of Scotland, than that which I haue set downe. Wherefore if the best writers be subiect to these faults, that when they haue spent all their wit, eloquence, and art, there is yet somewhat to be desired in them, as well as in me the meaneest writer, I am content to beare all speeches, and desire thee to thinke what I would doo, and not what I should doo; to excuse me by others, and not to condemne me with others; to accept this in that sort as I haue meant it, and rather with mildnesse to pardon my imperfections, than with malice to barke at my well meaning. Besides which, if thou shalt deeme this worke and continuation of mine for Scotland, ought to haue been consecrated to the fauourable acceptance, and honourable protection of him to whom the first volume was dedicated; I answer (besides that I am to him an estranger, and not to beg vnderferued fauour of anie person, and that the first patrone of this Scottish historie is now in the low countries beyond the seas) this is a thing by me so slenderlie doone, that it meriteth not his honourable iudgement, or the learned view or patronage of anie other of the nobilitie. For if it had, I would then haue bestowed the same vpon those to whom I haue already consecrated my selfe, whatsoeuer I am, hauing long before this couenanted with my bodie, onelie to tie it vnto their good commandement. For hauing but one heart, I cannot dilate it to serue and offer it selfe to manie persons, considering that where is but one heart, there must needs be but one waie: and he that will bestowe one heart vpon manie persons, must diuide the same into manie portions, and so dismember it, that in the end it will be no heart at all; or els he must go to the shambles to prouide manie sheepes hearts, to bestowe vpon those manie to whom he will bind his manie seruices: for which causes I may neither choose a new patrone, nor dedicate this to the old, but onelie to thee the fauourable reader. Now before I knit vp this exordium (which may seeme to thee in respect of the following historie, to be like the towne, the gates and entrance whereinto being verie great, occasioned Diogenes to will the inhabitants to shut those great gates, least that little towne did run out thereat) I am to admonish thee good reader, that in all my former additions to the historie of Scotland, I haue neither word for word, nor sentence for sentence, set downe the writings of Lesleus or Buchanan, but haue chosen out the matter as I thought best and apt to my desire. After which sort I haue likewise in this my continuation of the annales of that countrie, not set downe or deliuered things to the world in that sort and stile as I haue receiued intelligence thereof, but onelie culled forth such matter as both the time wherein we liue, the matter whereof I intreat, and the method required therefore, may well beare and challenge. Thus hauing laid before thee, that he writeth best that trulie writeth publike affaires, that I was commanded by my deere freends to enter into this fand: that I cannot discourse of this historie as I willinglie would: that I ought not to forbear to write because I cannot in stile and matter equall the best: that they are to be pardoned that attempt high things: that I haue purposelie in generall dedicated this labour to the common reader, and not in particular to anie honourable person: and hoping that thou wilt pardon all imperfections, I sparinglie enter into the continuation of the annales of Scotland (being such as thou maist be content to read, and I am contented to write) in this sort as heere followeth, making my first entrance thereinto with the death of the earle of Lennox, with whome Holinshed finished his chronicle, and so to the matter, after this long and tedious deteining of thee from the same.

Francis Thin.

1572
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 387.
Buchan. lib. 10.

Coln.

The earle of
Mar made
regent of
Scotland.



THE CONTINVANCE
of the annales of Scotland, from

the death of the regent Matthew earle of Leneaux.



1572
Lessens lib. 10.
pag. 387.
Buchan. lib. 20.

AGENTS

The earle of
Mar made
regent of
Scotland.

Certain months after that the regent was gone from thence, there were some few and small excursions and skirmishes betwixt them, the victorie inclining to neither part. In the first fight a fourth out of the castle of Cochinbomah (towards

euerie part of the countrie) so wrought, that the
 quenes faction should neither come to handstrokes,
 no; yet (being vnprovidid) should be intrapped with
 the deceits of their enimies : bicause by a pynle to
 ken (given out of the highest towre of the castell) they
 were easilie warned to recoile and draw homeward
 in convenient time. All which notwithstanding, they
 once felt the smart of the enimie, when all the horse
 and footmen were come out of the towne to inter-
 cept a part of the kings armie. For the kings faction
 (having first laid an ambush in the ballie) did with
 the rest come before the castell, in hope to traine the
 towne garrison vpon them out of the walls of their
 defense, which their expectation was not deceiued.
 For the said Edenburgers made hast out of the
 towne, to pursue the said part of the kings armie,
 which feined a speedie flight, to draw the other part
 further from defense of the castell. By means wher-
 of, they of the towne did so egerlie pursue them so
 strong, that in the end they went so far after their en-
 mies, that they drew nere the ensignes of the other
 ambush, now shewing themselves out of the ballie to
 rescue their fellows put to this feined flight. Which
 thing being well perceived by the watch of the castell
 of Edenborough, so that with it gaue the appointed
 signe, whereby those on the quenes part (before that
 they came nere to the place in which they were laid
 for) began fearfullie to recoile for their better safetie;
 whose flight was the more troublesome to them, bi-
 cause they knew they were in danger, and could not
 suspect from whence or how their hurt should come,
 although they were before warned therof by the said
 watch of the towre. In which recoile of the quenes
 part, the few horsemen which had before feined the
 flight (to draw on the other) returned, and made
 such hast on the backe of the footmen, that the foot-
 men were enforced (with all the speed that might be)
 to fle vnto the citie, the next waie that euerie man
 could find for his best defense : at that time yet manie
 of them were wounded, and manie taken pris-
 oners, as well captiues and gentlemen of armes, as
 others.

others. Whilſt theſe things were thus ſlowlie performed, in that the towne of Edenbrough was with no more heat ſought to be recovered, a miſerable miſfortune happened in an other part of Scotland: for a great ſlaughter was in the north end of the realme occaſioned by this means. Here were in that countrie two families of great power and authoritie, both valiant and wiſe, both harboꝝing deable ſeed of long rooted betwene them. Theſe two were of the ſier names of Gordon, and of Forboiſe, whereof the firſt liued with great concord and amitie amongſt themſelves.

Skirmishes
about Edin-
borough,

**An ambush
laid by the
king's factors**

The queerness
part warned
by the watch
of Edenbo=
rough castle.

They which
late in ambashy
pursue those
that came
forth to set
by the kings
part.

A conflict between the
Gordons and
the Fozzboles

selues, and by the kings sufferance had manie years governed the people adjoining vnto them, whereby they purchased both strength amongst themselves, and the helpe of other men towards them: when contrarie, the Forboises were at wars one with another, daillie impaired their owne strength by their owne slaughters, and in the end wrought their owne confusion, for euerie diuided kingdome cannot long continue. But yet though this secret rancor did still remaine amongst these families, they did not in manie yeares before attempte open warres the one against the other; rather liuing in secret emulation, than open enuie, because they had (in waite of some shew of reconciliation) by marriage intermingled both their families together. Among these Forboises there was one called Arthur (a man of singular wit, and of no lesse readie hand to performe his deuise) who had alwaies followed the kings part to his vttermost, from the first time of these discords. This man therefore supposing this to be the time (now or neuer) wherein he must honor himselfe and his name, increase the substance of that part which followed him, & suppress the rage of the Gordons, first laboured to bring his familie to unitie and mutuall loue, for all vertue gathered into it selfe is greatest strength. The which if he might compass (as by anie possible meanes he would leaue no stone vnturned that might further it) he was then in so good safetie as he desired. For then was there not anie faction or familie in those parts whatsoever, whose wealth or strength he doubted, and whose state or authoritie he did feare.

For furtherance of which vniou, when date and place was appointed to assemble the Forboises together, Adam Gordon, the brother of the earle of Huntley (deuising by all policie he might to hinder the same, and hauing priue intelligence thereof by his kin, fauourers, and followers) came with a great power of armed men vnto the same place (at the time appointed for the assemble of the Forboises) to breake off their vniou. And although there were two troopes of the Forboises, which presentlie appeared in their fight, yet before they could ioin their strengths, Adam Gordon speedilie set vpon the one armie (not readie to be succoured by the other) and in the middle thereof did kill this Arthur Forboise; who being the hope of all that race and now slaine, his death did so amaze the other, that forthwith the rest were some ouerthrowne, scattered, and fled each one as he might best shift for himselfe. In which unhappie conflict some persons of name were presentlie killed, and manie others taken and reserued for ransom. Wherevpon the residue (fearing more crueltie should be vied vpon the prisoners, loath to haue anie more of their race to be cut awaie, and giuing place to the time present) withdrew themselves from the fight, and neuer attempted anie thing afterward in the reuenge of their ouerthrow. Which feare and wise suppression of reuenge grew not without iust cause, supposing that their aduersaries (if they were further vied) would shew no more mercie to such as they had prisoners, than they did to the house of Alexander Forboise before time, which they burnt with his great belied wife and the other of his children.

The eldest brother of Arthur (who was the chiefe of that familie) hauing his house so spoiled, and himselfe hardlie escaping from his enemies hands, hastened to the court, from whence (though the matter was in great extremitie) he was by the king to be releued. For which cause there were appointed two hundred footmen to such of the nobilitie as fauoured and followed that faction, with letters to the adjoining nobilitie to associat themselves to the part of

the Forboises. These thus considered and came together to the rest of the Forboises, with certeine other families of their affinitie & neighbours, so advanced the spirit of this Alexander, that he now thought himselfe sufficientlie senced against all the forces of his aduersaries. But as their number increased, so there wanted amongst them one person sufficient to introy the place of a capteine, whom the rest might follow, with all the principals and heads of the families were almost young men, and scarce one better than others in degree of calling. Wherefore the assemble being drawen into diuerse companies (for they were enforced to follow seuerall leaders) John Beth with five hundred horsemen departed to his house not far from thence. Alexander Forboise with his retinue and two hundred footmen went to Aberdeen, to expell Adam Gordon from thence, and to repare his armie in the iournie.

Adam Gordon (not sleeping his affaires, knowing the preparation of the Forboises, and understanding the approach of his enimie so nere with so small compante) assembled his people, led them out of the towne, and compelled the citizens to follow, to make the number of his armie to seme the greater. Shortly after, in a field next adjoining to the towne, the two companies met, and a sharpe conflict was committed betwene them. In which the kings footmen (appointed to the Forboises) desirous (more hartlie than wiselie) to fight, and aduenturing further in following of the Gordons (than their shot of powder would continue) they went so far, that in the end (being out of the reach of defense or helpe of their company) they were put to fearful flight by the botomen of the Gordons, who pursued them egerlie, and continued the battell until night. At what time there were not manie of the vanquished slaine, but mostlie taken and reserued as prisoners, amongst which was the said Alexander Forboise taken, after that he had long and valiantlie defended himselfe against his enemies in the same conflict, to the perpetual glorie of that house.

After the suppression of the Forboises in the north parts, the quenes fauourers were highlie incouraged to attempt greater matters. Wherefore assembling their power out of diuerse parts of the kingdome, they bend their minds to the suppressing of Jedworth, a towne which after the manner of the countrie is unvalled and vnensured, but onelie with the strength of the inhabitants: which towne (certeine yeares past had stronglie resisted the force of the quenes faction. Neere vnto this towne were neighbours Thomas Car of Fernherst, and Walter Scot, both which besides their owne retinue had ioined vnto them the people of the next countries, being Lidsdale, Cuian, and Eskine, alwaies troubled with robbrie and giuen to spoile, who at that time by the libertie of war traile without restraint, did wander into further countries, to preie, spoile and catch what they could. Besides whom there were also in Leuiot (aswell by the infection of these countries, as by the custome of spolling in the wars, for these things were by vse made an other nature and priuilege, as it were from the note and paine of sin) great families defamed with such theft and rapines, and not these alone (with this poison had crept almost ouer all the land) but certeine of the next English pale (being allured with hope of preie, and supposing all things lawfull in ciuill warres) ioined together, and (to make their number the greater, and their power the stronger) called from Edenborough one hundred and tinentie harquebusshers, chosen out of the cheefest souldiers, to be assistant vnto them.

The inhabitants of Jedworth (not ignorant of their intent, and considering wherevnto all this preparation

The Forboises disagree among themselves.

Arthur Forboise.

Adam Gordon displaunteth the vniou of the Forboises.

Arthur Forboise slaine.

The Forboises put to flight.

The house, great belied wife, and children of Alexander Forboise burnt.

The Forboises receiue aid from the king.

Walter Car sent to defend Jedworth.

The Forboises follow seuerall leaders. John Beth departed. Alexander Forboise goeth to Aberdeen.

William Ruthwine with a power coming to Dunbar.

The Forboises overcome the town of Aberdeen.

Walter Car ioineth with William Ruthwine.

Jedworth defended from assault.

The quenes faction lie awake.

Thomas Car. Walter Scot.

Ruthwine with his armie cometh to Hawike.

Buchan, li. 20.

The quenes faction overcome and dispersed at Hawike.

paration tended) with spædie & fearefull messengers
signific vnto John Areskine earle of Mar & regent,
the present danger therein they stood, craving some
succor of light furnished souldiers to be sent to them,
which forthwith was granted accordingly. Where-
upon Walter Car of Stafford, being called before
the regent for that cause, had the charge of such aid
granted vnto him, as a person who both for valure &
experience was of sufficiencie to discharge anie such
matter laied vpon him. Besides which, a conuenient
number of sufficient souldiers, gathered out of the
counties adioining, for that season assembled them-
selues in defense of the towne, & ioined their armie
with them at Jedworth. At what time also to strike
more feare in the one part & to aduance the courage
of the other part, it was noised amongst both armies
that William Ruthwine with a hundred shot and
certeine horsemen (whereof he brought part with him,
and part he gathered out of the marches adioining)
were at the same time coming to Wyburge with
the said Ruthwine. All which notwithstanding, the
queenes faction trusting to their owne strength con-
sisting in multitude (for they were in number thre
thousand men) did earlie in the morning draw to-
wards the towne, to preuent the coming of such
succours as both were promised, looked for, and then
almost at hand. Which being by Ruthwine partlie
before suspected, he hastened the people with more
spæd to follow them at the heeles, and by continuall
shot worried the taile of his aduersaries with often
assaults and skirmishes.

Walter Car also ioining vnto him and to his
complices the townes men (readie to defend their
files, their goods, their wiues, and their children) toke
the direct waie towards his enemies, to the end the
better to suppress them and their vnited force. Which
when the aduerser part perceiued, forthwith they reti-
red to places of more defense, lest they shuld incoun-
ter their enemies with doubtful battell; and least be-
ing set vpon before and behind, they might be sub-
denlie inclosed, before they could be able to turne
themselues, either to escape, or to preuent the approch-
ing enimie. At what time such as sought after spoile,
and were allured to that warre with hope of gaine,
being now by that means defrauded of their pzeie,
when they saw the towne manfullie defended, and
the kings part readie and stronglie come forth to
battell, left the field, and departed euerie man to his
owne house, as it was nereest to the place where they
then remained. Whose sudden flight, without any oc-
casion of danger, being vnderstood of the chiefe of the
rest of such as were of the queenes faction (supposing
at the first nothing lesse than that the enimie would
make vpon them) they also followed after the others,
raised their campe, and departed to Hawike with
the rest of their followers and companie of footmen,
hoping thereby to escape all danger, by reason of the
sharpenesse of the winter and late fall of the snow,
which would staie the following of the enimie.

But Ruthwine, iudging it best to vse the opportu-
nitie of time, did before daie so spædie lead his ar-
mie to Hawike, that he was within a mile of his
enimies, before they could by anie means be certi-
fied of his coming. Whose spædie and vnlooked for
approch did strike such extreame feare into the hearts
of those which possessed Hawike; that there was no
place left for anie consultation; but presentlie that e-
uerie one shoud shift for himselfe as well as hee
might. Whereupon suddenlie bringing forth their
horses and footmen, and following the course of the
next riuer, they attempted to withdraw into places
of more safetie for themselues, and further from
their enemies. But the horsemen of Ruthwine spæ-
die following at their heeles, so preuented their de-

uise, that forsaking their footmen, they fled ouer all
the countrie to the places best knowne vnto them.

Upon which the footmen being thus left to the
spolie and pzeie of their enemies, did (for their more
safegard) hide themselues in a little wood adioining
to the said riuer. In which, being on euerie side beset
with the force of their aduersaries (sallie determined
to pzeie vpon them) they did in the end whole pzeie
themselues with submissiō to their courtisie. Where-
upon (sith they were not able like prisoners, for their
number was ouer great to be caried about from
place to place in that sharpe winter) they were, vpon
their oth to retorne and become true prisoners) suf-
fered harmelesse of bodie, and losselesse of furniture
to depart, some few being still retained in that place
as pledges for the others departed companie. But
when the time of their retorne approched, Rircawdie
die, deceiuing their faith with his light promises, for-
bad them to retorne at their daie appointed, and
made them incurre the note of perjurie. The rest of
the winter, and all the next spring was passed forth
with light skirmishes on both parties of the kings
and queenes factions, in which few lost their liues,
and of that few more on the queens than kings part.
For the queenes fauourers, remaining in the moun-
teins next adioining to the citie, whilst they would
take occasion and aduantage to performe anie thing
well, would (scarce entring into the danger of the
conflict) for the most part retire and flie into the citie
for more defense.

In the meane time, while these things were thus
ordered, there came manie ambassadors out of Eng-
land, to pacifie these discords growne to these great
extremities, betwene the king and the imprisoned
queenes factions. But the same ambassage so well
meant by the queene of England, and reiected by the
seditions of Scotland, sorted not to that end which
was meant, nor as the state of Scotland required.
Wherefore these ambassadors returned home with-
out anie such dispatch as might answer their tra-
uels, their mistresses care and loue, and the vnitie of
that quarellsome people: by reason that the French-
men fauouring the cause of the banished queene, did
not onelie hinder the peace and quiet of the Scots,
for the benefit of the realme; but also sought warres
for the destruction of they naturall subiects, and to
bring in their owne gouernement; who for the furthe-
rance thereof, did with great promises intertaine the
apt minds of the quarrelling faction, to kindle and
mainteine the fire of continuall warre, vntill such
time as by force they had gotten the vpper hand, and
brought the kings fauourers to destruction. For the
better support whereof, the French king sent some
portion of monie, which being of it selfe not great, or
such as their necessitie required, seemed rather suffi-
cient to nourish an hope of abilitie to mainteine the
warres, than sallie to dispatch or defraie the charges
of the affaires therein; and that the rather, because
some part of that monie was euer deuoured by such
as had the cariage thereof.

Amongst these things there still continued, for a
few moneths, certeine light skirmishes to little pur-
pose betwene the aduerser parties. But the greater
companie, who could not satisfie their eagles minds
with little flies, abstained not from robbing and bur-
ning the countrie. For Adam Gordon, entring into
Angus, besieged the house of William Dowglas
of Glenburnie: but after that long besiege, percei-
uing that the man whome he sought for, was not to
be found there, he cruellie destroyed all whatsoeuer
there was left, consuming it with fire and sword.
Which tyrannie did strike such fearfull impressiō in-
to the hearts of those of Dundee, that they despairing
of their owne abilitie to resist them, called their

Rircawdie
causeth the
prisoners not
to retorne at
their daie ap-
pointed.

Ambassadors
out of Eng-
land.

The French
king sendeth
monie into
Scotland.

Adam G-
don entrench
Angus, and
besiegeth the
house of Wil-
liam Dow-
glas.

They of Dun-
dee craue
aid out of
Fife.

Walter Car
sent to defend
Jedworth.

The For-
beses follow
seuerall lea-
ders.
John Beth
departed.
Alexander
Forbes goes
with to Aber-
den.

William
Ruthwine
with a power
coming to
Wyburge.

The For-
beses over-
throwen be-
sides Aber-
den.

Walter Car
joineth with
William
Ruthwine.

Jedworth
defended
from assault.

The queenes
faction flie a-
waie.

Thomas
Car.
Walter Scot.

Ruthwine
with his ar-
mie cometh
to Hawike.

Suchan, li. 20.

The queenes
faction over-
throwen and
dispersed at
Hawike.

neighbours of fife vnto their aid, sith they were next adioining vnto them, vnto whom also Gordon was a persecuting enimie continuallie in all that possible he might, because they constantlie and subiect like did in all dutie support the kings part.

Blackenelle
betraied.

At which time Blackenelle being betraied to the Hamiltons by the keeper of that castell, did greatlie hinder the traffike and passage betwene Leith and Sterling. For which cause the regent as a person that heedfullie looked into the dangers of that time, and with wise forecast sought to preuent following evils, brake downe all the mills about Edinburgh, furnished all the noble mens houses and places of defense with garrisons nere vnto the towne, and closed vp all passage to and from the citie. For now there was fresh skirmishing, and manie on both parts, as well of the king as of the deposed queene were taken prisoners, put to their ransom, compelled to abiure their faction, kept in continuall prison, or else presentlie slaine.

Edinburgh
mills broken.

Prisoners
taken both on
the king and
queens part.

These things thus depending, and the king and the deposed queenes faction contending still to support their parts, the matter did growe more and more grow to great slaughters: which being well perceived by forreine nations (pitieng the present calamities, and seeking to prouide to staie the following dissolution of that countrie which was like to be at hand vpon these ciuill and vnaturall warres, if better order were not taken therefore) the queene of England as the kings next and louing neighbour, and the French king also the confederat of Scotland, sent their ambassadores into the realme, to see what qualification might be had in these troublesome and dangerous times of the kings minority: hoping either to set a small end to these inconueniences, or at least to mitigate and staie that furie, that it should not at that present, or during the kings minority passe any further. For the accomplishment whereof, sir William Dyrrie knight, and Thomas Randolph esquier, were sent from the queene of England: and monsieur de Croque, who had also bene ambassadoz out of France into Scotland befoze that time, was now againe sent thither from the French king.

The queene
of England &
the French
king send am-
bassadores into
Scotland.

These much about one time arriuing in Scotland, and joining together concerning the execution of their ambassage, dealt so effectually therein, that in the end they concluded an abstinence of warre to be had betwene the parties of the king and queenes faction, from that time which was about the first of August, to continue vntill the first of December following: and so brought both the parties in conclusion to relie and abide the full determination of all quarels to be set downe by the queene of England, and the French king. Which being done the ambassadores returned home, monsieur Croque into France, and sir William Dyrrie and maister Randolph into England.

An abstinence
of warre for
a time.

Sir William
Dyrrie and
maister Ran-
dolph go into
Scotland.

In October following died the earle of Marre, regent of Scotland, of a lingering sickness (as some affirm) but Lescus faith lib. 10. pag. vltima, that *morte repentina concidit* being buried in Allowaie a place of his owne, situate foure miles from Sterling, to whom in the erle dome succeeded John erle of Marre, who after fled into England, as in this following discourse shall appeare. Which John Areskine earle of Marre the regent did marrie Annable Purrie daughter to the lard of Tullebarton, by whom he had issue this John, which succeeded him in the erle dome of Marre (as is befoze said) and one daughter which was married to Archibald Douglas the now earle of Angus: but she died without issue. Of which deceased Areskine earle of Marre, Buchanan composed these verses commendatorie, expressing the nature, vertues, qualities, and valour

The death of
the earle of
Marre.

of the said earle in this forme and maner following:

*Si quis Areskinum memoret per bella ferocem,
Pace grauem nulli, tempore utroque pium;
Si quis opes sine fastu, animum sine fraude carentem,
Rebus in ambiguis suspitione fidem,
Siquis ob has dotes, senis uictata procellis,
Figit in illius patria fessa pedem:
Vera quidem memoret, sed non & propria: laudes
Qui pariter petet has vnus & alter erit:
Illud & proprium est, longa quod in ordine vitæ
Nil odium aut linor, quod reprehendit, habet.*

10

Vpon the death of which earle Marre the regent, there happened long consultation for the election of a new regent to succeed in his place, that might in all respects defend the kings person and the realme, as he had done befoze. Wherefoze the noble men, assembling for that cause, did in the moneth of December, one moneth and more after the death of that last regent, elect by one consent the earle Dorton to that office, a man no lesse wise than prouident, and such a person, as both for the nobilitie of his birth, god seruice to the realme and to the king, did well merit the same. After whose election, the two princes, the English queene, and the French king, minding to make a full conclusion of peace and amitie, and to settle the kingdome of Scotland in due obedience and vnitie, did in the meane time that the abstinence of warre befoze named continued, send their ambassadores to the regent and states of Scotland. Which ambassadores were maister Henrie Killigrew esquire for England, and monsieur de Meracke for France. But as monsieur de Meracke was dislodged from the coasts of France, and vpon the sea in his iourneie to Scotland; he was apprehended and taken, befoze he could attaine to the shore of Scotland: whereby he neuer came on land amongst the Scots to performe his ambassage. Which being knowne to the Scots, and they finding that their most aid & surest friendship would come forth of England from that prince, whome religion, blood, affinitie, and neighborhood had moued to like and follow, did in the end resolve themselves, that both the affection, aswell of the young king, and of the imprisoned queene, should referre themselves to the queene of England, to make a small conclusion of all controuersies and troubles which were then amongst them.

Earle Dorton
made re-
gent.

Maister Hen-
rie Killigrew
sent into
Scotland.

40

Wherevpon the said Henrie Killigrew made a quiet end and pacification of all matters & debates betwene all the lords of Scotland after this maner. In Februarie following the new creation of this regent Dorton, there assembled at Perth, or saint Johns towne (by especiall edict therefore) the greatest part of the nobilitie of Scotland, as the regent, the earles of Huntlie, Argile, Atholl, and others: who pitieng the miserie of their countrie, condescended that the queene of England should by hir ambassadoz, set a quiet end and order amongst them. Which the said Henrie Killigrew did in all points accordingly, extending the same vnto all the nobilitie of Scotland, except such as were in the castell of Edinburgh: which were the lord Hume, the lord of Grange, secretarie Livingston, the lord Raskallrege, and others: who rather desirous of warre than peace, as persons metelie well inured therewithall, would not consent to any peace, other than such as might stand with their owne liking, and support of the imprisoned queenes faction, which they earnestlie followed, as after shall more appeare.


An assemblie
at saint
Johns towne.

But befoze this small agreement, as I haue bene crediblie informed, there was a parlement called at Edinburgh to begin the fifteenth of Januarie, in which were assembled the earle Dorton regent, the earles of Angus, Argile, Glencarne, Castels,

1573
A parlement
at Edinbo-
rough.

sels, Eglinton, Mountroffe, and young Marshall, for the earle Marshall his father: the lords of Ruthwen, Lindsie, Clames, Simple, Boid, Partwell, Harris, Craie, Dillphant, Sincleir, Foxbotts, Ca-chart, Dhilltra, Somerwell, and others: with the commissioners of the borowis of Edenborough, Striueling, Perth, Dundie, saint Andrews, Glasgow, Liffgo, and Couper. Out of which number of this assemblie were chosen for to be lords and iudges, to determine the articles propounded in that parlement, the earles of Argyle, Glencarne, and Mountroffe, the lords Ruthwen, Lindsie, Boid, Simple, and Harris, with the bishops of saint Andrews & Dkeneie, the abbats of Aberboith, Dunfermling, Canbuskineth, and Newbottle, besides the prior of saint Maries and Portinake, which were also adioined unto them: all which persons so passed, named, and appointed, determined, ratified, & passed these articles following.

The articles and acts of the parlement holden at Edenborough the
25 of Ianuarie.

- 1  The approbation and ratification of the regiment.
- 2 Annent the true and holie kirke, and deiering of the true ministers & members thereof.
- 3 That name of the aduersaries and enemies of Gods truth shall inioie the patrimonie of the kirke.
- 4 That like of the disobedients as shall be received to mercie and pardon, protest the true religion, and sweare to resist the decrees and execution of the councill of Trent.
- 5 The establishing of the regiment, in case that charge yet baile during the kings minoritye.
- 6 Annent recovering of the iewels, householdstufte, munition, and mouables, such as sometime were the quenes the kings mother, to his highnesse vse and behoofe.
- 7 A declaration, that all things done in the kings name and authoritie is lawfull, and of the invaliditie of all things attemptid in anie name, and vnder color of whatsoeuer other authoritie, since his highnesse coronation.
- 8 Touching motion to be made for a league with the quens maiestie of England, for the defense of forren invasion, for the cause of religion; and that others professing the true religion, may be drawne into the same.
- 9 The declaration and interpretation of the act annent masse and gleibis.
- 10 Annent the interpretation of the popes and other counterfet bulls or prouision to benefices with antedats.
- 11 Approbation with some addition to the act of priuie councill, made in the reigne of the quene the kings mother, annent the disposition of benefices to ministers of the kirke.
- 12 Annent execution against persons excommunicat.
- 13 Annent the reparation of parish kirks.
- 14 Annent proceeding in cause of diuorfe.
- 15 Annent the reparation of the destructions, biggings, and other damneges within the towne of Edenborough during the late trouble.
- 16 A confirmation of the infestement of certeine rents to the pedagog or college of Glasgou. All which acts thus fullie passed in this parlement, there was the same aduise given to the regent, touching the refusing to pardon of persons guiltie to the slaughter of the earle of Lennox late regent, & touching suspension and delaing of pursute of the murder of the

kings father. Whereof much being spoken, and thought god to be followed; yet there was nothing enacted that might establish the same.

During the time of which session of this parlement, manie occurrents deserving remembrance happened after the said fifthenth of Ianuarie. For ^{skirmishes about Edenborough.} Edenborough castell being somewhat distressed, the castilians were put from falling out of the castell gate, where capteine Craiford, and capteine Humelie with their hands to keepe them in. Notwithstanding all which, they within repaired vnto a porterne in the northside of the castell besides saint Cutberts church, and saint Margarets well, where they issued and set water at their pleasure: which being espied by their enemies, capteine Michael and his band came from Dondiske to stop their passage thereto. Who within thre daies after such his approach, destroyed their well, and inforced them to keepe within the walls of the castell: at what time the regent advanced his trenches made against the castell, from the bulworke or spur of that castell to the west part: and from thence, to saint Cutberts kirke: so that with the water lieng on the south-westside, and the regents power on the other side, the castell was wholie inuironed. During which siege, the firstenth of the same moneth, the castilians, to feare such as were assembled in the forenamed parlement kept within the towne of Edenborough, bestowed fourescore and seuen great shot vpon the towne, which harmed not anie one creature, but a poze dog that was laine before the doore of the regents house: although men, women, and children did daillie frequent and passe the streets of the towne. Which was a rare matter, but yet not more strange than this: that there was not laine on the regents part (from the first of the moneth of Ianuarie vntill this time, either by great or small shot in the towne or trenches, skirmishes or otherwise) above six persons, and within the castell but thre, with as manie hurt betwene the tolbooth and the spur of the castell. The cause whereof grew by reason of thre traueses made overthwart the streets to saue the people, besides the other trenches made against the castell: at what time also the tolbooth and the church was fenced with a rampter forced of turffes, fagots, and other stufte fit for that purpose. Whereby the lords of the parlement did as safelie assemble and sit in the tolbooth, and the people went as quietlie and safelie to the church to heare diuine seruice, as they at anie time did before the warres began, and before that the castell was besieged.

During which doings in the castell & the towne, there was an abstinence granted at the sute of the ambassadors of England for the duke and his adherents, vntill the foure and twentieth of Februarie: in which meane time, certeine lords were appointed to conferre with the said ambassadors for an accord to be had betwene the king and imprisoned quenes faction. Wherevpon sir James Balford came to the regents grace, obtained pardon for his offense, and earnestlie laboured to further this agreement. The earle of Argyle was aduanced to the honour of the chancelorship. And Alexander Areskine master of Marre was appointed to haue the keeping of the kings person vpon certeine conditions, for the performance whereof he was to find foure suerties, lords of the parlement, to be bound for him bodie and lands, hauing fiftaine daies appointed vnto him to consider thereof, whether he would enter in to so great a charge or no. And if in case he should refuse to accept the same, it was further resolved and concluded, that the earles of Glencarne and Buthuan, ^{In abstinence of war granted.}

le who made re-

iffer then killigrew into otland,

assemblie saint hys towne.

1573 parlement Edenborough.

Sir James Balford submitted himselfe to the regent. Officers created.

James Hircawdie entred Edenborough castle.

quhan, the lord Glanes, and master Marshall should haue the keeping of the king quarterlie one after another. And if anie of the foure should happen, during the time of his quarterlie gouernement, to be sicke, or not able to execute that function; that then the lord Lindseie should be assistant to him in that gouernement, during that time. Which being thus on all parts concluded, James Hircawdie arrived in the Blackenelle in a small pinnesle, and entred the castle of Edenborough, with such monie as he had prouided to bring thither. Which occasioned the castle of Edenborough to be reassaged and intironed both by sea and land, and was the cause that capteine Busse fallieng forth with other of his companie to forage the countrie, and to prouide vittells, were taken by the regents companie. Notwithstanding all which, yet the others within the castle continued their purpose, and defended the same against the regent and his companie, farre otherwise than was supposed that either they could or would do.

1573

The taking of Edenborough castle by the English and the regent of Scotland.

Whereupon the regent of Scotland solicited the quene of England, in the behalfe, and for the succor of the yong king of Scots his cousine, thus grieuouly molested with the warres of his owne people. So that the quene of England sent a power of fiftene hundred Englishmen to the siege of Edenborough castle, ouer whome sir William Dzurie knight and marshall of Berwik was made general, with such capteins as folloiw; which were sir Francis Russell knight, third sonne to Francis erle of Bedford with other capteins, as Read, Parleie, Wood, Brickwell, Pikeman, Gam, Case, Carretw, Errington prouost marshall, Astoll, Starleie capteine of the pioners, and capteine Barton. To whom also to serue at their owne free will these gentlemen of name, sir George Carte, sir Henrie Lete knights, Thomas Cicill eldest son of the lord tresuroz of England, William Knolles, Sutton, Cotton, Belwaie, Dier, Tilneie, William Killegrew, & manye other gentlemen of good estimation did asociat themselves with conuenient number to attend vpon them. These with their generall passed from Berwik to Leith, where they met with master Henrie Killegrew the quene of Englands ambassadoz, whose care, trauell, & furtherance at that time deserued no small commendation; and with the Scottish nobilitie, & such as they had assembled to ioine with the English in the behalfe of the yong king against such as toke part with the deposed quene. Which Scottish nobilitie and gentlemen of Scotland were the earle Moriston regent, and such other earles and gentlemen as were tied and alied to him by kindnes and kindred, and such as fauoured the yong king, distressed by the deposed quene, as was pretended. After the ioining of these two nations, they on the five and twentieth of Aprill marched towards Edenborough: and the same daie sir William Dzurie the generall summoned the castle of that towne in forme as followeth.

The summons giuen to the castle of Edenborough.

Sir William Hircawdie, sometimes of Orange knight, forsomuch as the quens maiestie my soueraigne ladie, vpon the earnest request of hir dere cousin the king of Scots your soueraigne lord made to hir highnes by his regent, nobilitie, & estates of Scotland, after all good meanes bled to haue reduced you to a dutifull obedience of his authoritie by treatie, which hitherto you haue not dulie harkened vnto, to the onlie hinderance of the diuierfall peace in this realme, by withholding that his highnesse castle, meaning

(as it seemeth) to reserve the same for a receptacle of fozen forces, to the manifest dangers both of this realme and of my soueraigns; and therefore necessarie to remoue so perillous a danger to both the realmes. For which consideration hir maiestie hath sent hir aid and succors, men, ordinance, and munition vnder my charge and leading, for the expugnation and recouerie of the said castle to the said kings vse and behoefe. And therefore, according to hir maiesties commandement and commission; this shall be in due maner to warne, require, and summon you, that you render and deliuer the said castle with the whole ordinance, artillerie, munitions, felwels, household stuffe, and such other implements within the same to me, and to the vse and behoefe of the king your soueraigne and his regent in his name, immediately after this my letter of summons or knowledge of the same shall come to you. Which if you obeie, as of dutie you ought; then shall I in hir maiesties name interpone my selfe to trauell with the regent, counsell, and nobilitie here for the safetie of your lines, &c: otherwise, if you continue in your former obstinacie, abiding the canon, then no further to looke for grace or fauor; but you and the rest within that castle, to be pursued to the uttermost, and holden as enemies to hir maiestie, your owne soueraigne, and countrie. Given at Edenborough by me sir William Dzurie knight generall of hir maiesties forces now in Scotland, this five and twentieth daie of Aprill, in the yeare of Christ 1573.

This letter by the lord Orange capteine of the castle thus in due sort receiued, he not regarding the contents thereof, nor considering the mild disposition of such as went about to spare their blood, did utterly denie the surrender of the castle, and with all force determined to defend themselves. Wherewith the English generall greatlie grtented, did incontinently redeliuer such answer to the said lord Orange as wrought an utter discontent and dislike in the man. By meanes of which the pioners attending their charge, with expedition applied the casting of trenches and erecting of mounts or fortresses to plant the artillerie thereupon against the castle. After which euerie one hastening the cause of his comming, & ioining their force together, began to inuiron the towne, & to late siege to the castle in fise seuerall places, where were fise seuerall fortresses erected for that cause, intituled by these names. The first mount allotted to the regent, had the name of the kings mount, the second the generall thereof the English sir William Dzurie did possesse, the third was in charge of sir George Carte, the fourth was called sir Henrie Lesles mount, and the fifth fell to the gouernement of Thomas Sutton master of the ordinance in the north parts of England. The whole number of which armie vnder paie was two thousand, whereof fiftene hundred were English, and the other five hundred Scots: besides the nobilitie and gentlemen with their companie, and the citizens of Edenborough defended with thirtie peeces of artillerie containing six canons, nine demicanons, nine culuerings, and six sacres. Whilest the armie with out was thus preparing for to assaile the companie within, the capteine of the castle (to hinder their worke) liberallie saluted the pioners & other soldiors with such artillerie as they had within the castle, and vpon and about the walles thereof; whereby manie were hurt, some slaine, but moze hindered by the trenches and mounts might be brought to their due perfection, for defense of the assailants, and offense of the assailed. In which action also the aduerse part forgot not to requite the castilians, but moztly after that the pioners and labozers had finished

shed the mounts. At what time they gaue vehement and sharpe assault to the castell, although that the extreame heat thereof began not untill the seauenteenth daie of Maie following. In which siege on the said seauenteenth daie of Maie, the castell was most roughlie assailed by thirtie shot of canon discharged against the same. At what time those peeces so well performed their parts against Dauids towre, that the force of the English canons was easie to be then and long after seene therein. Which assault continued untill the one and twentieth daie of Maie following, on which daie the whole batterrie began not againe as befoze against part; but wholie round about on ech side of the castell. For untill then Dauids towre was onlie the marke of the enimie: but after that daie they laid out their pöwer in euerie place, offending and defending ech others soldiors, as well with in the castell as within the mounts and trenches, in that sharpe conflict hurting and killing manie of the English and Scots. Whereupon the diligence of the English began to be so great, that they forthwith displaced the ordnance in the castell, and stroke one of their greatest peeces iust in the mouth: whereby the same was broken, and the castilians force somewhat abated.

After this, on the six and twentieth daie of the said moneth of Maie, there was a fresh assault given at seven of the clocke in the morning to the Spurre (a place of defense or blockhouse befoze the said castell) which by the assailants was taken, & forthwith upon the entrance therein was the banner of the generall displayed and set vp, to declare who possessed the same, to the great discomfort of them in the castell. For although befoze they had lost the vse of one of their great peeces, that their walles were battered, that some of their men were slaine, & that they had almost all their water taken from them: yet would they not yeld, neither did anie whitt begin to despaire of keeping the castell, or repelling the enimie; untill such time as the English had now gotten the possession of the Spurre.

Now, during the time that these gaue the assault to the Spurre, there was an other band of Englishmen and Scots, that had in charge to make thew of a fresh assault, at the west part of the castell; to the end that such as laid batterrie to the Spurre, might with more ease to themselves, and lesse suspicion of the aduerser part, obtaine the said Spurre. But this last named band, ouer hastilie putting themselves in aduerture beyond the limits of their charge, were repelled and dynen to the recoil, with the hurt and losse of thirtie persons, or thereabouts. All which notwithstanding, the castilians (perceiuing their chiefest defense the Spurre to be lost, and not greatlie reioicing of this small victorie ouer those which assailed them on the west side) did the same daie by a drumme demand parlee: which they obtained with truce of peace from that daie, untill the eight and twentieth of Maie next following. For which cause the lard of Pittadrow was let downe by a rope from the castell, and after him the lard of Orange, capteine of the said castell, with Robert Deloigne; all which came to haue conference with the generall sir William Dürrie, & such other persons as were chosen to accompanie him about the same. In the end, upon much conference had betwene the Scottish lards and the generall, the castell was the same eight and twentieth daie (in which the truce ended) delineated by into the hands of the said sir William Dürrie, which he kept in his possession for a certeine time; during whose abode in the castell, he set vp and spred his ensignes and banners upon sundrie parts of the wals of the same.

This done, the generall (after quiet possession had,

not determining to retein it vnto his mistresse vse, sith he was onlie appointed by hir to aid the king of Scots, and such of the nobilitie as took his part) did after (according to his commission) deliuer ouer the same castell to the vse of the pong king of Scots; for which cause not meaning vtterlie to spoile the castell, he gaue but part of the spoile to the vse of the soldiors, leauing the canons and other artillerie to the kings pleasure. For befoze the surrender of the castell, it was agreed, that if the Englishmen had by force taken it, as they obtained it by composition, that then they should wholie haue inioied the full spoile by the space of thre daies, the artillerie onlie excepted, which should be carried awaie by the English. But sith for these causes following, the same could not abide anie long siege, but must of necessitie yeld it selfe, there was euerie part of the said spoile giuen vnto the soldiors upon the deliuerie of the same castell to sir William Dürrie. The causes of which surrender were manie.

First, for that they were depriued of water, because the well within the castell was choked with the ruines of the castell wals; & the other well without could not serue them, because there was a mount made to hinder them. An other water there was (which was vnkowne to such as were without the castell) and was taken from them by the losse of the Spurre, out of which they were wont to haue a pint a daie for euerie souldier. The other causes of surrender were these.

Secondlie, diuerse persons were sicke, especiallie thorough drinke of the water of saint Margarets well without the castell on the north side, which had bene poisoned by some of their enimies.

Thirddie, diuerse others were hurt.

Fourthlie, not manie to mainteine the castell, and they not able to take anie rest, being so pried and dallie wearied with batterrie.

Fiftlie, diuerse of the souldiers diuided in opinions.

Sixtlie, some were no souldiers at all.

Seauenthlie, that no aid was to be looked for by the waie of France.

The eight and chiefe cause was, that the regent and his forces planted in the strengths round about, and the hoisemen dallie and nightlie watching and riding, which held and took from them all vittels, and had brought them to great scant of food befoze the siege began. All these eight causes moued the said surrender of the castell.

After that the castell was thus gotten, the sixteenth daie of June following, the prisoners were deliuered by the said sir William Dürrie, in the presence of sundrie Scots & Englishmen, vnto the regent; and that done, the same daie sir William Dürrie departed with his power to Berwick. The names of the prisoners were these; sir William Bircaldie lard of Orange, and capteine of the castell of Edenborough, the lord Hume, William Metellan, lord of Lethington secretarie, the lard of Pittadrow constable of the castell, the countesse of Argile, the ladie of Lethington and the ladie of Orange, with others. But yet the priuat soldiors & others of meaner sort were suffered to depart with bag and baggage.

Thus was the castell of Edenborough wonne, as you haue heard, which by the common opinion of men was impregnable, and not to be taken by force; insomuch as manie thought it took the name of the maiden castell, for that it had not bene wone at any time befoze except by famine or pragge. Which opinion being common is so much the faller, in that the common sort do embrace it, for that they will incline to common fables. For this castell was not named the maiden castell, because it was neuer taken

ken by force : but because the princes children were there nourished, as maie well appeare by that which I shall set downe touching the antiquitie of this towne & the name thereof; of which there be diuerse opinions. For some will haue it to be built by Eboracus, of some called Eborancus king of Brittaines, called also in Britishe Castle mynrd Agnes, the castell of saint Agnes hill, afterward the castell of virgins. But Lesleus will haue it built long after the time of H. Lhoid, by the space of six hundred foure score and foure yeares, for thus he writeth. *Chrutneus Camelodunum primariam Pictorum urbem & Agnedam posita Ethinburgum ab Etho quondam rege dictam, cum puellarum castro, ubi regis & nobilium Pictorum filie dum nuptui darentur, seruari, & praeceptis ad humanitatem & virtutem informari solebant, condidit.* A little before which, the said Lesleus writeth that sfergusius died Anno ante Christi in carnem aduentum 305, & that Hoc tempore Efdadus Britonum & Chrutneus Cameloni Pictorum imperium tenebant. Now this king Chrutneus that built Agneda, liued before Christ thre hundred and five yeares by the Scots account, and Eborac or Eboranke liued nine hundred foure score & nine yeares before Christ: so that the Englishmen make this towne more ancient than the Scots. But as Lesleus hath mislaken himselfe, following Boetius, to place Camelodunum in Scotland: so hath he appointed Edenburgh to be built by the Scots, being built by the Brittaines. But true it might be that Eborac first builded it, & that being in the space of six hundred foure score and foure yeares wasted and utterlie decayed, the same was after erected by Chrutneus, and after repared by Ethus. The castell of which towne, being sometime appointed for the bringing vp of the daughters of the noblemen of the Brits, untill they were marriageable, was for that cause (and not because it was neuer wone by force) called the maiden castell, as the said Lesleus affirmeth. But after, when christianitie came into Scotland, it was called (as I coniecture) Agneda, because it was the castell that stood on saint Agnes hill, & not before the coming of Christ so called Agneda, as hitherto it hath bene set downe, but not rightlie; as I maie with reuerence speake vnder correction of such as by better authoritie can disprove that I saie.

But here let vs a little leaue the countrie south of Scotland, and such things as were there then done; and talke somewhat of the persons of that realme, who performed matter of valure in foreign countries. Whilist the towne of Leiden was stronglie besieged (in the moneth of June) and that the townemen (hauing a needfull and heedfull care) were altogether imployed about making of provision of all such things as were deemed necessarie for the defense of the same towne; the principall part of the commandours armie arrited in Bommell quarters, Gorcum, and Loweslein. Howbeit the prince and the estates of the low countries made no great account therof, by reason that Bommell (which was well furnished of all things necessarie for the wars) was vnder the custodie of capteine Banfoure, cornell of the Scottishmen, who had there attending on him the number of seauen Scottish ensignes. Which Scots desirous to performe some matter of valure, dailie sallied out of the towne with some of the citizens and gentlemen Hollanders, in which often issuing they valiantlie skirmished with the enemies. Whereby in the end arising their sundrie combats there were many warlike exploits performed by the Scots, which deserued not to be forgotten: as that for that they were repelled the enemy, and kept their strength together; as for that they being set in number, doubtless (beyond the hope of good hap, by encountering with a greater troupe of such as came

against them, than they were themselves) either to retorne victors, or to lose their liues.

After which also the same Scots, continuing in those low countries, performed many other matters of martiall exploits, which I will set downe in this place. For with I haue bene denied of some of the Scots (whom these annales chiefly concerne) such things as might supplie the default of sufficient matter of Scotland to furnish the same; and for that I haue bene defrauded of the performance of promise made vnto me by many others of that nation, who for dutie vnto that countrie ought, and for clearing some sinister opinions conceived against them of their actions in their owne countrie should haue sought to further me in these my labours: I must leaue things done in Scotland, and turne my pen to other places; producing matter to helpe my barren discourse, which enforced thereunto both deliuer an action performed by the Scots in the same low countries; where they which were then in seruice against the Spaniards, vnder the pae of the prince of Orange, did that which deserueth not to be forgot.

These Scots therefore remaining in those countries, seruing vnder the conduct of their coronell, named Banfoure, did in Januarie set forth & met with the Spaniards at a place called the fowbale, distant not much more than a mile from Leige, where was a long and sharpe conflict betwene these two nations. In which by the successe of battell (for the most part yielding victorie vnto the stronger side) a great multitude of them were left dead in the place, and the rest dymen to saue themselves by flight from their enemies: who yet felt not this overthrow so sweet and gainefull, but that they lost manie of their people before the Scots were put to the worst.

But leauing these Scots in the middle of the wars of these countries vnder the prince of Orange, we are to come to other matters following by succession of time, which hath deliuered to vs that Margaret the daughter & heire of Archibald Douglas earle of Angus, died in England the tenth of March in the yeare of our redemption 1577, beginning the yeare at the Annantiation of the virgin. Which lady being borne at Harbottle castell in England in the yeare of Christ 1515, was afterward brought vp in England; and then being princiell affianced in the eight and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of Christ 1536, to Thomas Howard youngest brother to the duke of Norfolk, she was that yeare committed prisoner to the tower; but after set at libertie the last of October, in the nine and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare 1537, & married to Matthew Steward earle of Lennox by the content of Henrie the eight king of England, in the yeare of our saluation 1544. After which, being tossed with both fortunes, sometime in aduersitie, & sometime in prosperitie, she was notwithstanding alwaies honorable intertained in England, as both hir birth in respect of hir kinglie blood, and hir calling in respect of hir place, did worthilie deserue. In the end, to cut off all hir other aduersities, and to draw to things falling in mine owne knowledge, she was on the two and twentieth of Aprill in the yeare 1565 (vpon the marriage of hir sonne Henrie Steward lord Darnley vnto Marie Scotsward quene of Scots) commanded by the quene of England first to kepe hir chamber in the Whitehall the princes court and palace, where she remained untill the two and twentieth daie of June next ensuing; and was then by sir Francis Knollys (one of the priuie counsell and vicechamberleine to the quene of England) and by some other of the gard conueied to the towne of London by water, in which place she remained prisoner. untill that

Humphred, Lhoid, in breu. Brit. I. Stow.

Lesleus lib. 2. pag. 84.

Campeidius in Scotia saith ab Eboranco Britanno aut ab Hebo Pisto Edinburgum deducere quid aliud est quam scrib. inep. eret

1576
The Scots deny their furtherance to the writing of the annales of Scotland.

The tragical historie of the warres of the low countries lib. 4.

The Scots put to flight besides Arige.

1577

Some part of the life of Margaret Douglas.

1574
The tragical historie of the warres of the low countries lib. 3.

The Scots repelled their enemies at Bommell.

I. Stow.

that his sonne the said Henrie Steward was miserablie and traitorously slaine by the earle Bothwell and his complices (as some affirme, but how trulie I know not) vpon the twentieth of Februarie one thousand five hundred thre score & six. In which yeare, on the two and twentieth of the same moneth, the said ladie Margaret was discharged out of the towne and set at libertie, who still remaining in England did (as before is said) in the thre score & second yeare of his age, and in the first yeare of his widowhood, surrender his soule to God, being most honorable buried & answerable to his calling in the great chapell of Westminster (built by Henrie the seventh king of England) among the kings of that realme in an inward chapell standing on the right & the southside of the said great chapell. The yeare before whose death his sonne Charles Steward earle of Lennox (having before married Elisabeth the daughter of sir William Candish, by whome he had issue Arbella) did also depart this life. Ouer the bodies of both which persons, Thomas Fowler executor to the said ladie Margaret, did with the gods of the said ladie erect a colliie and statelie toorne of rich stone and curious workmanship, with the picture of that ladie, as liuelie, and as well coloured as art might afford it, about which monument is grauen this memorable epitaph declaring his nobilitie, as insueth.

At the head of the toorne is set downe

Memoria sacrum.

Margareta Dowglasia, Mathei Stuarti Leuinie comitis uxori, Henrici septimi Anglie regis ex filia nepti, potentiss. regibus cognatione coniunctissima, Iacobi sexti regis auiæ, matrone sanctiss. moribus, & inuicta animi patientia, incomparabili P.

Obijt Martij decimo Anno

Domini 1577.

On the right side of which toorne is this ingrauen.

*Margareta potens, virtute potentior, ortu Regibus ac proavis nobilitata suis:
Inde Calidonij australibus, inde Britannis
A edita principibus, principibusque parens:
Qua mortis fuerant soluit letissima morti,
Atque Deum petijt, nam fuit ante Dei.*

Henrie second sonne to this ladie and father to James the first now king. This Henrie was murdered at the age of one and twentie yeares, Charles the yongest sonne was earle of Lennox father to the late Arbell. He died at the age of one and twentie yeares, and is here intombed.

On the left side of the toorne is this ingrauen.

This ladie had to his great grandfather king Edward the fourth, to his grandfather king Henrie the seventh, to his uncle king Henrie the eight, to his cousin germane king Edward the first, to his brother king James of Scotland the first, to his sonne king Henrie the first, to his grandchild king James the first; hauing to his great grandmother and grandmother two quene both named Elisabeth, to his mother Margaret quene of Scots, to his aunt Marie the French quene, to his cousines germane Marie and Elisabeth quene of England, to his neece and daughter in law Marie quene of Scots.

At the foot of his toorne is this written.

Here lieth the noble ladie Margaret countesse of Lennox, daughter and sole heire to Archibald Dowglas earle of Angus, by Margaret quene of Scots his wife, that was eldest daughter to king Henrie the seventh, which bare vnto Mattheu earle of Lennox his husband, foure sonnes and foure daughters. Which honourable toorne, with these superscriptions, was erected for the said ladie, and finished in the yeare of our redemption 1578, being begun

and almost perfected in the life of the said ladie Margaret. This ladie being (as before is shewed) countesse of Lennox and Angus, it will not be amisse to declare in this place, what became of both the said earldoms, as well in his life, as after his death. Touching Angus, this ladie Margaret, vpon the marriage of his son Henrie lord Darnelie, which was solemnized the nine and twentieth date of Iulie 1565, to Marie quene of Scots, did giue the said earldome with all the rights and members thereof vnto the said quene Marie, to dispose as fell best vnto his liking. Wherevpon the said quene bestowed that honour and earldome vpon Archibald Dowglas cousin to the said ladie Margaret: who being exiled, was here in England at the writing hereof. The earldome of Lennox, after the slaughter of Mattheu earle of Lennox (husband to this Margaret) which was in Sterling the fourth of September, in the yeare of our redemption 1571, but 1572 as hath Lesleus, was inuested in Charles James the first king of Scotland, heire in blood to the said Mattheu earle of Lennox, father to Henrie lord Darnelie (that married the quene) father to the said James the first. Wherevpon the yong king, mindfull of the aduancement of his uncle Charles sonne to the said Margaret, did inuest the said Charles with the honour of the said earldome of Lennox, which Charles died in the life of his mother Margaret without heire male, by reason whereof the said earldome reuerted to the crowne.

But here leauing the title and succession of the earles of Lennox to an other place following (sith I am entered into the discourse of such of the earles & countesses of Lennox as be dead) I thinke it better in this place, than not at all, to mention the epitaph of Mattheu earle of Lennox slaine at Sterling (as is before touched) in the yeare of Christ 1571. For although the same matter would more aptlie haue bene placed before at the end of the historie of Scotland, written by Holinshed, or at the beginning of my continuance of the annales of that countrie, when I mention the death of the said earle: yet sith the note of that epitaph came not vnto my hands, vntill I had thus farre proceeded in the historie; and the same also at that time passed the print (whereby I could not set it downe in due place) I will here (hauing so good occasion therfore) intreating of the toorne of his wife (whose charge also wanted not in erecting of this toorne of his slaine husband, and for that this doth also touch some part of his epitaph) insert the same in this place after this manner, as it is written vpon the statelie toorne of the said Mattheu Lennox, and now standing in the chapell within Sterling castell, being as hereafter foloweth.

The epitaph of Mattheu earle of Lennox.

Lo here a prince and potentate,
whose life to vnderstand,
Was godlie, iust, and fortunate,
though from his native land
His enemies thrice did him out thring,
he thrice returned againe,
Was lawfull tutor to the king,
and regent did remaine:
Where he with rigor rebels rackt,
the right for to defend,
Till enemies old through tyrans trackt,
did worke his fatal end.
Lo thus respects the death no wight,
When God permits the time,
Yet shall the vengeance on them light
that wrought that cursed crime.

Besides which also on the same toorne are these heroicall verses set downe, declaring his name, his descent, his marriage, his issue, his offices, and such other

1576
The Scots
denie their
furtherance
to the writing
of the annales
of Scotland.

The tragick
historie of the
warres of the
low countries
lib.4.

The Scots
put to flight
besides Reige.

1577

Some part
of the life of
Margaret
Dowglas.

.Stow.

ther matters belonging vnto him, as followeth.

Behold herein interred is,

Matthew of Lennox earle,

Who long of late in Britaine soile,

did liue a pearlesse pearle.

And as he was of roiall bloud,

by roiall progenie,

From Stewards stocke of ancient time,
princes of Albanie :

His fortune was euen so to match,

with passing vertuous wight,

Whose race deriued from famous kings,
of wide renowned might.

His mother queene of Scotland was,

and eldest daughter deare,

Of Henrie seuenth English king,
a princelie mirror cleare.

Hir father earle of Angus was,

the ladie Margaret hight,

The onelie heire of Angus lands,

and all his fathers right.

Thus did king Brutus bloud conioine,

for both by grace diuine

Are come of Northwales princes hault,
which were of Troians line.

And diuerse goodlie impes there were,

that issued from them twaine :

Charls James now king, and * Charls the earle

of them dooth still remaine,

King Henrie father to this king,

their first begotten sonne :

Oh cruell fates! the which so soone,

his vitall thred vnsponne,

By whose deuile the grandsire came,

lord regent in this land :

And noblie bare the regall sword

of iustice in his hand,

Whereby he did in tender age

of the kings maiestie,

This realme protect with fortitude,

prudence and equitie.

But now dame fame with flickering wings

withouten anie let,

Shall spread abroad this worthie man,

and through the world him set.

And tearing time shall not consume,

nor weare the same awaie,

But with the worthiest reckned be,

vntill the latter daie.

After which time, eternitie

dooth triumph then by right :

Where he with angels shall reioise,

in Gods eternall sight.

Besides which English epitaph these verses were also composed by Buchanan vpon the same earle of Lennox, wherein is not onelie set downe (as before) the honourable birth of the man, but also some of the places of his education, with other things which right fortunatlie happened vnto him in this sort.

Regis aui, regis pater, alto è sanguine regum

(Imperio quorum terra Britannia subest)

Matheus genuit Leuinia, Gallia fuit,

Pulso Anglus thalamum remq; decusq; dedit.

Cepi inuicta manu, famam virtute refelli,

Arma armis vici, consiliisq; dolos.

Gratus in ingratos: patriam iustisq; pieq;

Cum regerem, hostili perfidia cecidi.

Chare nepos, spes vna domus, meliore senectam*

Attingas fato, cetera dignus auro.

Thus setting end to the liues & deaths of this Mattheu Stewart erle of Lennox, of Margaret Dowglas his wife, to their honourable epitaphs, and to their sumptuous sepulchres, we will come backe againe to such others, either generall or spectall, acci-

dents as haue fallen in the kingdome of Scotland, and which will touch the bruiuer fall gouernement, or the particular occurrents as well of Scotish as of other foren affaires managed by them at home, or in other countreies, therewithall ioining the discourse of such things as haue bene performed by other nations in that kingdome. Amongst which accidents in Scotland this rarelie happened, that the earle Morton surrendered his protectorship or regentship of the king and kingdome of Scotland. Which I maie

10 worthilie count rare, sith men in so great authoritie of commanding all persons, can hardlie be brought to giue ouer such honour, and to yeld themselves to the commandement of others, because *Qui primatus sui auctoritatem perdit, in desperationem & angustiam se mittit: qui autem locum suum sapienter custodit, se ac suos ad profectum dirigit.* And Was the philosopher knew, that it was a most hard thing of all other, and onelie fauouring of great magnanimitie and wisdom, *Fortiter ferre mutationes rerum in deterius.* But he being verie wise, feared not the alteration of his estate, but rather desired to be rid thereof, considering the weightinesse and danger which depended therevpon, and remembryng that notable sayeng of Gregorie in his Morales, declaring the singular good of such, which do shun the gouernement of temporall things, in these words. *Quasi quodam iugo seruitutis premunt prospera, dum appetuntur; premunt aduersa dum formidantur. At si quis semel dominationem desideriorum temporalium à collo mentis excusserit, quadam iam etiam vita libertate perfruitur, & dum nullo desiderio felicitatis afficitur, nullo aduersitatis errore coratatur.*

20 This earle Morton (I saie) surrendered his office (as before is touched) in the moneth of March, in this yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred seuentie & seuen, at what time also Robert Botoclesquier was then in Scotland for his maiestie of England. Vpon the remouing of which erle Morton there were no more regents in that countreie, but the king toke vpon him to rule the realme by himselfe & by such curatores as he shuld appoint therfore. For the king now about the twelfe yeere of his age thought he might aswell take vpon him the gouernment of the countreie by himselfe, and such as he appointed at those yeares, as manie of his ancessors had done before in their yong yeares; notwithstanding the opinion of manie of the better sort of the presbiterie, which mainteine that he cannot absolute-

40 lie rule, or perfectlie establish any thing by the customes of their countreie, vntill he come to the age of five and twentie yeares. But we find in their owne histories of Scotland, written euen by men of best iudgement, that James the second of that name king of Scots, did in the fourteenth yeare of his age, in the seuenth yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred foure and foure, put Alexander Leuinstone knight from his regentship, and toke vpon himselfe the absolute gouernement of the kingdome, of whom thus writeth Lesleus. *Gubernatoris cancellarijque concilio & iussu*

60 *factum est, ut omnium ordinum comitis Striueling indices diceretur. An. Dom. 440, mense Ianuarij, omnium assensu est constitutum, ut rex suum regnum laustrans, contentiones sopiat, causas decidat, concrouersias dirimat, reliqua reipublica negotia praesens procuraret. Multi nobiles sese comites itineris adiungunt, qui in illius societatem se penitus immergentes, odij cancellarij ac gubernatoris elati, persuadent regi, ut aliorum seruituti se premi diutius non sinat: sed ut omni iugo excusso, ipse sibi reipublica gubernanda partes assumat. Ii inueniunt quodam regnandi ardore incensui, illorum voces tanquam Syrenum cantum in suas aures effluere liberalissime patiebatur. Decimum iam quartum annum agens, in regnum solum praecipit irruit, ac ut publici comitis solus praesesset, omnes ordines Striuelingum vocat, 4. Nouembrij 1444.*

Gl. super ill. eccl. 23 melius est ut filij.

The earle Morton surrendered his regentship.

The kings of Scotland take on them to rule the realme without procurators being with in age.

Lesleus li. 8. pag. 295.

Conatus.

Cadatus.

Argutus erle of Argyle.

* This was Charles earle of Lennox buried in the same which his grandmo: ther the ladie Margaret Lennox before mentioned who liued after the death of this Mattheu his grandfather.

* James the first king of Scots.

At
Name
ment,
tenth
gouer
don e
earle
king
then
one th
mistre
tor, a
king
land b
tenth
his g
the re
ment
now
yeare
the te
of S
realm
Frer
Lesse
booke
at wh
to th
after
yeare
the st
same
we h
regen
set do
nour
ledges
land
Sun
realm
lowe

The
ge

eng
nus
or go
Cona
co o
clara
subst
suffe

C
of G
basta
nus,
Lesse
ro for
const
confi
inita
tur.

Ar
his re
and e
the n
which

After which about five yeares following, the same James, to whom his absolute and full power was committed, did in the year of Christ 1449, in the nineteenth year of his age, and the twelfth year of his government create Alexander Seton lord Goudon earl of Huntly, and George Leslie a baron earl of Ross. James the fourth of that name king of Scotland, being but infantile yeares of age when he came to the crowne, in the year of Christ one thousand four hundred four score & eight, administered the realme by himselfe without any procurator, as I gather out of Lesleys. James the fifth the king of Scots, in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred twentieth and eight, in the twentieth year of his age, & about the fiftieth year of his government, removed the earle of Angus from the regentship, and took upon himselfe the government of the kingdom. And Marie the mother of the now living king of Scots, did in like sort in the year one thousand five hundred fiftie and two, in the tenth of her age, and as much of her government of Scotland appoint procurators to governe the realme, whilst she remained in France with the French king her husband. But enough of this, see Lesleys in his 9. booke pag. 439, and also in his 10. booke pag. 117, both liberally argued on both parts, at what yeares the kings of Scotland may assume to themselves the government of the kingdom, after that they have attained to the crowne in those yeares, which are over tender and unfit to dispose of the sword and scepter. Wherefore to passe over the same, I thinke it not unmet in this place, since we have mentioned this Maxton which was the last regent, gouernour or protector of the kingdom, to set downe a catalog of all such regents and gouernours of that realme, as haue come to my knowledge, after the same sort as I haue done in England at the end of the government of the duke of Summerset, who was the last protector of that realme: into the discourse wherof I enter as followeth.

The protectors, gouernours, or regents of Scotland, during the kings minority or his insufficiencie of gouernement, or during his absence out of the realme.

Conanus was gouernour under Thereus about the yeare before the birth of Christ, one hundred thirtie and seven: for Thereus renouncing the kingdom and fleeing to Perke, where in the end he died, this Conanus during the exile of this Thereus, was regent or gouernour, of whom writteth Lesleys lib. 2. pag. 89. Conanus qui rempublicam Therei iam exulantis loco optime administraret, interrex à nobilibus declaratur. Nam Thereo vivo nullum alium regem substituere voluerunt, quo mortuo, Iosina eius frater successit.

Cadallus living about the yeare before the birth of Christ, seventie and nine, did pursue Gillus (the bastard of Cuenus) having slaine the sonne of Cuenus, and blurring the crowne, of whom thus writteth Lesleys lib. 6. pag. 92. Tandem auctore Cadallo viro fortissimo, qui interrex à regni nobilibus interea constitutus est, quidam in illum (which was Gillus) conspirant, quem in Hiberniam profugam assecuti, in prius pugna capiunt, & statim capite plectuntur.

Argadus earle of Argyle, when Conar who began his reigne in the yeare of Christ one hundred fortie and eight, was cast in prison for his emill life, was by the nobilitie chosen gouernour of Scotland, after which Ethodius the next king, whome this Argadus

holper unto the crowne made him chiefe father of Scotland to him and his heires. which function at this time the earles of Argyle doe know by inheritance.

Donald, Colclach, Spenshar and Comrade were made gouernours of the kingdom, for thus writteth Lesleys lib. 4. pag. 198. Some frons tandem trede illius, which was Claphar who began his reigne about the year of Christ, seven hundred thirtie and thre: vires in debilitate sua. Scum regni enim ferendo impar fuerit, quare in rege regulos in quibus prius quidam sed fuerat variis species cluxit. de legi, quibus singulis singulas pronuncias decernit: Donaldus Argachum; Colclach Adoliam; Morclach Galloudiam; & Comano Moruam.

William Fraiser bishop of St. Andrews, re: after the death of Alexander the third king of Scotland, which fell in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred four score and thre, who died without issue, the nobilitie (because it was not broken to whom the kingdom did appertaine, with there were manie which claimed the same, as Baliell, Bask, Paslings, and others) agreed amongst themselves, and chose six regents or gouernours of the same, until a king were fully known and established: the names of which six were these, William Fraiser bishop of saint Andrews, Duncane earle of Fife, John Cumine earle of Buchanane, to whom the rule of the north parts were committed. The other three were Robert bishop of Glasgou, sir John Cumine, and James high steward of Scotland, who had the disposition of the south parts.

Hugh Cressingham an Englishman was made gouernour of Scotland by Edward the first, who going into France about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and six, after that he had brought Scotland under his subiection, appointed the said Hugh, whom he had before made treasurer of Scotland, to haue the government of that realme in his absence, whilst he was busied in the wars of France. But not long after, this Cressingham was slaine at Sterling by William Wallace (and such Scots as attempted by all the force they could to set themselves at libertie from the subiection of the English) in the firs of September, in the yeare of Christ, one thousand two hundred ninetie and seven, at what time also Andrew Murrie was slaine, whose sonne did certeine yeares after (as hath Buchanan) administer and gouerne Scotland for the king.

William Wallace after manie heroic exploits done in the behalfe of his countrie against the English, was for the Scots chosen gouernour of the realme under John Baliell, when the king had forsaken the realme and was come into England, about the yeare of Christ, one thousand two hundred ninetie and six, who after that (as is before touched) did slea Cressingham the gouernour of Scotland under the king of England, which Wallace did after in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred nintie and eight renounce his office of gouernour, and was in the end for his rebellion against king Edward the first king of England, and absolute lord of Scotland, taken, brought to London, & alwen, hanged and quartered, in the yeare of Christ one thousand thre hundred and five.

John Cumine, after that William Wallace had given over his office of gouernour, was chosen to be gouernour for the Scots, in purpose to trie with the Englishmen for their liberties, which being knowne to Edward the first king of England, he sent an armie into the countrie, and destroyed it. Whereupon John Cumine admitted Simon Fraiser fellow with him in the administration of the wars against

Donald, Colclach, Spenshar, & Comrade.

William Fraiser.

Hugh Cressingham.

Buchanan lib. 8.

William Wallace.

John Cumine.

the English, and discomfited the English in the pere of our Lord God one thousand three hundred and two. After which, king Edward being againe a conqueror of the Scots, returned homewards, and left Dòmare de Valence his deputie in Scotland.

Dòmare de Valence or Aimer de Valence.

Dòmare de Valence or Aimer de Valence, uncle to king Edward the first king of England by the halfe blood, was about the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and four, made gouernor of Scotland vnder Edward the first king of England, who before in the yeare one thousand three hundred & two, toke William Wallace and sent him to London to king Edward, to be dealt withall as you haue heard before. After which Robert Bruce being crowned king of Scotland, was on the nineteenth of June in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred and six, at Menden discomfited by the English armie, and put to flight by the said Dòmare de Valence, who after banished all those which anie waie toke part with king Robert Bruce. But in the end Robert Bruce recouering himselfe & more aid, drave all the Englishmen out of Scotland, gouerning the kingdome all his life, by himselfe & his substitutes, as by that which followeth maie well appeare.

Thomas Randolph.

Thomas Randolph earle of Arrere, much about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and six and twentie, being about the 21 yere of Robert Bruce, was made protector of the realme. For Robert Bruce being fallen into extreme sickness, whereby he could not wield the scepter to gouerne as the state of that countrie required, committed the administration of the realme to erle Thomas Randolph, and to James Dowglas knight, who ruled the same to their singular commendation, and the countries good about foure yeares, during the life of the said Robert Bruce, whose death happened in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred twentie and nine. After the death of king Robert, when Dauid his sonne came to the crowne, being but seven yeares old, this Randolph was againe appointed to haue the administration of the kingdome as regent of the same, during the kings minority and insufficiency of gouernement, who confirmed a new peace betwene England and Scotland. Shortly after which the gouernor died of poison at Newcastle, in the pere of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, being about the second yeare of king Dauid, & was buried at Dunfermling, hauing had two sons, John erle of Arrere, and Thomas, both being persons worthy of such a father.

Patrike Dunbar.

Patrike Dunbar earle of March was made regent after this fort. After the death of erle Thomas Randolph, there was an assemble of parliament of the three estates of the realme, in which in the said yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, and the second yere of the reigne of king Dauid, these two, Patrike earle of March and Dauid (whom Lesle calleth Donald) earle of Arrere were chosen gouernors of the realme by common consent. Whereof the first had the charge of that part of the realme which lieth on the south side of the Frith, & the other was appointed to gouerne all that on the north, which Donald in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and two was slaine sleeping in his bed at Duplin nere to the water of Cree, by such as followed and toke part with Edward Balliol attaining the crowne, and expelling Dauid from the kingdome.

Andrew Murray.

Andrew Murray, a man of great power, and of no lesse possession, hauing performed manie exploits of warre for his countrie, was made gouernor after the death of the earle of Arrere, and lodged

in that office with Patrike of Dunbar earle of March. Shortly after which this Andrew was taken prisoner at Rockborough, being yet in the end ransomed for a great summe of gold. After which he died of a vehement sickness, and was buried in Rose Parkie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and eight.

Archibald Dowglas, after the decease of Andrew Murray, was by one consent of the nobilitie chosen gouernor in the place of Andrew Murray, whilst king Edward did besiege Berwick, who raising a power of men entred England, and caused the king to remoue his siege of Berwick. Afterward this Dowglas was slaine at the battell of Halidon hill, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and two (as some haue) but Hector Boetius and Buchanan refer it to the yeare of our Lord God one thousand three hundred thirtie and three, the nineteenth of Iulie.

Archibald Dowglas.

Dauid Cumine was made protector in this fort. When that Edward the third king of England, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and six had entred Scotland with maine force by land and by sea; he afterwards hauing Edward Balliol the king of Scotland in his companie with 50000 men came by land to Glasgowe; but perceiving no resistance against him, retired with Balliol into England, and left Dauid Cumine earle of Arrere gouernor in his roome, to win such holds and strengths as were yet defended against him. Which Dauid toke on him to be gouernor in the name of Edward Plantagenet king of England, and of Edward Balliol king of Scots, seizing into his hands all the lands which pertained to Robert Stewart, so that at one time there was chopping and changing of gouernors by each part which became stronger.

Robert Stewart.

Robert Stewart regent of Scotland possessed that place, at this time also when Dauid Cumine was gouernor for Edward Balliol; for this writeth Lesleus li. 7. pa. 234. Verum ne patria gubernatoris imperio destituta, aduersariorum insidij pateret magis, Robertus Stuartus omnem regni curam in se transtulit, quoad Dauid ex Gallia rediret, ipse tunc regni gubernacula suscepturus. By which words appeareth, that as Dauid Cumine was gouernor for Edward Balliol gone into England, so this Robert Stewart toke vpon him the regentship for king Dauid Bruce fled into France: the which he the rather did, because he would incounter Dauid Cumine which had spoiled him of all his liuings and patrimonie. Which Robert being thus procurator of the kingdome, granted sundrie priuileges to the inhabitants of Bute & Arrane, as amongst other things, to be free from paying of tribute of coyne and graine. For this Stewart together with John Randolph earle of Arrere, were by a counsell assembled at Edenborough by generall voices elected and confirmed to be gouernors of the realme, about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and four, or one thousand three hundred thirtie and five.

Robert Stewart.

Robert Stewart.

John Randolph earle of Arrere.

William Crandon.

Robert Stewart earle of Fife, second sonne to Robert Stewart the first king of Scotland (by the name of Stewart) and the second by the name of Robert, was (because his father became extreme old, and could not follow the affaires of the kingdome) made gouernor by the consent of the realme during the life of his father, about the yeare of our Lord God one thousand three hundred foure score and nine, being about the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of the said Robert the second: which office this Robert continued during the life of his father, dieng in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred

Robert Stewart.

Robert Stewart.

died & ninetie. After whose death, when Robert the third, being before called John, came to the kingdom, and was by a fall from his horse so bruised himself, that he was not able to follow the government of the kingdom, this Robert earle of Fife his brother was made governor of the kingdom. After which about the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred ninetie and eight, being about the ninth yeare of Robert the third king of Scotland, the king created this Robert Steward duke of Albanie, being one of the first dukes which were made in Scotland. Besides which also, after the death of the same Robert the third, which fell in the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred and six, this Robert duke of Albanie was by new election, or rather confirmation established in the office of governor (as have some Scottish chronicles) which duke of Albanie died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred and nineteene, the third of September, when he had bene governor sixtene yeares after the death of Robert the third. Wherein it seemeth to me so; this time that there is much difference of yeares, if the Scots have truely set the same doctour: for those accounts can not stand together, with the death of king Robert the third, and the yeares government of the duke of Albanie, after the death of the king. But I passe it over, and rather impute the fault to the offendor, in mistaking the figure of the number of yeares, than any want of consideration in the writer of the historie.

Spordacke
Steward.

Spordacke Steward erle of Fife & Mentich, the eldest sonne of Robert duke of Albanie, was after his fathers death made governor of Scotland, continuing in that office by the space of foure yeares, untill about the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred twentie and foure, in which yeare he found meanes to bring home James the right king of Scots, who had bene eightene yeares detained in England, and placed him in the kingdom of Scotland, by the name of James the first: at what time the crowne was set upon the kings head with the hands of the said Spordacke the governor, & Henrie bishop of saint Andrews. This duke was in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred twentie and six, and in the second yeare of the reigne of James the first conspired of high treason, and beheaded before the castell of Sterling. He had issue two sons, Walter Steward, and Alexander, which were also beheaded at the same place the daie before the death of their father.

Alexander
Levingstone.

Alexander Levingstone knight was made governor the daie after that James the second was crowned, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand four hundred thirtie & six: for the king being but six yeares old, the nobilitie did appoint the said Alexander Levingstone of Calender knight to be governor of the realme: at what time the kings person was committed to the education and rule of William Creighton knight lord chancellor, who was then confirmed in his office. After this in the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred fortie and foure, about the eight yere of James the second, they both (through dissention which had long continued betwene them about their authorities) were put from their offices, removed from the king all their friends, banished the court, and they themselves commanded to appear before the king: which because they refused to do, they were both proclaimed rebels and put to the horne.

Marie.

Marie the daughter of the duke of Guelderland & widow to James the second, was appointed with others to be governors: for after the death of James the second, which fell in the yeare of Christ one thou-

sand four hundred and three score (when James the third his sonne was but seven yeares old) the nobilitie assembled at Cornborough to provide for the administration of the realme, because the king was so young. Whereupon there were seven regents appointed for the government both of the kings person, and also of the kingdom, which were Marie the quene his mother, James Kennedy bishop of saint Andrews, being sisters sonne to James the first, the bishop of Glasgowe, the earles of Angus, Huntly, Argyle, and Mkenzie. These so long as Kennedy lived, agreed well together about the government of the realme; but shortly after his decease, or rather before, they fell at quarrels, which was with more largelie touch hereafter when we have a little spoken of the death of this bishop, falling in the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred three score and six, and in the first yeare of the reigne of king James the third, who being buried in the college of saint Salvator which he founded most sumptuously in the towne of saint Andrews, did in his life time besides his bishopricke hold in his possession the commendation of the abbete of Winton, which was worth unto him 800 crownes by yeare: the gravity and wisdom of which bishop occasioned lessles in his commendation to set downe these few words.

He (which was this bishop of saint Andrews) prudentia consilioque ita valuit, ut quicquid latebat in republica insidiarum, apperiret, unde merito potest dici, non armis regem, sed ingenio episcopum Douglassij superbiam fregisse, ac furorē retudisse. Tria confecit (quorum fabrica artificio insigniter polita, & sumptu magnifice instructa, omnibus admirationem sui faciebant) collegium sancti Salvatoris, in quo iuventus ad eruditionem ac religionem informari possit; sepulchrum quo mortuus tegebatur, ac navim onerariam ingentis magnitudinis. Horum vnumquodque eiusdem fuisse pretij vulgi sermone celebratum est. After his death, or rather (as hath Hector Boetius) in his life, in the second yeare of the reigne of king James the third, being in the yeare that the words became flesh one thousand four hundred three score and two, there was discord kindled betwene quene Marie the Dowager, and the archbishop Kennedy, who perceiving that the woman did whole sake to usurpe the government unto herselfe, withstood it in that behalfe; insomuch that it was doubted that the matter would have broken forth into some civill warre, if that the bishops of Glasgowe, Dunkeld, and Aberdeen, with certaine abbats had not taken in hand to transell betwixt both the parties for attonement, who wrought so effectuallie therein, that the matter was quieted in this manner. The quene mother was appointed to have the charge and custodie of the kings person, and of his brethren Alexander duke of Albanie, and John earle of Marre, and also of their two sisters. But as for the administration and government of the realme of Scotland, she should leave it to the peeres, therefore by common consent there were elected as governors the bishops of Glasgowe, and Dunkeld, the earle of Mkenzie, the lord Graham, Thomas Bole, and the chancellor.

Margaret the daughter to Henrie the seventh Margareth king of England was (after the death of her husband James the fourth, and in the minority of her sonne James the fifth, being but a yeare and six moneths old when he was inducted with the kingdom) made regent of the realme, which she should governe by the counsell of James Betune archbishop of Glasgowe, the earles of Huntly, Angus, and Arrane,

M. q. y.

Arrane, but shortly after they falling out amongst themselves for the bestowing of benefices, the duke of Albanie was called out of France to performe that office.

John duke of
Albanie.

John duke of Albanie being sent for out of France (where he accustomed to abide) to come into Scotland (to be tutor to the king and governor of the realme, as he which next of blood to the king, and nearest to the crowne) was by universall consent at saint Johns towne admitted to those offices accordingly, having the same confirmed unto him by a parliament holden at Edinburgh in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtene, and the first yeare of the young king James the first. Whereof intelligence being brought unto the duke yet in France, he in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fouretene, directeth dilatorie and excusing letters of his acceptance of that charge. At that time, but in the yere following, being the yeare of Christ, one thousand five hundred and fiftene, and in the third of James the first, on the seventeenth of Maie, he arrived at the towne of Aire in Scotland to execute his office of gouvernor, who was honorable interteined at sundrie places as he passed along by the sea coasts, before he came to Edinburgh. After which a parliament was made to be called at Edinburgh (being but the continuance of the former parliament, as my memorie serveth) in which this duke of Albanie was againe confirmed gouvernor, the scepter and sword being delivered unto him, and an oath by him to the lords, and by the lords to him given, that each of them should be faithfull to each other, and euerie of them to their lord and king, &c. After this the duke of Albanie going into France in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and seuentene, as saith Lesleus, committed the government of the kingdome in his absence to the archbishops of S. Andrewes and Glasgow, and to the earles of Huntlie, Argile, Angus, and Arrane. And least any euill might happen to the kings person in his absence, he appointed the king to be brought into the castle of Edinburgh, there to be committed to the earle marshall, and to the lords Eschwine, Bothwike, and Ruthuene, whereof two at the least should alwaies be present with him. The duke having thus bene about some thre yeares in France, returned into Scotland about the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and twentieth, remaining still gouvernor: but in following time, which was the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred and twentieth and foure, and about the twelfth yeare of the reigne of king James the first, the duke of Albanie left that office, and went againe into France.

Margaret the
quene.

Margaret the quene, the mother of James the first, did (after the departure of the duke of Albanie into France, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentieth and foure, the six and twentieth of Julie) find meanes that the young king came from Sterling unto Edinburgh: thre daies after which the quene took the whole government upon hir, and entred into the castle of Edinburgh with the king, making the lord Marwell protonot of Edinburgh. Then the quene appointing a parliament to be held the february following, there were in the same parliament eight lords chosen to be of the kings private counsell, to take on them the government of the king and the realme, which were the archbishop of S. Andrewes and Glasgow, the bishops of Aberdeen & Dunblane: the earles of Angus, Arrane and Lencur, to whom the quene was adioined as principall, without whose aduise nothing should be done. Which ordinance did not long hold, Archibald Dowglas earle of Angus in the

end fullie getting the whole government into his hands.

Archibald Dowglas (after that the bishop of Dunblane was dead, and the quene gone unto Sterling, leauing the king with the earle of Angus, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentieth and five, being about the thirtieth of James the first) took the whole government upon him both of the king and kingdome, setting vp, removing, and pulling downe what officer it best pleased him: who for the more declaration of his authoritie and government, made his uncle Archibald Dowglas treasurer of the realme, and bestowed all benefices and offices by the aduise of his brother George Dowglas and the earle of Lencur who assisted him. After which there was a diuorce had betwene the quene and the earle, who falling in the kings disgrace in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentieth and eight, and the sixteenth yeare of the same James the first, was attainted by parliament holden at Edinburgh in September, when the king had taken the absolute government into his hands in the seventeenth yeare of his age, and the said sixteenth yeare of his said government. Whereupon the yeare following, this Archibald came unto the king for to submit himselfe, but the king would not receiue him, by reason whereof he fled into England.

Archibald
Dowglas.

Lesleus lib.
pag. 169.

James
Stewart.

James earle of Arrane in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fourtie and two, when Marie (the daughter of James the first) being but seuen daies old obtained the kingdome, was by authoritie of the nobilitie proclaimed regent and protector of Scotland, notwithstanding all that David Beton, fauor of the French causes had without all reason usurped the government, vnder the pretense of a devised will and testament of James the first, in which testament he was appointed gouvernor. This earle thus made protector, appointed by the old quenes consent a gouvernor to the person of the young queen, which was the lord Leuingstone capitaine of Lithgow. This protector in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and foure, being the second yere of queen Marie, was by the French king made knight of the order of saint Michael. About eight yeares after which, that is in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and thre, being about the twelfth yeare of queen Marie, this earle was enforced to leane his office of gouvernor, and the quene took the same into hir hands, appointing procurators to rule the same vnder hir: whereupon the gouvernor in the yeare following, being one thousand five hundred fiftie & foure, was by the French king made duke of Chatelaerault. The procurators which were appointed for and by queen Marie, were (as hath Lesleus) Henrie king of France, Charles cardinal of Lozeine and the duke of Guise his brother, touching whom thus writeth the same Lesleus in these words: Hos (which was hir curators) sibi in Gallia delegerat regina nostra (being Marie the quene of Scots) matris suasu, Henricum regem Francie, Carolum cardinalem Lotharingum, ac duces Guisum eius fratrem, qui totam regni nostri molem reginz matri procurandam transtulerunt &c. This duke had issue James Hamilton earle of Arrane after him, and one David Hamilton.

James earle
of Arrane.

Matthew
earle of
Lennox.

Lesleus lib. 10
pag. 17.

Marie descended of the house of Guise, the dowager of Scotland, as widow to James the first, and mother to the young quene Marie, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, being the twelfth yeare both of the age and reigne of the same quene Marie, made regent of Scotland vnder hir daughter the same young quene, which office

Marie dowager
of Scotland.

office this regent took upon him having the same confirmed by parlement, continuing in that place about six yeares, & died in the castle of Edinburgh, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thre score, being upon the point of the eighteenth yeare of quene Marie, whose bodie (as hath Lesleus) was after caried into France, for thus he writeth: Fuit autem corpus in Gallia postea transuectum, primum ad monasteriū Feckamenſe, quod in Normania est, deinde ad cœnobium S. Petri Rhemis in Campania, cui soror ipsius piè tunc præerat, delatū, honorificè condebatur.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 169.

James Stewart.

James Stewart bastard sonne to king James the first king of Scots, and base brother to Marie quene of Scots now living and imprisoned, being prior of saint Andrews and earle of Mar, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and two, being about the twentieth yeare of the reigne of the same quene Marie, made earle of Murreie. About five yeares following, after that the nobilitie had conspired against quene Marie, took him, committed him to prison, deposed him, and upon the same (on the nineteenth daie of Julie in the yeare a thousand five hundred thre score & seven, being the five & twentieth yeare of the reigne of that quene) advanced his sonne Charles James Stewart (being then about a yeare old) to the kingdom, by the name of James the first: this James earle of Murreie, was made regent and gouernor of the young king James the first, and of the kingdom: who upon the office receiued, did by parlement abolish the popes authoritie and doctrine in Scotland: continuing that office of regent untill his death, falling about the time of thre yeares after. For in the time of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and ten, being in the third yeare of the reigne of James the first, this regent as he was riding through Lithquo, was shot at with an harquebus by one James Hamilton, and so wounded, that he died of the hurt the next daie following, hauing before in that yeare, in which he was created earle of Murreie, married Agnes Keith daughter to the earle of Marhall.

Matthew earle of Lennox.

Matthew earle of Lennox being sent for out of England, where he had before long remained, was after the death of the earle of Murreie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and ten, being in the third yeare of the reigne of James the first, made lord lieutenant or protector of Scotland, in a conuention of the lords of Sterling. After which in August following, there was another conuention at Edinburgh, where by the consent of the thre estates of the realme, the said earle was made regent of Scotland, at what time the earle of Huntlie took upon him to be lord lieutenant of Scotland: for Marie quene of Scots remaining then vnder custodie in England, which Huntlie in his name summoned a parlement at Lithquo the 21 daie of September, whereunto the earle of Lennox was summoned: to incounter which, the earle of Lennox caused a parlement likewise to be summoned in the kings name, at the same place, whereunto the earle of Huntlie was warned at the same daie. But the earle of Huntlie comming no matter at that time than Brechin, it was ordered by the regent Lennox and the nobilitie, to pursue him: whereupon ensued great warres betwene the nobilitie of Scotland diuided into factions, some taking part with the deposed quene Marie, and other with the young king in possession. During which turmpiles & warres, this earle of Lennox hauing bin regent about a yeare and more, was wounded at Sterling with a pistol by captaine Cawder, whereof he shortly after died, in the yeare of Christ

one thousand five hundred thre score and eleven, being about the fourth yeare of James the first.

John Arskine earle of Mar was made regent after the death of the earle Lennox, as male appeare by that which I haue before set downe in the continuance of the annals of Scotland, after whom succeeded the earle Morton, of whom I haue a little before spoken, and of whom we will more intreat hereafter, when we come to speake of his beheading in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fourescore and one, falling about the fourteenth yeare of James the first, after that the said earle had continued that office about five yeares. For being advanced to that place, about the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and twelue, he continued in the same, untill he surrendered it, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and seuentene, as is before touched. Thus setting end to the discourse of the protectors of Scotland, let vs descend to other matters which haue succeeded.

John Arskine earle of Mar.

Going therefore forward with that yeare one thousand five hundred thre score and seuentene, we saie that much about the time in the which the earle Morton gaue ouer his regentship, that the lord Glames, who was then in office of the chancelorship, was treacherously slaine by his enemies at Sterling, with a shot of purpose discharged against him, as he was coming out of Sterling castell, & going to his owne lodging from the councill or parlement. Whereby it cometh that this murdering by sudden shot began now to be a common thing: for there were thre great persons in short time dispatched after that sort, which were the earles of Murreie and Lennox regents, & this lord Glames chancelor. After the death of which lord Glames, the earle of Atholl was advanced to that place, and invested with the title of lord chancelor of Scotland. Wherefore, hauing so good occasion therefore at this time by talking of this earle of Atholl thus made lord chancelor to treat of that office: I thinke it not inconuenient in this place, nor disagreeable to the nature of the matter which I haue in hand, somewhat by waie of digression, to discourse of the originall of this office in Scotland, of the etymon of the name, and other circumstances belonging thereto.

The lord Glames chancelor slaine.

The earle of Atholl made chancelor.

This officer the chancelor had his first originall in Scotland by Malcolm the second of that name king of Scots, who beginning his reigne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand and ten, and gouerning thirtie yeares, departed the world in the yeare of Christ one thousand and fortie. This man, during the time of his gouernment, ordeining manie necessarie lawes for the better rule of his countrie, and for the benefit of the crowne, did also first ordeine the honorable officers of the kingdom, as chancelor, constable, marshall, chamberleine, and others, as appeareth by Lesleus in his historie of Scotland in these wordes: Felicitè rempublicam haud paucos annos administravit (king Malcolm) multis & egregijs operibus illustris: interque cetera municipalium legum volumen condidit, quas nostrates exinde in iudicijs ferendis seruauerunt, nihil pene immutatis, regionum magistratuum iudicūque, quos licet mundū, magisque Latine vocare possunt, vulgò tamen cancellarium, constabilem, mariscallum, camerarium, iusticiariumque vocitant, & qui a secretis, a thesauris, a cubiculo, a chartophylaceo essent: cunctarūque ministrorum aulæ annua salaria, vt nostris diebus penduntur, quantumque regijs pro diplomatibus, ac cæteris literis, libellionibus, tabularijs, lectionibusque soluendum foret, instituit. This officer being in Scotland before the time of Edward the Confessor cometh also to me to

The originall of the office of the chancelor.

Lesleus lib. 5. pag. 204.

uettlic to proue, that the same officer was in England before the time of the same king, sith it appeareth, that the Scots for the most part haue alwaies taken their manner of gouernement, lawes, and customes from vs, as will be I doubt not sufficientlie proued, although it maie be that some will affirme that they might haue this officer from the Frenchmen and Romans as other nations had: which as I doe not suppose, because the Romans had but little dwings amongst them, for as they neuer bled anie such officer in this land whilst they gouerned here (for anie thing that I can yet learne) so it may be, (because they will not seeme to haue borrowed anie order of their gouernement from vs) that they will suppose that they had the first ground of this officer from the French, with whome they haue alwaies bene in league euer since the time of their king Achausus the first, who (beginning his reigne in the yeare of Christ seven hundred fourescore and eight) did knit a perpetuall league with Charles the great. But leauing that to be as it will (sith it is no dishonour for one nation to deriue their good lawes, beneficiall customes, or needfull officers from another, no more than it was for the Romans to fetch their lawes of the twelue tables from the Grecians) true it is, that this officer so ordeined by Dalcolme amongst the Scots, was such an officer as was used amongst the Romans, touching the cause of whose name, the ciuilians affirme that he was called Cancellarius a cancellando, cuius officium est rescripta, vel responsa imperatoris, & mandata inspiciere, mala scripta cancellare, & bene scripta cāsignaculo suo signare, & sigillū eis imprimere. Of which word chancelloz is risen this name, Archicācellarius quasi princeps cancellariæ, as is noted by Azo in summa.

This officer taking his name of Cancelland, (that is of defacing, blotting, or putting out of writings, did vse to adnull all writings, as we at this daie doe obserue in our chanterie, by drawing certeine strokes or lines made crosse one vpon another ouer the writing, in forme of wooden latices, in Latine termed Cancelli, which are either such latices as we at this daie, and of antiquitie bled in windowes, or such as were made to compasse about the iudgement seats. For thus said the ciuilians touching that; Cancelli sunt ligna inter se modicis intervalis in trasuersum connexa, quibus tribunalia, scēnæ & fenestræ muniri consueuerunt. And Cicero saith in his first booke *De oratore*; Forensibus cancellis circumscriptam sententiam, &c. From which word Cancelli, is deduced this word Cancellare. For thus doe some write thereof: Cancelli verbum videtur esse deductum a Cancellis, in quibus ut trasuersaria neantur ligna, ita cum scripta expungenda sunt, trasuerso calamo lineæ inducuntur, quod propriè illinere, seu allinere est, vel litura: interponitur thus writeth Q. F. Horace the liricall poet in his tract called the art of poetrie:

Transuerso calamo signum, &c:

as who should saie, he doth cancelland blot out the writing with lines drawne one ouer another like latices, the ciuilians fullie agreeing to the same and saieing, that Cancellare est scripta transductis lineis instar cancellorum delere. Beside which this word Cancellarius is also by some (whose curious ears and pens count the words of former ages to be barbarous) taken for sceleratus good Latine, and therefore saie that this officer more purelie ought to be called Scribarum præfectus, of which number Polydor Virgil is one, who in his admonition to the reader, at the end of his historie of England, setteth downe these words: Monitum te optime lector volo, per multa verba minds Latina longo vsu non item ratio-

ne iam primū in consuetudinē quotidiani sermonis uenisse, sic ut velimus nolumus ea interdum usurpare cogamur, cuiusmodi sunt dux & comes, olim officiorum at summæ nūc dignitatis vocabula. Item comitatus pro regione, cancellarius pro scribarum, abbas prior pro monachorum præfecto: and Leland calleth the chancelloz Archigrammateus. Besides which there be some in our age, who searching after the originall & etymologies of names, affirme this word chancelloz to be deriued from the Saxon tongue, as it were a cleare or shining person or one excellling other men: compounding that word of these two parts, chance and clere, in which word this part clere doth after the Saxon signifie in Latine Præminens, or clarus, and that part chance must note to vs a man. But how aptlie and trulie the same may stand to make the etymon of chancelloz, I leaue to others to consider. This thus said for the originall and name of the officer called the chancelloz, of whose succession we will talke hereafter, and will now returne to the matters of Scotland in this sort.

In the moneth of Iulie there was a parliament of the nobilitie assembled, where Robert Steward great uncle to the king was created erle of Lennox, being girded with the sword of that earledome, after the death of Charles Steward, sonne of Mattheu Steward erle of Lennox, wherof we haue before intreated. But once passing this Robert, being honoured with a new title, not due to him by inheritance, for anie thing which I can yet perceiue, we will for a while take our leaue of the Scottish soile, though not of the Scottish persons, and remember to speake somewhat of the doings of Steward, coronell of the Scots, which serued in the wars of the low countries: where he behaved himselfe right valiantlie to his owne and his countries commendation. For when the warres were at the hottest in those low countries betwene the states and king Philip (at what time the archduke Mattheus was generall for the noblemen or states, and John duke of Austria, the base sonne of Charles the first, and like brother to king Philip, was gouernour of those parts for the same king Philip) the states gathered a puissant armie of all such nations as were there in seruice with them (as English, Scots, Germans, and their owne countriemen) under the conduct of the countie Bolfue, with whome duke John of Austria determining to encounter, hoping by that one conflict to set end to all the warres, and to make a full pacification of the countie: it happened that on the first of August, in this yeare that the armie of the duke of Austria comming to visit the armie of the states (which laie then incamped in the field called Reminant) that in the armie (as I said before composed of diuerse nations both footmen and horsemen) there was amongst others one companie of Scots under the leading of Steward their capteine and countrieman, who being with his companie called forth into the battell, was appointed to keepe the streit on the left side, when the English should keepe the like streit on the right hand. After which the enimie making towards the armie of the states, they were intercepted by the English, who interteined them with such sufficient skirmish, as that they forced Don Johns men to giue ground and retire towards the strength of the Scots (which the same Steward had in charge) and that so farre, that in the same action the English brought themselves betwixt the enimie and the Scots, who mistaking the companie, and supposing them to be their enimies, gaue them from the hedge, where they laie such a volie of shot, that it made them to looe more ground than euer the enimie could haue done.

The enimie in the meane time perceiuing that, and

1578
Robert
Steward
created erle
of Lennox.

The tragical
histories of the
civil wars
of the low
countries, B.
fo. 31. Church-
yards choice.

and being now fighting upon the retreat came forward with great force and furie, having a new supply of numbers of fresh soldiers to succour them. All which notwithstanding they could not for all that they might do, force them to abandon the streit which they had in charge, but till such time as certaine Englishmen (as were left within the closes to discover the enimie) brought word that the enimie had entered the streit upon the Scots. At which thing was indeed verie true, for even at that instant the fire was sent to arise in the village, and the whole forces which were to enter betwene the water and the English companies, retired themselves to the heath againe. The Scots then valiantlie making good their fight upon the retreat, the lieutenant of the English was likewise driven to the same: which if he had not done, the enimie had cut he twixt him his companie and the trenches. This thing well perceived by capitaine Liggins, he presently advanced himselfe, and was now come halfe the waie to the further of the lieutenant, to prevent the enimie and to joine with the forces of the same lieutenant, all who being gotten together did retire to the church, and perceiving that the enimie came on appaie, the lieutenant of the English leaueth capitaine Liggins to a reasonable ground of strength to intertaine them, when he himselfe rideth backe to seth reliefe for capitaine Liggins his retreat.

The enimie seeing the streit of the waie, and that their other forces prevailed more on the other streit forsake any longer to attempt the same against the English, and retired themselves all they might on the side over the closes, to joine them with their other forces, which had even now passed the streit which the Scots had in gard, who all together made halt up to the hill, and so to the burnt house, then fired by the Scots, at that instant forsaking the field, and retiring them to the campe, after that they had obtained victorie against the Spaniards, by valiant resisting & pursuing the force of the enimie. At what time also maister Popris coronell of the English and the forenamed maister Steward coronell of the Scots, carried awaie the whole commendation of this victorie obtained by the men of these two nations of England and Scotland. But leaving the Scots rejoicing of this good successe in those low countries, we will call backe our pen and resalute the countie of Scotland, at this time in some civill dissensions amongst themselves, whereof these many yeares, since the government of this young king, it is meete to me that it hath not long bene free.

In the forenamed moneth of August, there grew secret dissention amongst the nobilitie at home, which still continued & fed the former unkindlie fire of contention betwene the two factions of the young king, and the imprisoned quene: by occasion whereof the realme was divided into three parts, some following the king, some standing one the quenes side, & some assisting neither of both, all which by some were termed by three severall names; as the kings faction, the part of the male-contents, and the neutrals, consisting of such as remained indifferent on both sides, neither seeking to uphold the one or to suppress the other. Amongst which on the kings part were many earls, lords and bishops, as Dowglass earle of Moray admiral of Scotland, Dowglass earle of Angus, Dowglass earle of Buchan, Arskine earle of Marr, Steward earle of Berwick, Cunningham earle of Glenkarne, Leslie earle of Rothsay, Montgomery earle of Eglinton, Steward earle of Mearns, and Steward earle of Lencox, all which were in house with the king, and attendant upon his person, with whom were confederat the

lords Boid, Ochiltree, Ruthven treasurer of Scotland, Harris, Marwell, Lindsay, Semple, and others.

Besides these bishops and abbats, that is to saie, Patrike Adamson archbishop of S. Andrews, Cunningham (kinsman to the earle of Glenkarne) bishop of Aberdeen, Boid (of blood and kindred with the lord Boid) archbishop of Glasgow, Dowglass bishop of Dunblaw, Perburne bishop of Ross, Robert Petcarne abbat of Dunfermling, these secretarie of Scotland, Colvington abbat of Cowdros, Richard Bedwell abbat of Holierood house, one of the counsell, the abbats of Cambuskenneth and of Dribourgh, with James Maghill maister of the rolles, or cleark of the register, and one of the counsell. These noble persons thus aiding the king, the part of the male-contents was supported by many other persons of the nobilitie: as Camerle earle of Argyle, Steward earle of Arrol, Sinclair earle of Caithness, Gordon earle of Sutherland, Gordon earle of Huntly (who was verie young, of few yeares of age, and had his power with these earles) the earles of Montros and Monteth (being both surnamed Grams) and Benedic earle of Casselles a child of three yeares old, whose strength was also joined to these male-contents. Besides which earles there was to assist those male-contents Crawford shiriffe of Aire, Benedic lord of Kircorie, Benedic lord of Blachekichen, the lords of Marwell, Lochellar, Hume (being but six yeares old) which Hume lord of Colden Knolles (warden of the middle marches of Scotland) Alexander Hume of Maundslone, Carr (lord of Seford, and the lord Lindsay, with the Hebburns, which wholie depended upon the lord Lindsay, unto whom in like sort, as partaking of the same malecontentment, were added Alexander Arskine, of Marr, uncle to the earle of Marr, & capitaine of the castle of Edinburgh, and Cunningham the lord of Dunwall, capitaine of Dunbartaine, with many other persons of honour and strength.

The heads of these two factions thus set downe, it resteth now to declare who were the neutrals, who being but few, and as I can yet learne onlie three in number, so they were of no great power; as well for that the one of them being Keith the earle of Marhall, was a sickelie man; as for that the Hamiltons were not beloved of the king, nor greatly esteemed of the other factions: and the third, the Leningtons familie, waiting their head the lord of that house, being then in France, whereby they could not be of great power, which part soever they should support. The order of which division and proceeding in Scotland, comming afterward to the knowledge of the quene of England, who had sent Robert Bowes a man of good service his ambassador into Scotland, she did also (tendering the young king of Scots, and as a carefull neighbour and loving god-mother, fearing least that he might receive iniurie, by the assemblie of these malecontents, whose power grew to be somewhat strong) direct his commission to the earle of Huntington, president of the north in England, and to the lord Hunsdon capitaine of Berwike, they both being of blood and alliance unto his maiestie. In which commission, he willed them to leue an armie of footemen and horsemen to be imploied in those warres. All which these English lords should haue in a readinesse, against such time as the said maister Bowes (who as ye haue heard before, had bene sent into Scotland to pacifie these troubles, and to establish a quiet peace and love amongst them) should give knowledge of their entrance into the Scottish dominions. Under the conduct of the same lord of Hunsdon, against the power of those male-contents, whereupon the

578
Robert
Steward
earle
Lencox.

the tragical
state of the
ill warres
the four
monethes, 1543.
31. Church-
was choice.

lord Hunsdon (having a time appointed him accordingly, and being in order set, well furnished with men and munition) setting forward to execute the force of his commission, threatened spoile to manie places of Scotland belonging to the borderers, and burnt the houses of the lords there inhabiting: if they joined themselves with the male-contents, as they had fullie deliberated for to doe. By reason thereof, they leaving their former determination, and for that present refusing to joine against the king: these male-contents (doubting the sequell of their attempt, and how they might performe that which they had taken in hand, being now in the field and in armes (against the other faction) began to hearken vnto a pacification, and were after reconciled to the king and the other lords, about the two and twentieth of the same moneth of August, as I have bene informed. Which matter being more largelie to be discusled, because it is knowne by the name of the battell of Fawke, I must for this time passe over, determining hereafter more liberrallie to intreat thereof. Wherefore, falling into other matter, we saie, that much about this time, John Lesle bishop of Rosse (who had some yeares before been some certeine time imprisoned in the Tower of London in England, and had travelled to Rome about the affaires of the imprisoned quene of Scotland, where he labored to procure such aid for hir, as the princes which fauored his faction would yield) did depart from Rome, and went from the pope to Randolph, as the second of that name new emperor. Which Lesle, taking his iourneie out of Italie, passed through the frontier townes of Germanie, and was staied at Phaltzburgh, otherwise called Palatinopolis, by George duke of Bavier, countie Palatine of Rhene, and earle of Cleiburgens; in which citie, his cofers and other thinges were rifled and searched: at what time there were manie writings found, and amongst others certeine papers, in which did appeare that friends the quene of Scots had of all the parts of Europe, what enemies, and what neutrals: with letters and other instructions of Philip king of Spaine.

All which notwithstanding (though they gaue the said George occasion to mistrust Lesle, as an enemy to his religion) this bishop of Rosse was afterward dismissed, because he was furnished with the emperors passport, or safe conduct to come vnto him. Wherefore the duke of Bavier for his better discharge, and to manifest to the world that they did nothing but that, which both the present estate of these troublesome times, and the dutie of a religious prince requirer, did honorablie dismiss the said Lesle, bearing all his charges, restoring all his goods, and conueying him out of his dominions with a goodlie companie of horsemen, after that he had caused the said bishop of Rosse to leaue a testimoniall writing in the Latine tongue vnder his owne hand, to shew that no iniurie was done to the said bishop, in that his detaining and search for those causes; & that the bishop should not atrie waie seeke anie reuenge thereof: the copie of which writing (as I rescued the same) I have faithfullie and Verbatim set downe in this sort.

The testimoniall left by the bishop
of Rosse with the duke of
Bavier.



Os Iohannes Lesleus, Dei gratia, episcopus Rossensis, & administrator Morauiae, &c: testatur hoc scripto palam & apud omnes hoc inspecturos, aut lecturos. Cum in hisce periculosis & mo-

tuum plenissimis temporibus omnibus sacri imperij principibus & magistratibus prospectio incumbat, ne imperium aut eius membra aliquid detrimenti accipiant, neque per praetereuntes & redeuntes ex externis nationibus, calidas negationes, ad turbandam pacem publicam, aut noxias dissensiones sub quouis pretexto tractari, strui aut seminari inter ordines & membra imperij sinant aut patiantur; praecipue cum nunc exempla in vicinis locis extant, quam facile aliquid strui & seminari possit. Ita factum est, vt illustrissimus princeps Georgius, Iohannes comes Palatinus Rheni, dux Bauariae, comesque Veldenziae, &c: motus praecedentibus & alijs rationibus, in absentia, per suos capitaneos & ministros, in suo territorio Lutzelsteinensi, & vrbe Palatinopoli, nos cum nostris retineri mandauerit. Quam causam & mandatum retentionis imperatori, antequam exqueretur significauit. Post factam retentionem, celsitudo eius certior facta de literis imperatoris nobis communicatis de Spira, vbi mandatum dederat, protestatione ibi aliqua habita, festinanter huc apulit: praesertim etiam simul cum literis imperatoris, aliquae copiae instructionis & memorialium eius celsitudini missae fuerat, vnde aucta suspicio, aliquid nos ad extirpandam religionem tentare: & cum mentio aliqua extirpandae religionis hisce verbis facta fuerit, nimirum, vt extirpata haeresi, religio reuiuiscat, & simul cum procuracione Scotticorum monasteriorum, quorum Palatini aliquot possident, aliquid moturos in Germania putauerit, praesertim cum plurimos catholicae religionis principes & episcopos in itinere cum literis credentalibus a papa salutauerimus, & inuiferimus. Ad quam suspensionem amouendam & purificandam, cum celsitudo eius aduenit, lectione aliquarum copiarum conati sumus celsitudini eius satisfacere. Etsi tamen aliquid scrupuli de extirpanda religione ac opinio de aliquibus negotijs quae vrgerem remaneret, quae pacem publicam tam in religione, quam politicis perturbare, & suspicionem principibus Augustanae confessionis mouere, non minus quam ipsius celsitudini possent. Nihilominus celsitudo eius, magis alijs rationibus, quam praecedentibus suspicionibus imminentium periculorum non diutius nos detenturos conuulsi. Ea tamen conditione, vt promitteremus nos contra patriam in causa religionis per viam armorum, aut frustione dissensionum, aliquid nunquam tentaturos, sicut & alibi, sed quod exhortationibus pijs & doctrina facere possimus, liberam relinquere conscientiam. Secundo, quod polliceamur more solito, pro nostro, nostrarumque familiarum nomine, neque per nos neque per alios, vlla via & ratione quae nominari possit, illam detentionem vindictam fore. Quare consideratione habita periculorum & motuum, quae passim (potissimum vero in locis vicinis) cernuntur, sacro imperio, optima ratione metuendum & vigilandum, maxime vero in extremis imperij limitibus & terminis. Ideo ab illustrissima eius celsitudine ratione publicorum decretorum, & arctissimae inter ordines coniunctionis, hanc circumspectionem & detentionem nostram non iniquo animo ferimus, neque pro iniuria accepimus: cum praesertim eius celsitudo, non modo liberaliter nos habuerit, sed absque omni rerum nostrarum iactura, alijsque dispendijs, nos liberos fecerit, & gratioso splendido equitum comitatu in maiorem securitatem deduci iusserit. Idcirco sancte pollicemur, (decreto Constantiensis concilij, quo diuersis a Romana religione hominibus fidem datam seruandam haud esse, sancitum fuisse dicitur, hoc ipso scripto & optimo modo renuntiantes) nos nostro, nostrarumque familiarum nomine, iam neque per nos, neque per alios, vlla vi, vel ratione, recta aut obliqua, qua eius celsitudinem, aut eius famulos aut subditos

& ditiones hanc retentionem persequi vel vindicare velle. Et ad maiorem huius scripti & promissi corroboracionem propria manu signauimus, & sigillo nostro appresso confirmauimus. Actum & datum Luzelseni 28 Decembris: anno Domini 1578.

Iohannes Lesleus episcopus Rossensis.
& administrator ecclesie Morauensis.

This Lesle being yet living, and (as I vnderstand) in great credit in France, possessing the place of the chancelor of Lions, is descended of an ancient familie, as one whose ancestors and name hath both inioined honorable titles in descent, and great places of gouernement in the common-wealth of Scotland. For when Edgar the sonne of Edward the outlaw and kinsman to Edward the Confessor king of England was bered with vnjust war, first by Harold king of England the son of Godwine, & then by the Norman ballard surnamed the Conqueror, which due Harold and obtained the crowne of England; Edgar did p'uaillie take shipping with his mother Agatha, and his two sisters, to the end, that being now out of all hope euer to obtaine the kingdom of England, they might direct their course and saile againe into Hungarie, from whence they came. But it happened by diuine prouidence, that being on the sea, they were grieuouſlie molested with vehement winds, which forcible made them forsake their appointed course, and draue them into the mouth of the riuer of Forth or Frith, whose landing place is yet to be ſene, & at this daie called S. Margarets hauen (after the name of hir which was sister to this Edgar & called Margaret) whome Malcolme king of Scots (for the rare parts both of bodie & mind wherewith she was wonderfully indued) did after take to wife, & ſolemnlie crowned to the great comfort of the whole kingdom. Upon which deed William the Conqueror being more greivouslie moued than he was before, banished all the friends of Edgar out of England. By occasion whereof, Albrecht, Waus, Kamlete, Louell, and diuerſe other men of great nobilitie came then first into Scotland to craue aid of king Malcolme; which persons being liberallie indued with rich possessions by the same Malcolme; their posteritie do at this daie in our age flourish with great honor. Besides which also, at this time there came out of Hungarie with Agatha before touched diuerſe other persons of account, as Crichton, Fodzingham, Giffert, Pantlis, Wothike, and others; amongst whome Bartholomew Lesle descended of noble parentage, and of great valor of mind, did with the rest appeare verie famous, whose sharpe wit, and excellencie of knowledge (ioined with a sound and strong bodie) when Malcolme the king of Scots did behold, he vſed his helpe in the defense of the castell of Edinburgh, and in all other weightie affaires which concerned the warres.

Out of this familie of the Lesles haue sprung and flourished manie woorthie persons, valiantlie resisting and subduing their enemies. And amongst those, one Walter Lesle earle of Rosse, who afterward purchased such singular commendation for valor and wisdom shewed in manie battels of the emperor Letwes the second, & Charles the fourth, against the Saracens, Vt (one of their owne name now a bishop of Rosse in his historie of Scotland saith) a quodam animi generoso impetu, quo hostes frangeret, & sub iugum fortiter mittere solebat, generosi equitis cognomentum sit consecutus: eiusdem stirpis comes Rotheſius, multique alij barones & equites Leslei cognominati (quos Malcolmus primum,

ac alij deinde reges multis amplisque agris, in Fisa, Augusta, Gourea, & Gareocha, alijsque prouincijs munifice cumulabant) magnæ hodie nobilitatis virtutisque commendatione in Scotia vident. Of whose line and name at this daie (as is before said) continuing in great honor, the earle of Rosse now living called Lesle dwelleth in Fife, and married the daughter of the earle of Gowrie or Gowrieke, the same earle of Rosse being a person no lesse wise and honorable, than descended of ancient and honorable ancestors. But leaving that familie, let vs returne from whence we haue digressed.

The bishop of Rosse being departed from the duke of Banier (as before you haue heard) in the yeare following, which was the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre scoze and ninetene, Amies Stewart the lord of Obignie in France, being of the house of the Stewards, and sonne to John the eldest brother of Mattheo Leneur, some time regent of Scotland, buried at Sterling, as is before touched, did come into Scotland; was by the king most honorably receiued, and advanced to further honor. For the king taking from Robert Stewart (whom the last yeare he had created earle of Leneur) the title of that earldome of Leneur, he now inuested this lord of Obignie with the same, and created him earle of Leneur, thereby more firmelie to bind the lord of Obignie in France to be faithfull vnto him in Scotland. And least he should ſeeme by taking the earldome from Robert Stewart to haue wronged him, the king for recompense thereof, bestoweth vpon the said Robert Stewart as honorable a title and earldome as the same was, for he inuested the same Robert with the earldome of March. Not long after which the king erecting the same earldome of Leneur vnto a dukedome, he did bestow that honor of duke vpon the said lord of Obignie, & created him duke of Leneur, which title at this daie, his sonne being a towardlie young gentleman doth most honorably possesse, he being the onlie person in that countrie which doth in this our age inioie that title of duke, being such an honor as was but latelie begun amongst them, and neuer verie plentifull in that region: for the same hath not yet as I for this present suppose noyſhed at any one time (when that title was rised amongst them) thre persons adorned with that stile. Now touching the matter of their first creation and continuance, I thinke it not vnſeeto ſaie ſomewhat in this place.

The first creation of dukes in that countrie was vſed by Robert the third of that name, whose right name being John, was after turned vnto Robert, for doubt of euill ſucceſſe to grow to the kingdom by a gouernor ſo called. For thus write the Scots as Lesleus hath deliuered with these speeches: Verum quum ipsi nobiles arbitrarētur nomini inesse nescio quid ominis insaufi, quod reges Franciæ & Angliæ, hoc nomine conſignati, bello prehenderētur, mutato nomine Robertum vt patrem eum appellari decreuerūt. Quæ illorum ſue in nominis obſeruacione ſuperſtitio, ſue in regis conſeruacione diligentia, maioris mali regi iam impendentis augurium quoddam mihi videtur. Nam non multo poſt ex equo illi decidenti, omnia membra ita contuſa fuerunt, vt (quod regnandi moleſtias ac labores nullo modo poterat pati) Roberti comiti Fifenſi fratri ſuo regni gubernationē dedere cogeretur. Which John as before is ſaid, hauing now obtained a new name, was the first which brought a new title of honor into his kingdom: for he created David his eldest sonne duke of Rothſeie, and his brother Robert (whom he had made protector of the kingdom) duke of Albany, as is ſet downe by the ſame Lesleus in these wordes:

The lord of Obignie made earle of Leneur.

Robert Stewart made earle of March.

The first erection of dukes in Scotland.

Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 264.

To which king John of England and France, he might also haue added one of his own countrie of Scotland John Balliol the king, who was as infortunate in his gouernment as any of the other.

The historie of Scotland.

words: Tertio plus minus anno (which was about the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred foure score and thirtene) concilio ex omni ordinum genere Perthi habito, post alias res pro regni comodo sapienter actas, rex Davidem filium suum titulo ducis Rothsaix, & Robertum fratrem suum quem regno administrando prefecerat, ducis Albanij honore ornabat: qui duo primi fuerunt in Scotia his titulis illustrati. Thus much he, proving that it is not above one hundred foure score and thirtene yeares since that title came first into Scotland. 10
Wherby it appereth that England since the conquest having dukes erected by king Edward the third, who in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie & seven, made his eldest sonne duke of Cornwall, hath had dukes about two hundred forty & nine yeres past, being fiftie and six yere before they had anie in Scotland. And as those two before named were the first which were invested with the honoꝝ of duke in Scotland, so after the death of the same king which fell in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six, in the Interregnum or vacante of the kingdome (which continued eightene yeares from the said yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six, untill the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure) in which James the first having bene trained up in England obtained the crowne, and under the protectorship of Mor-dache (the sonne of the foresaid Robert the first duke of Albanie) to whom the government of the realme of Scotland was committed after the death of the said Robert the third.

Archibald Dowglas was the first Scot which passing the seas, & serving a strange prince, intioed anie such title of duke in anie foerein nation. For the Scots going then to aid the French against the English, the French king to honour the Scots and to bind them to be more faithfull unto him, created John Stewart earle of Buquains constable of France, & advanced the said Archibald Dowglas to the honoꝝ of the dukedome of Turone: but he did not long intioe that great title, being shortly after slaine at the battell of Verneille, in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure. In treating of which battell Buchanan, whose name may rightlie be deduced from Bucca vana, beyond all modestie and course of reason forgetting his calling, his learning and humanitie, hath spued out all his malice against the English nation, whereof I have treated in my former additions to the historie of Scotland. Thus having somewhat digressed from the matter of later yeares, wherewith I ought to have furnished my imperfect continuances of the annals of Scotland, I will returne to the lord of Obegnie, who was at this time created duke of Lenex, and who occasioned me to make this discourse. Wherefore I will here set downe what Lesseus hath written of the first originall of that house in France, and of this duke of Lenex thus by the king newlie as before said created, the words of which Lesseus bishop of Roisse be these: Nouam quoque Scotorum equitum turmam Carolus 6 (king of France, which had the warres against the king of England, when the Scots were thus advanced in the dominions of France, being meane betwene the said yeares of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six, and one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure) paulo ante conscripsit, quæ vulgò Scotorum armorum cohors dicebatur. Huius primus dux Robertus Stuartus ex Lenoxij comitis familia ortus, domino de Aubigne multisque alijs terris, muneribus, honoribus, & baleagijs cõmuni populi sermone dictis, a rege insignitus est. Quæ omnia a Scotis eiusdem cognominis & prosapia continuata, successio-

nis serie per Barnardum nimirum celebrem militie duce, deinde per Robertum, denique Iohannem Stuartum comitis Lenoxij fratrem iam diu possessa, præclaræ nobilitatis ac indolis iuuenis, Iohannis filius non parvam suorum virtutis spem de se excitans, etiam nunc hodie obtinet. Thus much Lesse. Beside which that Lesseus hath set downe of the first lord of Obegnie in France, Paulus Iovius in his booke of Emperesse written in Italian, hath not forgotten to speake somewhat of him, where he setteth downe the devise of his ensignes or armes in this sort translated by me into English.

There was (saith Iovius) amongst the Frenchmen a man of knowne vertue or prowesse, & most famous captaine called Heberard Stewart boine of the blood roiall of Scotland) being honoꝝed with the title of monsieur de Obegnie, who being of kinred to James the fourth of that name, did beare for his devise or ensigne, a fielt silver, a ramping lion getoles, with a number of hachles thereabout; the which cote armour he did weare upon his upper garment, and likewise beare in his standard, with this posse, Distantia iungit: signifieng thereby, that he was the mean or buchie to hold and knit together the king of Scots and the French king; with a lust counterpeile against the force of the king of England, naturall enimie to Scotland and France. Thus much Iovius, & thus much of the duke of Lenex lord of Obegnie in France. After which, sith I am now in discoursing of dukes of that countrie, and have shewed when the first duke was made in Scotland, and who they were; I thinke it not unfit for this place, to set downe a catalog of all such dukes of Scotland as have come unto my knowledge by search of histories, since the creation of the same first dukes, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and eightene; which I will not refuse to do in this place, following the same course which I have observed before in the historie of England, where I have set downe all the dukes, since the first creation of anie duke in that countrie. Wherefore thus I enter into my dukes of Scotland.

A catalog of all the dukes of
Scotland by creation or
descent.

David Stewart (eldest son of John Stewart earle of Carricke, after called Robert the third, and leaving the name of John when he came to the crowne of Scotland) was (by parlement, about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred foure score and eightene, being the eight yeare of Robert the third) made duke of Rothseie, when he was about eightene yeares of age, or rather twentie, as by all accounts it must be, if that be true that he was boine the two and twentieth daie of October one thousand three hundred three score and eightene, made duke in the yeare one thousand three hundred fourescore & eightene, as some haue. But Lesseus (as before) referreth this as I by all circumstances doe gather, to the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred foure score & thirtene. He married Margerie the daughter of Archibald earle Dowglas, about the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred, being the tenth of Robert the second.

Robert Stewart second son to Robert the second king of Scots, by Elisabeth pure or pure his wife, being by his father created earle of Fife and Genteth, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fourescore and eightene, and the eight yeare of the gouvernement of Robert the second, advanced

nanced to the title and hono^r of the dukedome of Albanie : this Robert and the other David as I haue before noted, being the first dukes that euer were in Scotland. This man being gouernor of Scotland in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and one, falling in the yeare of the reigne of Robert the third, did apprehend David the duke of Rothesie, and committed him to strett prisonment in Fawkeland, where in the end he died by extreame famine, whose want of food was such, that he was faine to gnaw his owne fingers : of this Robert is moze spoken in my protecto^rs of Scotland.

Murdacke called duke, was also earle of Fife, eldest sonne to this Robert duke of Albanie, was as is most likelie duke of Albanie after his father, who being gouernor of Scotland, occasioned me to intreat moze of him in that place.

Alexander Steward the second sonne of James the second, was by his father aduanced to the dukedome of Albanie, who being verie young at the time of his fathers death, which happened in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred & threescore, was with his brother John earle of Mar, committed to the custodie of Marie their mother. After which in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thre score and thre, being the third yeare of James the third, he was taken on the sea by the Englishmen in the month of June, as he returned from his grandfather the duke of Guelderland, but was after restored home by the meanes of James Beuenie bishop of saint Andrews. About sixtene yeares following, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred threescore and ninctene, falling in the sixteenth yeare of James the third, this duke was committed prisoner to the castell of Edinburgh, out of which he brake and escaped to Dunbar, from whence being well furnished, he sailed into France where he was honorable receiued, and there married the daughter and heire of the earle of Bononie, who shortly after dieng, and the duke perceiving himselfe not to be so well vsed as he was before, came into England & was by king Edward the fourth louingly accepted; who granted aid to this duke. Whereupon he in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and two, did enter Scotland with a great power & spoiled the countrie, committing (without any resistance in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and two, being the two and twentieth yeare of James the third) as far as Kadsfrag, or Kaskalrig, where he pitched his campe: which being knowne, he was by mediation of the nobilitie admitted home to his countrie, being further preferred to the earldomes of March and Mar, and proclaimed generall lieutenant of the king; by meanes whereof, he gouerned the whole realme, the king being now in prison. After which, this duke setteth the king at libertie through the persuasions of the quene, without knowlege thereof giuen to the other of the nobilitie: whereby new turmoiles did arise amongst the people. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and two, and the thre and twentieth yeare of James the third, this duke hauing intelligence that there was poison prepared to be giuen to him in drinke in the kings chamber, whereby he stood in feare of his life, did forsake the court and fled to Dunbar: at what time also the king for his owne safetie, got him vnto the castell of Edinburgh: whereupon the earle of Angus and Buchanaine forsaking the king, toke part with the duke.

After which the duke being summoned as some haue (or being besieged in the castle of Dunbar as other haue) fled into England. But Lesleus saith

that he toke a little bote and so escaped into France, where he was honorable interteined by Charles king of that realme; and where the Frenchmen for his singularitie in feats of armes, termed him the father of chivalrie; thus writeth Lesleus. But others (deliuering this matter in other forme) saie that after his flight from Dunbar, he passed into England, gathered power, returned into Scotland, did invade the kingdome, & was put to flight: whereupon growing in disgrace with the king of England, he then fled into France. And then after, the same Lesleus saith: Parisijs dum singulare certamen Aurelianensis dux cum aliquo equite iniuit astans, particula cuiusdam haste traiecitur, breuisque post moritur, about the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie thre. He left two sonnes behind him, John duke of Albanie gouernor of Scotland during the minority of James the fourth, and one other Alexander, whom he had by his first wife in Scotland the daughter of the earle of Orkney, which Alexander was after bishop of Arrerrie, and abbat of Scone.

John Steward duke of Albanie, sonne to the foresaid Alexander duke of Albanie, did after the death of his father obtaine that dukedome, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie thre: of this man I haue made a moze large discourse in the gouernors of Scotland, whereunto I refer the; and therefore omit to talke any further of him in this place.

James Steward (eldest sonne to James the third) being duke of Rothesie, is by some termed prince of Rothesie, was borne in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred seuentie and two on the tenth daie of March, being about the twelue yeare of the reigne of his father James the third. This duke in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie and eight, in the nine and twentieth yeare of his father, and the sixteenth of his age, was by the nobilitie rebelling against his father made capteine or leader of those rebels, who at that time at Banockburne two miles from Sterling, incounting with the king his father, did there slea him; whereupon this James duke of Rothesie was presentlie made king by the name of James the fourth.

Alexander Steward the second, sonne to James the third, king of Scotland, and brother to James the fourth, was duke of Rothesie: for thus writeth Lesleus li. 8. pag. 231. In studium incubuit rex (which was James the fourth then king, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie and nine) sedulo, vt Alexander dux Rothosie & Iohannes comes Mariz sui fratres tenelli adhuc liberali educatione diligentissime imbuerentur, tantoque sumptu pro ratione patrimonij, quod singulis pater reliquerat satis amplum, magnifice alerentur. He died the sixteenth kalends of Ianuarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftene at Sterling.

Henrie Steward lord Dorneleie the eldest sonne to Mattheu Steward erle of Lenex, was brought vp in England, a goodlie and beautifull personage, being to be married to Marie the quene of Scots, was after his comming into Scotland made earle of Rothe, in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and five by the same quene, about the thre and twentieth yeare of his reigne: shortly after which he was in the Iulie following created duke of Albanie; and on saturday the eight and twentieth day of the same moneth before the marriage, proclaimed king by the quenes commandement, at the market crosse of Edinburgh, being married to the same Marie on the nine and twentieth daie of the same moneth, in the chapel at Holie rood house, at five of the clocke in the morning: which hono^r he did not long imioie.

Murdacke
duke of Alba-
nie.

Alexander
duke of Alba-
nie.

John duke of
Albanie.

James the
fourth duke of
Rothesie.

Alexander
duke of Ro-
thesie.

Henrie duke
of Albanie.

Lesle. lib. 8.
pag. 231.

into it. For in the tenth of Februarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and six (what by the malice of some of the nobilitie, and false persuation of others, he was led to enter into those actions, which in the end were his owne overthrow, and that by such as moued him thereunto) he was miserable slaine in a house within the towne, nere to hirke a field.

Amies Ste-
ward duke of
Lencur.

Amies Steward lord of Obignete in France, sonne to John Steward brother to Matthew Steward earle of Lencur, being first by James the first of that name made earle of Lencur, was after by the same king made duke of Lencur; who being dead, hath left a young sonne behind him, a gentleman of great hope, at this date living, inioieng the title of his father, and called duke of Lencur. Thus hauing set downe all the dukes which haue bene in Scotland, we wil descend to such Scots as haue inioied that title in a forren nation.

Edowliche
Steward
duke of Le-
neur.

That diuers of the Scots haue obtai-
*ned the title and honor of dukes in
forren countries.*



As it is honorable to anie man to be ad-
uanced unto anie title of honour in his
owne countrie, either for desert or fauor;
whereof yet parcialitie maie most com-
monlie be the fartherer: so is it far moze honorable
and remoued from all suspicion of undeserued fa-
uor, to be inuested with anie title of dignitie for anie
cause in a forren countrie; because princes (whose
hands are mostlie opened to enrich their subiects, in
whose faithfull hearts their safetie is principallie in-
closed) do not commonlie without singular desert ad-
uance strangers to them by birth in an other nation,
& not their native subiects, for that they are people,
to whom without an especiall triall anie prince is
not to commit anie portion of his kingdome, and
much lesse anie part of his person. Wherefore the
same being an argument of worthis desert, either
for assured fidelitie to the person of such prince, or for
the valour of seruice of the aduanced, when anie one
is adorned with anie such title of honor, I thinke it
not vnfit in this place to obscure the glorie of the
Scots (who might impute the same to be malicious-
lie done by me) and to omit such of their nation as
haue inioied the title of dukes in a forren countrie,
especiallie being now in hand with all the dukes of
Scotland.

And although the number of such dukes be small,
as not exceeding the figure of foure, and therefore in
some mens minds might well enough be passed ouer
in silence: yet carrieng a contrarie mind, in that I
would not anie waie pretermitt what they iustlie de-
serue, I will faithfullie set downe what I find recoz-
ded touching the same after this maner.

Archibald
Dowglas
duke of Tour-
aine.

Archibald Dowglas was created duke of
Touraine in France in this sort. In the yeare of
Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and three
as some saie, or one thousand foure hundred and six
as other haue (whereof I maie not determine anie
thing by reason I cannot reconcile these defaults of
numbers which haue happened through the con-
trarietie of booke) Charles the seventh of that
name king of France, sending ambassadoys into
Scotland, to renewe the old league betwene the two
nations of France and Scotland, and to craue aid
against the English, there were ambassadoys and o-
ther noble men sent likewise into France out of
Scotland; with whose comming the French king be-
ing greatlie comforted, and hoping of god successe
against the English by reason of the Scottish aid, he
did vpon the comming of the Scots to the court

creat this Archibald Dowglas (then erle of Wigh-
ton) duke of Touraine. But that honor continued
not long with him, for in the yeare of Christ one
thousand foure hundred twentie and foure, at the
battell of Herneile in Perth the English obtained
the victorie, and this new duke with his sonne and
heire James Dowglas earle of Wighton was a-
mongst others most vnfortunatlie slaine.

Archibald earle Dowglas was duke of Tour-
aine, as I gather by the words of Lesleus touching
this Archibalds sonne, of whom we will speake here-
after, and then set downe the same words of Lesleus
to proue Archibald duke of Touraine, who married
the earle of Crawfordds daughter, by whom he had
issue William earle Dowglas, a child of fouretene
yeares old which succeded him, & one David Dow-
glas. After which this Archibald died at Lescelrig
in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred
thirtie and nine, being about the third yeare of king
James the first.

Archibald
Dowglas
duke of Tour-
aine.

William earle Dowglas a child of fouretene
yeares of age succeded his father in his inheritan-
ces, and was after made duke of Touraine or Tour-
aine, who being now earle Dowglas, deliuered
forth such buds of vertue, as he lent great hope to all
men of his worthinesse and good successe, to his fur-
ther honor and his countries benefit. But in the end
their expectations were deceiued after that he was
made duke of Touraine: for being pufft vp in pride
with those great honors, he forgot himselfe, and
wrought his owne and his countries harme, where-
of we will not now speake; but onelie set downe
Lesleus words touching his admittance to the duke-
dome of Touraine. Gulielmus (which was this earle
Dowglas) Malcolmum Flemingum dominum
Cummirnald & Alanu Lowder ad Carolum septi-
mu Francorum regem misit, oratu, vt ducatu Toro-
nenfi eius patrimoniam & dignitates amplificarentur:
æquum enim esse contendit, vt quo ducatu Archi-
baldus Dowglasius (qui pro libertate Franciæ bello
Vernolensi mortem oppetiuit) fruebatur * & pater
illius nuper mortuus potiebatur, ideam ad se quoque
perueniret. Carolus non inuitus concessit, quo dono
quantum illi ad honorem dignitatemque cumuli-
tantum profectò ad superbiam, insolentiamque ma-
teriam accessit. Thus much Lesle, placing the same
to be done as other authoys also doe, in the yeare of
Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and nine,
being about the third yeare of the reigne of James
the first of that name king of Scotland. Which honor
he did not long inioie, for in the yeare following be-
ing the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred
and fortie, and the fourth yeare of the same king
James; he was, for that he would neither obete the
gouernment of the gouernor or chancelor, bidden to
a banquet at Edinburgh castle, whereas when he and
his brother David were set at dinner, the meat was
suddenlie remoued, and a bulls head presented to the
erle of Dowglas, being in those dates a token that
he should shortly be executed. Immediate there-
vpon, the said earle with his brother David, & Mal-
colme Fleming lord of Cummirnald were behea-
ded before the castle gate: so that this great ho-
nor seemed to those Scots which possessed the same,
not much vnlike to the Helane hoise, or to the honor
of the dukedome of Gloucester.

Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 193.

This prentice
Archibald
Dowglas
father to this
William to be
duke of Tour-
aine.

James earle of Arrane being made gouernor to
Marie quene of Scots, in the yeare of Christ one
thousand foure hundred fortie and two (in which being
about seuen daies old, she began the first yeare of hir
vnfortunat gouernement, which I maie so rightlie
terme, because she was after deposed in the yeare of
Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and se-
uen, in the five and twentieth yeare of hir reigne) was
made

made duke of Chateleraunt by the French king in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, being the twelue yeare of the reigne of the same quene Marie, of whom I haue intreated more liberallie in my discourse of the protectors of Scotland, and therefore meane not to speake anie thing of that here: wherefore leauing these dukes, we will returne our pen to other matters done in Scotland.

This yeare there was a practise by forren persons of great state in Europe, to make some inuasion, or at the least some disturbance vpon or amongst such realmes as professed the gospel, and were enemies to the Romane religion, by meanes whereof as it was supposed, manie princes inclining their heads to the popes obedience, embracing his doctrine and resting at his disposition, expected the performance of some actions then to be done by them in the territories of the aduerse part, and in the realmes of such princes, as not onelie opposed themselves against the popes doctrine, but had also drawne their necks from the yoke of his subiection, in matters both of ciuill gouernement and of religion. Amongst which princes, being commonlie termed catholiks, the duke of Guise a person of great account in France, tied neerelie in blood to the imprisoned quene, and to the yong king of Scots, and supported with other princes pursues, purposed to haue set full foot in Scotland, and to haue obtained the whole disposition and rule of that king and kingdom. But God, in whose hands resteth the ordering of princes harts, not permitting such determinations to sort to the purposed effect, did so that time frustrate the execution thereof.

For whereas the duke of Guise should with martiall power haue inuaded, entered and possessed Scotland, there arose troubles and turmoiles of warres in his owne countrie of France, about the parts of Picardie and Walphine, which called him from the dispatch of that his former deuise, for the stateng to appease the same new insurrection, employing all his gathered forces thereunto, and countring with those persons: the rigor of the same warres so weakened his strength, that he was not able (without some new supplie of men and monie, which could not be had vpon the sudden) to produce his former intent to anie effect. But yet, least that the same intention might not seeme altogether to haue quailed, or that he should be noted to haue made shew to enterprise a thing which he neither could nor would prosecute to the vttermost; there was somewhat by his meanes and furtherance attempted in Scotland, which yet in the end fell not forth in all respects to answer the expected hope of good successe therein. For partlie by the policie of the Scots, and partlie by the support of the allies and friends to the king, but altogether by the united strength of both sort, the Scots rid themselves of the same deuise, and since remained safe from the danger of the Guise and of his partakers.

After this the earle of Morton, sometime regent of Scotland, being condemned to die, and readie to suffer that execution which was appointed vnto him, some persons had conference with him about matters of great importance, on the same date wherein he was to suffer, which persons so conferring with him, were John Durie, and master Walter Bancartnell. In which discourse betwene the earle and them these matters in substance amongst manie others fell forth, in questions propounded by them, and in answers made by him in this sort almost word for word, drawne into some seuerall heads and articles, as they were deliuered vnto me.

The examinations and answers of the earle of Morton before his death, but after his condemnation.

First he was exhorted by them that he should not be discouraged by his overthrow, in considering the estate wherunto he had bene once called in this world, but rather remembering the glorie to come, he should reioice and be of god comfort. Wherevnto he answered, that as concerning all the glorie which he had in this world, he respected it not, because he was persuaded that all worldlie honoz is but vanitie, and the broken reed of Egypt. And as concerning the estate wherunto he was brought, he thanked God for it, and was at that point, that he was rather content to render his life than to liue, because he knew, that as God had appointed the time for his death, so had he also appointed the manner thereof, seeing that now was the time, and this was the manner which best pleased his God to take him in, and therefore was content. And as for his life in this world, he cared not for it, in respect of that immortalitie, & the everlasting joy which he looked for, and whereof he was assured.

Secondlie, being required what was his part or knowledge in the kings death or murder: he answered with this attestation, that as he should answer to his Lord God, so he would declare all his knowledge therein: the sum wherof was, that after his returne out of England, whither he was banished for Dauides slaughter, he came out of Whettherbone to Whettingham, where the erle Bothwell was at the same time, with whome there was communication about the kings murder, but he would not consent thereto. After which, opening a large discourse thereof, laing the cause, the contriuing, and the execution of the same in great persons now liuing, and confessing that they understood thereof, and durst not for manie causes reueale the same, neither to the king nor the kings father the earle of Lennox; he added, how that in the end he was by the law now of late consisted of knowledge and concealing the kings murder, when as he should answer to God he had no part or knowledge in that matter. Furthermore, shewing that after the earle of Bothwell was cleared of that murder by iudice, that he and sundrie of the nobilitie subscribed a bond with the earle of Bothwell, that if anie should laie the kings murder to his charge, he would assist him to the contrarie, and that therefore he subscribed to the quenes marriage with the earle Bothwell as sundrie other of the nobilitie did, being charged therunto by the quenes owne writing and commandment.

Then being required in the name of the liuing God, that seeing this murder of the king was one of the most filthiest acts that euer was done in Scotland, and that the secrets thereof hath not hitherto bene opened, neither who was the cheefe doer therein, or whether the king was then strangled or blowne vp into the aire; that he should declare if he knew anie further secret therein: he answered, that as he should make answer to God, he knew no more secrets in that matter than he had already declared and heard, by the depositions of such as had already suffered for it, which depositions are yet extant. Againe, being demanded if he knew anie presentlie about the king, which were doers of that worke, by whose companie the king and commonwealth might be hurt: he answered that he knew none, neither would he accuse anie, &c.

Thirdlie, being examined of the poisoning of the earle of Athol, if he had anie act or part therein: A. J. ps

Archibald
Dowglaſſe
duke of Couper-
tine.

ſſew. 66. 8.
g. 29. 2.

This prometh
Archibald
Dowglaſſe
ther to this
William to be
duke of Couper-
tine.

which was
Henrie king
of Scots, slain
in the yeare of
Christ 1566,
beginning the
yeare at the
annuntiation
of the virgin.
David Riccio
the Italian,
ſecretarie to
the quene,
ſlaine in the
yeare 1566.

he answered with good attestation, saying; Let God neuer be mercifull vnto me, if euer I knewe anie thing of that matter, or heard of it before it came to my eares by the common bzute of the countrie. And being further demanded if he knew that maister John Hounant brought him anie poison; he replied that he knewe no such thing, and that he knewe nothing by maister Hounant but honestie, to which he more added these speeches; He, he, there is ouer-much filthinesse in Scotland alreadie, God forbid that vile practising of poisoning should enter among vs: I would not for all the earldome of Athuile, haue neither ministred poison to him, or caused it to haue bene ministred, yea if there had been one hundred on my part, and but he alone, I would not haue stirred one heare of his head.

Fourthlie, being demanded if he made anie conspiracie against the earle of Lenear: he answered with like attestation as before, that he neuer thought in his heart, or once purposed anie conspiracie against the earle of Lenear, neither minded to him anie hurt in bodie or otherwise. But it grieved him that the earle of Lenear knewe not the estate of their countrie, nor yet perceived the danger of the kings person. For being thereunto requested by others, fundie were brought home who were the kings enemies, ouerthrowers of the kingdome, and enemies to religion; whereby there was apparant danger to his person and the reime all which he hoped to haue helped by counsell, when the earle of Lenear famili-
aritie and his should haue bene greater.

Fiftlie, being demanded whether he had anie league or dealing with England for the conueieng of the king or otherwise, or if he had anie pension of the quene of England for that purpose, he answered in these words: As I shall answer to God vnder paine of condemnation or saluation, I neuer had anie dealings with England that waie: there was neuer one in Scotland or England, neither the quene nor anie in hir name, that euer moved anie such thing to me, so indirectlie as to conueie the king into England; it neuer entred into my hart, I would not for all the realme of England haue put him into England, except that it had bene for his profit and honoz, &c. And for the more clere purgation of my selfe in this matter I will saie, if euer I meant but directlie his wealth, let God neuer be mercifull vnto me; and I shall neuer aske God mer-
cie for anie thing that entred in my hart against the king: yea there was nothing more that I regarded in this life, than that he should be brought vp in vertue and godlinesse. And I will saie more. If I had bene as carefull to serue God & walke in his feare, as I was to seeke the kings wealth, I had not bene brought to the point I am at this daie. And where they allege I was the quene of Englands pensionarie, as I shall answer to God, I had neuer pension of the quene of England in all my life. And although they caused the bzute to go, that I should haue furnished the quene of Englands souldiours now last vpon the borders, I neuer knewe of it. And last of all, where they allege that I should haue bene a great dealer with England, I praise God I neuer had dealing with them, but for the weale publike of the king, his countrie, and subiects, &c.

Sixtly, being demanded what was his part of the enterpryse of the castell of Sterling, he answered, that he knewe nothing of it till it was done; but being in Lochleven, he receiued aduertisement out of the castell of Sterling, and a writing from the king, that he should come thither. And whereas they said, that he minded to keepe the king in captiuitie there, the truth was, that he neuer meant to keepe him in captiuitie there or in anie other place. But

he vnderstood by the kings owne speaking, that he was as free at that time as euer he was before, or desired to be, for the present. And if he had known that his grace would haue gone to anie other place, where greater libertie had bin, he would gladly haue gone with him.

Seuenthly, being laid to his charge, that he was a great hinderance of the matters and authoritie of the bishops, &c: when he might haue done much good for the furtherance of Gods glorie & advancement of his gospell, both in the time of his gouernement, and since: his answer was, that concerning the religion and doctrine as then it was preached and professed in Scotland, he alwaies meant well in his hart to it, and acknowledged it to be the verie truth of God; insomuch that rather than anie hurt should haue come vnto the religion, he would haue spent his life and goods in the defense, like as now he was contented to die in the constant profession thereof. But indeed as concerning some things in policie of the church, as the state of the bishops, and such like, which were in question betwene him and the church, he did therein according to his knowledge, and followed the opinion which he thought to be best at that time, in consideration of the estate of all things as they were. Howbeit he would not stand in defense of those things which he then did, but yet he would make this protestation, that as he should answer to God, he did nothing in those matters either of contempt, malice, or enuie; but if there were anie things done amisse, it was of ignorance, and for lacke of better knowledge; and if he had knowne better, he would haue done otherwise, being now purposed at the last to haue holpen them so farre as he might.

Eighthly, he was desired in the name of God, not to stand in his owne innocencie, but plainelie to confesse his sinnes to Gods glorie, and to thinke, that howsoeuer it be that men haue done in this life, yet God had alwaies before him whereof he might be worthy of this and more: whereunto he yielded this speech; Howsoeuer it be that men haue done, I commit them to God and their owne consciences. But I acknowledge indeed, that God hath alwaies done iustlie to me, and not onlie iustlie but mercifullie also, because amongst all the other sinners I confesse my selfe to be one of the greatest and filthiest abusers of my bodie in the pleasures of the flesh; and also to haue giuen my selfe so ouermuch to the world, to the pleasures thereof, and to other sinnes, that God might iustlie laie it to my charge, in that I expessed not the fruits of my profession in my life and conuersation as I ought to haue done, for which I beseech God to be mercifull vnto me. And indeed now I acknowledge the great merite of God in this, that amongst all the benefits which he hath bestowed vpon me, one of the chiefest is, that he hath in this my last trouble giuen me space and leasure to repent me of my sinnes, and to be at a point with God. In which trouble also I haue found farre greater comfort than euer I could find before, because I haue thereby concluded thus with my selfe, that if God should haue spared my life, and deliuered me out of this trouble, I should then haue cast awaie all the cares of the world, the pleasures of the flesh, the delights of earthly things, and declared my selfe to serue my God in all kind of quietnesse and simplicitie. And if it shall please God to take me in this trouble, I am concludelie also to be content therewith, being alwaies assured of the merites of God. And for that cause I do now thanke God that I find my selfe at this point, that I am rather content to die than to liue; and that I shall not see the miseries to come: for I will assure you

you that I think this to be the most acceptable time that euer God could haue taken me in, because I perceiue and see such miseries and confusions to issue, that I thanke God that I shall not see them. And you who doe feare God, and liue after me, when you shall see these things, you will wisly to be where I shall be, that is, with him.

Pinethlie, being demanded what he thought of the forme of iudgement vsed against him, what his opinion therof was, whether he thought anie wrong done vnto him or no, he answered, I would be verie loth to find fault or blame the noble men which haue taken themselves vpon their consciences to condemne me, but I will remit them to God and their owne consciences; yet I am moued to speake somewhat frelie in this matter which is this. I saw such parcial dealing against me, that it hath bene all one to me, if I had bene as innocent as saint Stephan, or that I had bene as guiltie as Iudas was: for I perceiued there was nothing sought but my life, howsoeuer things had bene, which appear-¹⁰ eth in this, that no exception of anie person which was to passe vpon my assise could be admitted: for I required the earle of Argile to purge himselfe of parcial counsell giuen to the pursuer my accuser; he purged himselfe indeed, but I knew the contrarie, that he gaue parcial counsell to him. Likewise the lord of Marthon, the lord of Setton, and such others, who were knowen to be my enemies, (notwithstanding lawfull exception) were put vpon my quest. In consideration whereof I can not but be persuaded of one thing, which it becometh me to communicate vnto you, and it is thus. I perceiue it is not my life that they seeke onelie, but they who are authors of my death haue some other purpose in hand, which they perceiue will not be done, except I and such other which doe fauor the good cause, were taken out of the waie. Wherefore I can not but suspect that I haue bene so handled, and that such as hereafter shall be put thereto, may haue a more²⁰ plaine waie to do their turne or intent: and I praise God that they which are to liue behind me see not the practise thereof, but I feare it sore. And therefore in respect of this apparant danger of the common cause, I will giue my counsell to the king my master, and wisly you in the name of God to beare it to him, the summe whereof is this. I perceiue that they which haue bene the kings foes and enemies, are brought into credit & court, and they who haue bene the maintainers of his crowne & good friends, are discredited and disliked of. And likewise such as are knowen to be papists, and suspected to be enemies to the religion, are ouer familiar and great in credit with his maiestie, which surelie can not be without great danger to the religion, and hurt to his estat. For which cause I admonish him in the name of God to beware of them, and to seeke a remedie thereof. And as he hath bene brought vp in the feare of God, and companie of good men, so to continue therein, and not to go backe, or else he hath done³⁰ wisly it for euer. For I tell you what moueth me to speake thus, which is, that the state of religion in this countrie appeared neuer to be in such danger, and that for this cause. I here saie there is a dealing put in practise betwene France and England, and Pontferus marriage with the quene is like to be feared; if France and England bind together, and that marriage go forward, you may easilie understand, that the one of them will persuade the other to their religion, &c.

Tenthlie, being required to giue his counsell to the earle of Angus, and to shew him what was meetest to be done, seeing presentlie he was in great trouble, he answered: I dare giue him no coun-

sell, and I will tell you this; to bid him come in, partlie I dare not, all men may see in what danger he is although he now come in: and to counsell him to abide forth I dare not, for then he shall lose the kings fauour for euer, himselfe and his heritage, friends and all; and therefore the best counsell that I can giue him in this matter is, that he make all meanes possible to purchase the kings fauour againe, and to see if he may haue anie assurance of his life, and that he may serue his God and his king trulie, and submit himselfe, and all that he hath to his maiesties goodwill: he hath done nothing yet, but it may be amended. I saie no more, the Lord giue him his spirit to follow that which is best.

Eleuenthlie being required to declare what was the summe of that admonition, which John Knokes gaue him before he accepted the regiment, when he came vnto him a litle before his departure, he answered: I shall tell you as far as I can remember. First, he asked of me if I knew anie thing of the kings murder, I answered in deed I knew nothing of it. When he said vnto me, Well God hath beautified you with manie benefites which he hath not giuen to euerie man, for he hath giuen to you riches, wisdom and friends, and now he is to prefer you to the gouernement of this realme: and therefore in the name of God I charge you, to vse these benefites aright, and better in time to come than you haue done in times past; first to Gods glorie, to the furtherance of the gospel, to the maintenance of the church of God & of his ministers, next for the weale of the king, his realme and true subjects: which if you shall not do, God shall spoile you of these benefites, and your end shall be ignominie & shame. When being inquired if he said true or no, he answered: I haue found it true, and yet I doubt not but the Lord will be mercifull vnto me.

Twelfthlie, being demanded for what cause he held some of the neighbours of Edinburgh in ward, he answered: Surelie I meant no euill to those men, but it was done in this respect: we had the matter of Bulzaine then in hand, and I was informed that they were hinderers therof, for which cause I thought it best at that time to put them in ward for a while vntill the turne had bene done. And if I did them anie wrong, I craue forgiveness of them as I forgive all men.

Thirteenthlie, being required to declare if he knew before hand that he should be accused of this matter or no, he answered: I was aduertised in deed, and might haue escaped, but I would not, trusting allwaie vnto mine innocencie, and therefore supposed that they would not condemne me vpon such a thing. After this, the said earle with the foresaid John Durie and Walter Balcanquall did together call to God by earnest prayer, which being ended the earle said vnto vs, meaning the said Durie and Balcanquall who as I gather were the penners of this matter: I thanke you hartlie for your comfort which you haue offered to me, for now in deed is greatest need of comfort, and therefore as you haue begun, I praye you to continue with me: for now that I am come to the knowledge of mine owne sinnes, there resteth onlie two things which I craue of you, that is first that you will shew vnto me some kind of argument, whereby I maie be comforted against naturall death, because the flesh is fearefull and weake; whose desire we trauelled to satiffie by long conference, which is too long to rehearse in euerie point, yet the summe of that was thus. It was said vnto him that there were three things wherewith which might make him assured of the mercie of God in Christ: first the innumerable and comfortable promises of God contained in his word, whereunto

it behoued him alwaies to leane. Secondlie the example of Gods mercie p^ratified towards his owne seruants, albeit they haue bene great sinners; as appeared in David, Pagtlen, Peter, and the these, &c. Thirdlie the often experiences of Gods mercies from time to time, which he had found in his owne person, being a light to assure him of his mercie. In the end he answered to this, saying: I know it to be true, for since I past to Dunbarton I have read the five booke of Moses, Josue, the Judges, and now I am in Samuell, and will tell you what I have found there. I see that the mercie of God is wonderfull, and alwaies inclined to haue pittie vpon his owne people: for there it appeareth that although he punished them so oft as they sinned, yet as soone as they turned againe to him, he was mercifull vnto them, and when they sinned againe he punished them, and as often as they repented he was mercifull againe, and therefore I am assured, that albeit that I haue offended against my God, yet he will be mercifull vnto me. Also further in this point it was said vnto him, that in case sathan should trauele to discourage him in consideration of the iustice of God on the one part, and of his sinnes on the other part, we exhorted him to the contrarie, to be of god courage, and that in respect of the verie selfe same iustice of God, which will not suffer him twise to take payment for one thing, as we know in the common dealing of men: for he that is a iust man will not twise demand payment of that whereof he was already paid, for sith Christ died for our sinnes, and paid the uttermost farthing that God could craue, he cannot laie our sinnes vnto our charge being satisfied in Christ, because his iustice will not suffer him twise to take payment for one thing. Vnto this the earle answered, Truelie it is verie god.

And concerning the naturall feare of death, we exhorted him to be alwaies exercised in the consideration of the glozie, ioye, and felicitie of the life to come, which would be the onlie waie to swallow vp the feare of this naturall death. Wherevnto he answered, I praise God I doe so. This being thus done, and he hauing in his hand a pretie treatise of the meditation of death, written by Wadford (which he said that he had gotten from the ladie Darnelton before he went into ward, and for that cause before he came forth of prison againe gaue it to master Lawson, desiring him to deliuer it to the said ladie againe) he willed master Walter to read him a peece thereof, which he did, in which reading (hauing sundrie conferences vpon the thing read) both he and we found great comfort, in so much that he said, I protest now that I heare with other eares than I did before. Wherewith being called to breakefast, he earnestlie desired vs to take part with him (as we did) at what time he eat his meat with great cherefulness, as all the companie saw, and as appeared by these his words: I see there is great difference (said he) betwene a man which is troubled with the cares of the world, and him which is free from them, the which I haue found by these two former nights: for before mine accusation, I could not in things find anie rest by reason of cares which I had, because I was to be accused vpon the morrow, and therefore being carefull to answer euerie point that should be laid vnto my charge I could not sleepe: but this night, after that I was condemned, and knew that I should die, I was at a point with my selfe, and had nothing of this world, nor care of this life, but cast my onelie care vpon God, and I praise God I neuer slept better in my life than I did this night. Then he said vnto the steward, William you can beare me record of this; who answered, It is true my lord. Then master Walter said vnto him, My lord I will drinke to you

vpon a condition, vpon this condition my lord, that you and I shall drinke together in the kingdome of heauen, of that immortall drinke which shall neuer suffer vs to thirst againe. Wherevnto the earle answered, Truelie I will pledge you master Walter on the same condition. After which he said, John Durie, now John I will drinke to you vpon the same condition. This thus ended for that time, and thanks being giuen to God, the earle passed againe to his chamber, at what time master James Lawson came to him, with whom he considered the substance of all other things againe. After this we departed from him.

Then at afternone we came to him againe, with sundrie of the brethren of the ministerie, as master James Lawson, master Robert Point, David Fargalone, master David Denfa, John Brand, master James Garnichie, and master John Daulson, whom the earle receiued verie louinglie in his arms, and said to him; Master John you wrote a litle booke in deed, but truelie I meant neuer euill towards you in my mind, forgive me, and I forgive you: vpon which words master John was moued with teares. Then all the brethren being present, the earle reported againe the chiefe substance of all the things whereof before he spake, being demanded thereof point by point, as their testification of this matter subscribed by them at more length will declare. After which the earle was called to his dinner about two of the clocke in the afternone, who being thus at his dinner, the brethren of the ministerie were informed that there was intell report made of his profession to the king, & that he should haue confessed much otherwise than he did, whereby the king might haue a worse opinion of him. Wherefore they thought god to send down some before his suffering to informe his maiestie of the truth of his confession: which persons so sent were David Fargalone, John Durie, and John Brand, who before his death did largelie tell the simple truth of his confession (as it was made) vnto the kings maiestie. At their returning the earls keeper required him that he would come forth to the scaffold, wherevnto the earle answered; Sith they haue thus troubled me ouermuch this daie with worlde things, I supposed that they should haue giuen me one nights leisure to haue aduised my selfe with my God. Then the keeper said, All things are redie now my lord, and I thinke they will not staie. The earle replied, I am redie also I praise God: and so comfortable praier being made, the earle passed downe to the gate, minding to go directly to the scaffold; but the earle of Arrane staied him, brought him backe againe to the chamber, and willed him to staie until his confession should be put in writing & subscribed with his owne hand. Wherevnto the ministers which were present answered, and the earle also answered: Pate my lord, I praie you trouble me no more with these things, for now I haue another thing to muse vpon, which is to prepare me for my God. And sith I am at a point to go to my death, I can not write in the estate wherein I now am; and all these honest men can testifie that I haue spoken in that matter. With which answer the earle of Arrane being satisfied, he said to him, My lord you will be reconciled with me, for I haue done nothing vpon anie particular quarell against you. The earle of Arrane replied, It is no time now to remember quarels, I haue no quarell to you nor to anie other, I forgive you and all others as I would you forgive me. And so after with a good courage he passed to the scaffold, who being vpon the scaffold, repeated in few words the substance of the things before confessed, & adding some exhortation to the people which he spake not before, in this sort.

That I am the king shall lose a good servant & is
 safe, and so he exhorted the people, saying: I testifie
 before God, that as I profess the gospel which this
 daie is taught & professed in Scotland: so also now
 I willingly lay downe my life in the persecution
 thereof. And albeit I haue not walked according
 hereunto as I ought, yet I am assured that God
 will be mercifull vnto me; and I charge you all in
 God which are professors of the gospel, that you con-
 tinue the true professing and maintaining thereof to
 your power, as I would haue done God willing
 with my life, lands, and goods as long as I had li-
 ued: which if you doe, I assure you God shall be
 mercifull vnto you; but if you doe it not, be sure the
 vengeance of God shall fall vpon you, both in bodie
 and soule. As concerning all the rest of the words
 which he had vpon the scaffold, he spake them in ef-
 fect and more amplie before. When all these spea-
 ches were ended vpon the scaffold, a comfortable
 praier was made by maister John Lawson, during
 the time of which praier, the earle Morton laie groue-
 ling vpon his face before the place of execution, his
 bodie making great reboundings with sighes and
 sobs, being euident signes of the inward and mightie
 working of the spirit of God, as all they which
 were present, and knew what it was to be earnestlie
 moued in praier, might easilie perceiue.

The praier being ended, and sundrie coming
 to him before his death, he did most louinglie receiue
 them; who after he had taken vs by the hand that
 were about him, & bidden vs farewell in the Lord,
 he passed both constantlie, patientlie, and humbly
 (without feare of death) to the place of execution,
 and laid his necke vnder the axe being vnbound.
 And there maister Walter putting him alwaies in
 mind to call vpon God; the earle continuallie cried
 vntill his head was stricken off, Lord Iesus receiue
 my spirit, Lord Iesus receiue my spirit: which
 words he spake euen while the axe fell on his necke.
 Now whatsoeuer he had bene before, he constantlie
 died the seruant of God. And howsoeuer it be that
 his foes alleged, that as he liued proudlie, so he died
 proudlie; the charitable seruants of God could
 perceiue nothing in him but all kind of humilitie in
 his death: insomuch that we are assured, that his
 soule is receiued into the ioies and glories of the
 heauens; and we praise God, that they which are be-
 hind, may learne by his example to die in the true
 feare of God our Lord. ¶ Thus far the confession &
 death of the earle Morton, penned by such of the
 presbyterie as were present thereat, and fauored
 him in all respects, seeking to cleere him of anie euill
 imposed against him. In setting downe whereof,
 I haue not varied from the verie words of my copie
 in manner of penning it; but onelie in some few
 places of some part of the matter, the which I haue
 purposed omitted, because it contained the affaires
 of state, and the accusation of diuerse persons now
 liuing; both which are neither needfull to be knowne
 to the common people, nor meete to be opened to o-
 thers, thereby to bring those in question vpon a re-
 port, whereof there is no further hold to be had, than
 there was hate or loue betwene the accuser & the
 accused. Wherefore leauing the same discourse of
 the death of the earle which fell vpon the second daie
 of June in the towne of Edinburgh) in that sort,
 penned by those of the presbyterie, to stand vpon the
 support of it selfe, I will descend to other matters.

This earle Morton married the old earle of Mor-
 tons youngest daughter, who being halfe an idiot
 brought forth no issue to this earle: but he notwithstanding,
 least he should die issuelesse, left behind
 him two sonnes, vnlawfullie begotten. Shortly after
 the death of which earle, Thomas Randolph esqui-

er being sent ambassador from the quene of Eng-
 land, entered into Scotland, whom (being honorable
 entertained) I will leaue there to dispatch the effect
 of his commission, and fall to that which happened.
 After the death of this earle Morton, in the winter
 following there was a parlement called, at that
 time manie noble men were created, as Ruthwen
 was made earle of Orkney, Robert Stewart halfe
 brother to Marie the imprisoned quene of Scots
 was aduanced to the honor and title of the earldome
 of Arkanie, the lord Maxwell was made earle Mor-
 ton, and James Stewart was created earle of Ar-
 rane, the manner of obtaining which earldome of
 Arrane by the said Stewart being extraordinarie
 procured, seemeth to me not to be forgotten: and
 therefore I will set it downe as I haue had intelli-
 gence thereof, in this sort following. The old earle
 of Arrane (the duke of Chateaufaults eldest sonne
 and brother to John Hamilton the lord of Arbroth)
 being lunatique, and first committed to the custodie
 of his said brother the lord of Arbroth, was after ta-
 ken from that his tutor, and set ouer to James
 Stewart to haue the oversight of his person, and
 the ordering of his liuing. Which James Stewart
 being by nature and experience subtilly witted, and
 by authoritie and the kings fauor in great credit;
 found meanes partly by policie, partly by persua-
 sion, and partly by flatterie, to win from the lu-
 natike earle of Arrane, a grant and departure of
 all his right, title, and honor, to the lands & earle-
 dome of Arrane. Which when he had obtained of the
 said lunatique earle (who knew not what he did) he
 forthwith came to the said parlement or counsell
 house, or place of the assemblie of the nobilitie, bring-
 ing with him the grant of the earle of Arrane:
 whereby he had inuested this Stewart with the lands
 and countrie of Arrane. Which matter being fullie
 vnderstand there by the nobilitie, supposing by right
 dealing to haue furthered the purchase of this earl-
 dome by Stewart, did then by the decrees and the
 kings consent, establish, and also inuest him in the
 lands, and with the title of the earldome of Arrane;
 which he obtained by such meanes as are before tou-
 ched. Not vnlike vnto the courle which Mor-dacke
 (made gouernour of Scotland, in the yeare of Christ
 one thousand foure hundred and fix) sometime used
 for the obtaining of the earldome of Ross, from
 the daughter and heire of Alexander Leslie, intitule-
 led to the same earldome: the manner whereof I
 will here set downe *Verbatim*, taken out of Lesleus
 historie of Scotland, which deliuered the same in
 these words.

Breui post tempore Donaldus insularis Rossie co-
 mitatum vendicans, Hebridianos ad suas partes alli-
 cit: quo autem iure id fecerit hinc facillime liquebit.
 Walterus Lesleus vir nobilissimus, post insignem o-
 peram Romanis imperatoribus in extremo bello na-
 uatam, in Scotiam rediens, filiam Gulielmi comitis
 Rossensis (in praelia apud Holidonum occubuit)
 vna cum comitatu, dotis loco in coniugem accepit:
 ex qua vnum filium sustulit, Alexandrum inde co-
 mitem Rossensem, filiamque, quæ postea Donaldus
 Hebridiano nuptui data est. Alexander hic, filia Ro-
 berti gubernatoris in vxorem accepta, Euphemiam
 solum suscepit. Quæ adhuc virgo & rerum imperita,
 gubernatoris partim blanditijs, partim minis indu-
 cta, translatò in ipsum comitatu Rossensi, subito non
 sine gubernatoris opera (vt ferebatur) moritur: ac
 Donaldus qui amitam Euphemie Alexandri Leslei
 sororem vxorē habebat, hæreditario iure Rossie co-
 mitatum petens, collecta ex Hebridibus ingenti ma-
 nu in Rossiam venit: quam paruo negotio in ditio-
 nem suam redegit, Rossianis verum recipere hæredē
 non recusantibus. Thus much Lesle. Moreover at

The duke of
Lennox obtai-
neth the earle
Dorrons
lands.

the same parlement wherein this James Steward was aduanced to the earldome of Arrane, the king gaue vnto the duke of Lennox the lands that were belonging to the foresaid beheaded erle of Morton, which lands this duke not long reteining, made ouer his part to the earle of Angus, in recompense whereof, the duke obtained of the king the lordship of Methuen, which came to the kings possession by the death of Henrie Steward lord of Methuen, touching whom Buchanan composed these verses following, calling him Regulum Methueniæ, in this sort:

*Hic Henrice iaces primæuo in flore, dederunt
Indole cui nullum sæcula nostra parem.
Nemo fuit spes iudicijs cui credula certis,
Sponderet tantum Marte togæque decus.
Nunc pro spe, votis, expectatisque triumphis,
Cura, dolor, lachrymæ, mestitiæque subit:
At tu, mors annis quantum detraxit acerba,
Adijce de gazis posthuma fama tuis.*

A declaration
of the Scottish
faith, published
and confirmed
by the king.

During these creations of the nobilitie, in a parlement holden in Edinburgh the eight and twentieth of Januarie, in this yere one thousand five hundred fourescore and one, being the fourteenth of the kings reigne, were matters established, touching the ecclesiasticall gouernement, whereof I meane not fullie to set downe the same, sith my pen and purpose is bent to treat of politicall and not spirituall causes. Wherefore onelie determining but slenderlie, and by the waie to touch that matter, set forth in print at Cambridge, vnder the stamp of Thomas Thomas, printer for that vniuersitie, in this yere of Christ one thousand five hundred fourescore and six, we saie that the same booke, published by the Scots (and intituled, A generall confession of the true christian faith and religion, according to Gods word and our acts of parlement subscribed by the kings maiestie and his household, with diuers others, &c.) hath further, after the preface thereof this title giuen vnto it. The estates of Scotland with the inhabitants of the same, professing Christ Iesus & his holie gospel, to their naturall countreimen and to all other realms and nations, professing the same Iesus Christ with them, with grace, mercie, and peace from God the father of our Lord Iesus Christ, with the spirit of righteous iudgement of saluation.

After which title and salutation, the substance of the same booke, being declared in the forhead of the chapters following, conteineth these heads: First of God, then of the creation of man, next of originall sinne, fourthlie of the reuelation of the promise of the continuance, increase, and preservation of the church, of the incarnation of Christ Iesus, why it becommeth the mediator to be verie God and man, of election, of Christs death, passion, and buriall, of his resurrection, of his ascension, of faith in the holie-ghost, of the cause of good works, what works are reputed good before God, of the perfection of the law and the imperfection of man, of the church, of the immortalitie of soules, of the notes by which the true church is discerned from the false, and who shall be iudge of the doctrine, of the authoritie of the scriptures, of generall counsels, of their power, authoritie and cause of their conuention, of the sacraments, of the right administration of the sacraments, to whom sacraments apperteine, and of the ciuill magistrat, of the gifts frellie giuen to the church.

The discourse of all which matters, being in that booke largelie and iudiciallie handled, both for the declaration of the faith of those people, and for the further instruction of others, were shortly after the agreement therevnto in that parlement confirmed by the king, and commanded to be published and v-

sed through his realme, as appeareth by this his following precept, concerning the same.

The kings maiesties charge to all
commissioners and ministers,
within his realme.

Seeing that we and our household haue subscribed & giuen this publike confession of our faith, to the good example of our subiects, we command and charge all commissioners and ministers to craue the same confession of their parishioners, and to proceed against the refusers according to our lawes, and order of the church: deliuering their names and lawfull processe to the ministers of our house, with all hast and diligence, vnder the paine of fortie pounds to be taken from their stipend: that we with the aduise of our counsell, maie take order with such proud contemners of God, and our lawes. Subscribed with our hand at Holierood house one thousand five hundred foure score and one, the second daie of March, the fourteenth yere of our reigne.

Religion thus settled in Scotland, it fell herbypon, that Amies duke of Lennox, to which honoz he was not long before aduanced, as is alreadie set downe in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred thetyscore and ninetene, was now in this yere by on displeasure, conceiued against him by others of the nobilitie, banished Scotland, & enforced to returne into France, there to passe the rest of his life as he had done before. In whose exile was performed an old prophesie, which I haue heard, that a nag of five shillings should beare all the dukes of England and Scotland. For when this duke was out of the Scottish kingdome, there was neither duke in that countrie, or England. But as I greatlie fauor not these things, to yet finding manie of them to sort to vnhappie successe; I cannot altogether condemne them, especiallie, sith I find two other which concerning the last duke of England, being the duke of Summerfet, did prognosticate both the aduancement of religion by him, and that he should not long kepe his head vpon his shoulders, after that he began to make his statelie buildings. Of which propheticall verses, declaring the same, the first verse exprelling his name, was as followeth:

a Cessabit missa cum regnat equa marina.

The other prophesie mentioning his name of honoz was in this sort, as also the time of his fall:

b Aetatis sedes cum scandis ad alta per ades.

Pro certo credes quod caput perdere debes.

And to proue that Summerfet was manie yeares past called in Latine Aetatis sedes, I find this matter in Roger Wall sometime an herald lining in the time of Henrie the fift, who names him accordingly, when the said author excusing himselfe of all eloquence, and complaining of his owne rudenesse, sent his booke to M. John Summerfet to correct: which doctor being the kings scholemaster and physician, a great learned man well sene in the mathematickes, one that had written much therein, and verie eloquent also, was as this Roger Wall thought, most meete to haue the ouersight of his workes: which matter, as it is set downe in the latter end of the same worke of the acts of Henrie the fift, written by this Roger Wall, I shall not graue (although they belong not, and be vtterlie impertinent to the matters of Scotland) to set downe, both because I would not maime the author in telling his owne tale, and would a little recreate the reader by the ob- scuritie of the stile of Roger Wall, with some varie-

1582

The duke of
Lennox ban-
ished.

A digression
touching the
duke of Sum-
merfet.

a The mare
of the sea,
which backe-
ward is sea-
mare.
b Summers
seat, or Sum-
merfet.

Roger Wall
submitte
his worke
to the cen-
sure
of doctor John
Summerfet.

• Summerfet.

The commen-
tation of doc-
tor John
Summerfet.

tie of other than Scottish matter: for Nihil tam dulce, quod varietas non reficit. These therefore be the words of that witer.

Vecors, inculta, pauper & pannosa pagina, video quia nuditatem, pauperiem, ac ruditatem tuam expauescens patefeci: ad hoc immensa verecundia terrore ducta in lustralibus latebris, & abditis desertis, & inuis latitare decreuisti, fortassis tamen, si quinquam reperies qui nuditatem tuam operire, pauperiem tuam locupletare, & ruditatem tuam re-
10 formare dignaretur, induturafores animositatis spiritum processura in lucem. Eia igitur consilij meis adquiescere non deseras: & meis monitis edocta, doctoré gloriosum inuenies, qui Aestatis sedes gloriosum cognomen sortitus est. Hic Tulliani testamenti executor, purpura abisso quibus te vestiatur, bonorum Oratij ministrator, thesauris innumeris qui te ditet ac ipsius opulentissimæ imperatricis Rhe-

• Summerlet.

The comment-
dation of Doc-
tor John
Summerlet.

toricæ custos, gazarum, & ararij gemmis pretiosis, quibus ruditatis tuæ tenebras excutens, ipsum sydere-
20 rea politura perornare poterit, præ cæteris copia pleniori floret & abundat, hic est qui cæli empei rei sitû & mobilitatem, ac vacui, si quid extra ipsum reperiri possit: Chaos & confusionem primi mobilis, motus ac ornamenta sydereæ, & actam per ipsum inferiorum rapinam planetarum, cursus erraticos in suis epicyclis & retrogradationibus intellectui multum
30 difficiles, elementorum mixta coniugia, qualitates & actiuitates mutuas, omnium impressionum causas & effectus, & quicquid Aristotelicæ demonstrationes seu Hippocratici aphorismi suadere sufficiunt, nouit, rimatur & intelligit. Hic est quod plurimum ponderandum existimo, qui regalis spectoris sacrarium tantarum virtutum, tantæque literaturæ imballamauit
40 aromatibus, & corpus regium ab ægritudinum incommodis seruauit incolume, qui semper rei publicæ promotor & pauperum procurator extitit. En pagina vecors & misera tibi lutumæ consolationis ministrari materiam. Esto igitur fortis animi, & vt virum tantum attingas, quem me docente reperies ad iter
50 accingere. Verum quia dum regis assistit lateri, aut pauperum procurando negotia, aut rei publicæ bonum promouendo, vel regiam celsitudinem salutaribus exhortando artis salutigeræ consilij sic sollicitus redditur, vt vix ei quietis indulgeatur horula infra domum regiam, reuerentiam suam sollicitare nolit
60 præsumere, sed vsque ad mansionem suam propriam, quam per signa quæ tibi monstrabo inuenies omni expeditione ne pigriteris currere. Quum igitur iter tuum arripueris strata regia, qua per aliquot miliaria gradieris ad quandam semitam versus dextram, protensam non procul à quadam capella pulcherrima
70 foundationis regie in honorem sanctorum archangelorum Raphaelis, Gabraelis, & Michaelis, atque omnium angelorum sanctorum Dei, quam nuper procuratio sua construxerat, tritura multiplici ipsum manifestantem duces. In qua cum pauperum nudipedum ad suam domum confluentium impressa vestigia
80 perceperis: & eorundem redeuntium pedum calciatorum quos elemosyna sua iam peculi pelle vestij inuenies: & cum per eandem semitam nudos, esurientes & tristes ad habitaculum suum concurrerent prospexeris, & eisdem per suæ charitatis liberalitatem vestitos, saturatos, & gaudentes obvios habueris, scito quoniam hæc est via in tabernaculum ipsius, quem quæris ductrix infallibilis & directissima. Sup-
90 plica igitur pauperima pagina pauperibus illis, vt tibi Aestatis sede velint ostendere, &c. After which this Wall setteth downe the supplication, which his booke should dedicate to this doctor (when he hath found him) in these verses, beginning also with the same name of Aestatis sedes, in English Summerlet:

*Fertilis Aestatis florida sedes,
Morum multiplici luce refulgens,*

*Gloria doctorum gemma scientum,
Eloquij pelagus, lux medicina,
Pectore cælesti cælica condens,
Præradians alijs lumine mentis,
Cui patet ætherum candida turba,
Et motus primi mobilis orbis,
Nec latet eiusdem mira rapina,
Quid flammium ignis in orbe
Aereique sinu abdyta nostri?
Quæ fluit & refluit (piscis opimum)
Oceanum pelagus, quæ præ terram
Numina proficiunt prole feracem
• Natura probitas, norma, potestas,
Consilium, virtus, quicquid agatur,
Clara luce tua mente coruscant.
Hæc cumalata tua lucida virtus,
Musarum sedem pectore regis,
Et morum solum fausta parauit,
Nec minus à regis corpore morbos,
Funereasque minas cauta sagauit,
Seruans illa gaudia regni,
Et forrix inopum dextera larga.
Corporibus nudis frigore pellis,
Esuriem furias & famis iram,
Cogit in exilium prodiga mensa.
Doctor qui tanta dote refulget,
Me miseram miserans intuearis
Turpem complectere respice nudam,
Incultam polias, reijce mendas,
Vestes dilaceras consue clemens,
Sint medicina sitis pocula Cirre,
Quæ tibi plus reliquis copia præstat,
Et tua si pietas sordida purgans,
Si tergat maculas horrida limans,
Vt me fortuna fata fecundans,
Inter plebeos forte remotos,
Angelicum regis cernere vultum,
Præstet me fausta sorte beatam,
Et bene fatatam lata putarem,
Nobilis hæc doctor suscipe vota,
Cuius virtutes, inclita gesta,
Aeternis titulis fama perennet.*

Thus hauing exprested the words and verses of Roger Wall, which in Latine termed some hundred yeares passed (as you haue heard before) the name of Summerlet by the words of Aestatis sedes, I haue trulie bene the willing to set downe the same by waie of digression (besides the former declared causes which moued me thereto) for that I would not suffer to worthe a man as that John Summerlet was to be buried in obliuion. And for that I would in some part (as anie occasion maye serue therfore) make this worke of Roger Wall more common to the world, being onelie now in the hands of one painefull antiquarie. Wherefore in that sort, leauing our Englishmen, let vs retorne to the affaires of Scots and Scotland: intreating first of some thing done by them in the low countries, where one Steward a Scot, hauing had
Surius in comen-
de reb. in orbe
hisor. pa. 1062.

charge of men in some part of the low countries of Flanders, Zeland, and Holland, vnder William of Passaw, earle of Aurange, did now fall from the states of that countrie, emploie all his force on the king of Spaines side, and went to assist the prince of Parma (the deputie of king Philip in those parts) because the states did not paie to him and his soldiers their due stipend and wages for the wars. At what time also the garison of Burels were for the like cause in an vproze. But some portion of monie being offered unto them, they were for that time somewhat pacified. All which notwithstanding, one certaine Scot, called Lichfield, & surnamed Semple, being captaine of the garison of Lire, and long
unpaid

The Spaniards
arise and receive
Lire by a stratagem
devised by the Scots.

by paid his sallarie, for those warres did in baine manye times demand that monie due unto him. Wherebyon, imagining with himselfe how he might deceive Hietfield the gouernour of the citie, as they had beguiled him in deteining of his due, he deuised with a new stratagem to bring this towne into the subiection of Philip king of Spaine. Wherefore, feining himselfe that he would in the middell of the night with his people go forth to bring home some great bootie for his and the townes benefit, he departed the towne, & late in the night gathered together a great preie of catell, horses, oren, kine, shepe, and such like, with some prisoners of the kings part. All which he brought to the towne gate of Lire, and then commanded the gates to be opened vnto him, whereby they with their bootie might enter all at once. But the portier fearing at such time of night to let the gates full abroad, onelie opened a little wicket or doore, thereby to receiue Semple into the towne. Which thing Semple then perceiuing (& not finding all things to answer his expectation) feined that the enimies were hard at their backs, would kill them all, and recouer their bootie, vnlesse he did speedilie open the great gate, through the same to receiue them into the towne all at once. Then the portier believing all this to be true, forthwith set open the great gates of the citie, which done, the Scot entereth thereat, due those which kept the watch, possessed the towne, & into the same receiued the kings souldiours, which were not farre behind, but secretlie laie in wait expecting the successe of this deuise. By which meanes the Spaniards and their followers first toonne the market place, and the next daie after the calendrs of August reduced the whole towne of Lire vnder their owne subiection: the same Lire being a place well fenced, and set in such a convenient soile, that it would prohibit all passage and carriage to come to Antwerpe, Mecheline and Brueles.

Ambassador
fro the French
into Scotland.

After this, much about the beginning of September, monsieur de la Mot was sent from Henric the third the French king ambassador into Scotland, the outward effect of whose commission was to renew and conclude the old league of amitie betwixt those two nations, as it had been long continued betwene them in times past, which done, he returned, well accepted by his French master. After which in like sort the king of Scots sent the lord Seton ambassador into France to the same king Henric, which lord came to Paris in the beginning of March, and there remained about six weekes or more before he could find convenient passage for him to returne into his countrie, because there was wait laid (as was supposed) to the end that he might haue bene intercepted by some of his enimies, before he should haue attained the presence of the king his master.

1583
Ambassador
from the Scot
to the French.

But now as a little before I haue set downe the exploits done by the Scots in the low countries out of their owne nation, so I thinke it not amisse to adde to the same somewhat done by a Scot here in England, the summe whereof is after this manner. One William Creighton a Scot by birth, and a Jesuit by profession, which name of Creighton first came into Scotland, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three score and fix out of Hungarie amongst others with Agatha, the mother of Paul the wife to Malcolm king of Scots, hauing travelled the most part of Europe, had conference with one William Parrie an Englishman, by waie of discourse and argument touching such matter of treason as concerned the death of the quene of England. After which (Parrie being returned into England in Iamuarie following) this Creighton also, not tarrieng long behind him, did come from the

Lesleus lib. 6.
pag. 210.

parts of beyond the seas to take his iornie towards Scotland, who determining to passe through England, arrived here, was apprehended, & committed prisoner to the Tower of London, in such sort as before you haue heard that John Felle bishop of Rosse was staied by the duke of Bawer vpon suspicion, that the same bishop had dealt with the enimies of that prince against the state of his countrie. The cause wherefore the said Creighton was so committed, was for that he had about him diuerse plots for inuasions of this our realme of England. When he was thus prisoner in the Tower, William Parrie was after for the same treason apprehended, examined, committed also to the Tower, and finally executed on the second daie of March in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred foure score and foure. In the Februarie before which execution, sir Francis Walsingham knight, principall secretarie to hir maiestie of England, came to the Tower, examined the said Creighton and dealt with him, to vnderstand if the said Parrie had euer had conference with him in the parts beyond the seas touching that question, whether it were lawfull to kill hir maiestie of England or not, the which at that time the said Creighton called not to his remembrance; yet afterwards vpon better consideration thereof it fell into his mind, where, when, & on what occasion such speech had passed betwene the said Parrie and him. Wherebyon the twentieth daie of Februarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred foure score and foure, during the time that Parrie also was a prisoner in the Tower, this Creighton wrote to maister secretarie Walsingham a voluntarie letter penned all with his owne hand, which being already set downe in the historie of England is needlesse here to be repeated. Wherefore hauing thus said somewhat of this prisoner, we will leaue him still remaining in the same state, expecting some folowing successe of libertie to come to him, and returne our pen to the countrie of Scotland, thereof to set downe such occurrences as happened from this time.

A contention
betwene the
earle Dorton
and the lord
Johnstane.

In March was renewed a great & old contention betwene the lord Marwell earle Dorton warden of the west marches of Scotland, and the lord of Johnstane; the occasion of which new dissention proceeded of an old enimitie begun in the time of Dowglas earle Dorton beheaded, as before in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred eightie and one, touching the receiuing of the same wardenship. In which hurlie burlie the lord of Johnstane behaved himselfe verie rigorously against the lord Marwell, in blowing vp with gunpowder the lockes of the castell of Lochmaben. Which dissention secretlie after the death of Dowglas earle Dorton, continuing betwene the lord Marwell and Johnstane, with further increase of malice, they in this yeare sought a fresh reuenge thereof, with the lord Johnstane had not (before this) either power or meanes to encounter with the lord Marwell. But now the ladie Johnstane (being verie familiar and fauored with and of James Stewart earle of Arrane) obtained of the king some succors of men of warre against the lord Marwell earle Dorton, his husband (as was supposed) not being able otherwise to make his part good against the same earle. Wherebyon capteine Lamie and capteine Crane were sent with two companies of backbuts vnto the reliefe of the lord of Johnstane. Who being thus furnished, did in the kings name raise the nobilitie and countrie thereabouts to assist him with their power: which being had, he meant and therefore went to haue ioined with the said two capteins Lamie and Crane. But as man purposeth, and God disposeth quite

Robert Mar-
well bane bro-
ther to earle
Dorton sent
against cap-
teine Lamie.

Capteine La-
mie & Crane-
were ouer-
throwen.

The castles
Louchpoule
and Louch-
wad burnt.

The lord
Johnstane
forced to flee

Ladie John-
stane hath also
of the king.

The lord
Dorton co-
pounded the
contention
twene earle
Dorton and
the lord Jo-
stane.

quite contrarie to our determination. So the lard Johnstane was disappointed of that meeting; for the earle Morton (whose heedfull watch was not idle in learning out the deuises of his enemies, a needfull policie for all such as intend to bring great actions to effect) hauing intelligence by some of his friends tendering his safetie, of this determination and preparation of the lard Johnstane, and wiselie (as behoued him) seeing what danger might rise vnto him, if their two forces met, which would rise to a greater number than he were able to encounter, and iudging it best in the beginning to prouide for mischief, and to stop their passage, did prepare to present all their deuises, and for that cause sent his base brother Robert Sparwell capteine of Langholme with some horsemen and footmen vnder the conduct of James Fraiser brother to the lard of Fulforth, which Robert meeting on Craisford mere with the foresaid capteins Lamie and Crane-stane, before that they had joined with the lard Johnstane gaue the charge vpon them, and that so fiercelie as they overthrew the whole strength of his enemies, thus Lamie, took Crane-stane prisoner, and so handled the matter that all the rest were taken or slaine except some few, who fought their liues by the benefit of flight. After which victorie the report thereof came to the lard Johnstane, who desirous to be reuenged thereof, vied the helpe of other means when he perceived that force would not preuaile. And for that cause assembling such power as he had, he vied the strength of one element against another, of the highest against the lowest, of the heauen against the earth, of the fire against mettall, and of burning against fighting. For with all speed he hastened to the lands of the earle Morton, which he cruelly spoiled, and in the same did burne certeine houses and other places belonging to the earle, as Comers fræs, Duncoll, Colwhill, and such like. Wherevpon the earle Morton, who in like sort did not neglect his owne cause, but as opportunitie serued, sought the requitall thereof, did with the like furie, but with more hurt, enter the lands of Johnstane, utterlie spoiled them, and yet not so satisfied, committed to the fire both the castles of Louchhouse and Louchwood belonging to Johnstane, and the sundrie gentlemen of name, the friends to Johnstane, being persons of good sort, as the two brothers of Lokierbie, a brother of the lard Elanefraie, some of the sons of John of Johnstane of Holgill, with others. Which done, the earle Morton proceeded vnto further pursuit, and determining fullie to reuenge himselfe vpon Johnstane, and his followers, forced the lard Johnstane himselfe to flee his furie. Wherefore he fled to a strong house called the Bonshaw castle belonging to Edward Pywine of the Bonshaw, whome the earle pursued, and besieged in the same place, at what time he so battered the castle with artillerie, that the house was almost gotten. Which being perceined of those within, not able to make further resistance, they fell to parley, and so to composition; whereby in the end the matter was wholie compounded and ended betwixt them, by the mediation and furtherance of the lard Scrope of England, with certeine conditions to be performed as well on the part of the earle as of the lard Johnstane. But the coles of inward griefe being covered with cold ashes of outward reconciliation, did not long lie covered, but in the end began afresh to shew their fire. For the lard Johnstane falling from the said accord, vpon what occasion I know not, either for cause giuen by the earle Morton, or for an euill disposition in himselfe, or for both, they burst forth againe into the like conflict, e part taking, which in the end falling to the worst,

for the lard Johnstane, he was taken betwixt Linwall and the Warden ditches (where he was laid in ambush to haue performed some action against the said Robert Sparwell comming from the towne of Domsreies to Laugham from the earle Morton his brother) by William Carrutheris (baron of Holmence and capteine of the kings castell named Traife) being by the earle Morton appointed to encounter with the said lard Johnstane: which this baron was the moze willing to doe, because he intirely loued the earle, and had alwaies from the beginning followed the earles faction.

These things thus performed and the successe thereof comming to the kings knowledge, he grew so heauilie displeased with the earle Morton that he was scarce able to susteine the kings displeasure, by reason that the earle attempted these things against the kings mind, when the king had supported the lard Johnstane with men and weapons. But the kings displeasure onlie growing against the earle, was partlie for that the earle of Arrane did bitterlie exasperate the cause against him, and partlie by the persuation & lamentation of the ladie of Johnstane, whereof the last was enimie to the earle, as of dutie he ought in respect of hir husband, and the first (which was the earle of Arrane) became a bitter and heauie enimie besides all reason against earle Morton, because that Morton refused to exchange the baronies of Poke and Sparwell which with Arrane, which most instantlie required the same, in respect they adioined nere vnto other lands which Arrane had procured to himselfe. For although that Arrane would in place of those required lands haue deliuered others of no lesse value and honor (for he would haue giuen the baronie of Kinneile for the same) yet Morton had good cause and no lesse reason not to yeld thereto: as well for that Sparwell which was his ancient inheritance, and the first land which his ancestors had, and whereof they took the name of lord Sparwell; as for that, that there were manie of the surname of the Sparwells, who dwelling vpon these lands, would not become subiect to the earle of Arrane, as they must haue bene if he had departed with those lands; amongst which Sparwells so refusing to become tenants to Arrane, were John Sparwell lard of Petwarke, and William Sparwell lard of Poke.

This thus handled, the king assembled a parliament in Spae, wherein were certeine lawes enacted, which giuing occasion to some of the nobilitie and clergie to misconceiue thereof, and to depart the realme, did after minister cause to the king (for the moze discharge of his honour, the better explaining of the said lawes, and the manifesting of secret practises against him) to set downe this following declaration thereof to the view of the world. Wherein he shewed himselfe of a rare and good disposition, in that he would humble himselfe beneath the maiestie of his crowne, publikelie to render a reason to his neighbours and to his subiects of his dealings, towards such as were vnder his government, with he was not bound thereto, being to dispose of those his subiects according to the lawes of his realme and the customes of those countries. But before I set downe that declaration, I thinke it not vnmeet to saie some what of such things as went before, and were the cause of setting forth of the same declaration. There were some lawes in the same parliament enacted for the reformation of religion, which to the king seemed to be growne ouer dangerous, in seeking a certeine equalitie of government in the ecclesiasticall hierarchie. Vpon which law established, the earles of Angus and Spar, with diuers others of the temporallie and the spirituallie,

The lard Johnstane taken.

The king displeased with the earle Morton for the cause of the lard Johnstane.

The earle of Arrane would exchange lands with the earle Morton.

The Sparwells would not be subiect to the earle of Arrane.

Robert Sparwell base brother to earle Morton sent against capteine Lamie.

Capteine Lamie & Crane-stane overthrown.

The castles Louchhouse and Louchwood burnt.

The lard Johnstane forced to flee.

The lard Scrope compounded the contention betwixt earle Morton and the lard Johnstane.

as Andrew Meluine, and such as professed the purer and reformed religion (as it was termed) were informed for the vse of their conscience and for other causes, to banish themselves from their countrie, and to flie into England there to vse the libertie of their religion, and to prouide for the safetie of their persons, who comming into this realme, made their abode and sojourned at Norwich. About which time also of their departure out of Scotland, there was a supposed treason discovered by Robert Hamilton unto the king, intended to be practised against his maiestie, whereupon some were summoned upon suspicion, some were apprehended, and some were executed for the same cause. Of the first sort, the lord Blakater and George Dowglaste were summoned to the court upon suspicion that they were consenting and concealing to and of the same treasons. For the second part touching the same, the lord of Donchafell, the lord of Dunkreth, the lord of Baithkit, Robert Hamilton of Inchmachan, and James Sterling, were apprehended at the kings court: besides which John Hoppingell of the Wozes was taken at his owne house by the capteine of the kings gard, and the lord Kier with the lord Hains and other gentlemen were taken about Sterling; and lastlie the lord Donchafell and the lord Hains were executed, with the lord Ruthuine earle of Gowrie, treasurer of Scotland, who was beheaded in Scotland. Which being thus done, the king as is before said made this following declaration vpon the said acts of parliament, in which he sheweth reason and cause why he ought and might both make and execute those lawes, with a further explanation also of the same lawes deliuered in that declaration with these words.

The kings maiesties declaration of his acts confirmed in parlement.

Whereas as much as there is some enill affected men that goeth about so farre as in them lieth, to inuent lies and tales to slander and impaire the kings maiesties fame and honor, & to raise reports as if his maiestie had declined to papistrie, & that he had made manie acts to abolish the free passage of the gospell, god order and discipline in the church: which brutes are maintained by rebellious subiects, who would gladlie couer their seditious enterprises vnder pretense of religion (albeit there can be no god religion in such as raise rebellion to disquiet the state of their native soueraigne, and peruerse the doctine both stand against the oth, band, & obligation of their faith, whereunto they haue subscribed) therefore that his maiesties faithfull subiects be not abused with such slanderous reports, and his highnesse god affectionat friends in other countries maie vnderstand the verities of his vpright intention, his highnesse hath commaunded this breife declaration of certeine of his maiesties acts of parlement holden in spate one thousand five hundred foure score and foure, to be published and printed, to the effect that the indirect practises of such as slander his maiestie and his lawes maie be detected and discovered.

In the first act his maiestie ratifieth and approveth the true profession of the gospell, sincere preaching of the word and administration of the sacraments, presentlie by the goodnesse of God established within this realme, and alloweth of the confession of the faith set downe by act of parlement the first yere of his maiesties reigne. Likewise his highnesse not onlie professeth the same in all sinceritie, but (praised be God) is come to that ripenesse of iudgement by reading and hearing the word of God, that his high-

nesse is able to conuince and overthrow by the doctrine of the prophets and apostles the most learned of the contrarie sect. So that (as Plato affirmeth) that common wealth to be counted happy wherein a philosopher reigne, or he that reigne is a philosopher: he maie much more esteeme this countrie of Scotland to be fortunate, wherein our king is a diuine, and whose hart is replenished with the knowledge of the heauenlie philosophie: for the comfort not onlie of his god subiects and friends in other countries but of them that professeth the gospell euerie where, he being a king of great wisdom, and by his birth right borne to great possession, but much more his highnesse, vertue, godlinesse and learning, and dailie increase of all heauenlie sciences, doth promise and assure him of the mightie protection of God, and fauour of all them that feare his holie name.

In the second act his maiesties rofall authoritie ouer all estates both spirituall and temporall is confirmed: which act some of malice, and some of ignorance doth traduce, as if his maiestie pretended to be called the head of the church, a name which his maiestie acknowledgeth to be proper and peculiar to the sonne of God the sauiour of the world, who is the head, and bestoweth life spirituall vpon the members of his mysticall bodie, and he hauing receiued the holie spirit in all abundance, maketh euerie one of the faithfull partakers thereof, according to the measure of faith bestowed vpon them, of the which number of the faithfull vnder the head Christ, his maiestie acknowledgeth himselfe to be a member baptised in his name, partaker of the miserie of the crosse and holie communion, and attending with the faithfull for the comming of the Lord and the finall resurrection of Gods elect. And notwithstanding his maiestie surelie vnderstandeth by the scriptures, that he is the chiefe and principall member appointed by the law of God, to see God glorified, vice punished and vertue maintained within his realme: and the soueraigne iudgment of a godlie quietnesse & order in the common wealth, to appertene to his highnesse care and sollicitude. Which power and authoritie of his highnesse, certeine ministers being called before his maiestie for their seditious and factious sermons in stirring by the people to rebellion against their native king by the instigation of sundrie inquiet spirits) would in no wise acknowledge but disclaime his maiesties authoritie as an incompetent iudge: and especiallie one called master Andrew Meluine of a salt and fierie humour, blurring the pulpit of Saundots, without anie lawfull calling, and priuie at that time to certeine conspiracies attempted against his maiestie and crowne, went about in a sermon vpon a sundaie, to inflame the harts of the people by odious comparisons of his maiesties progenitors and counsell, albeit the dutie of a faithfull preacher of the gospell be rather to exhort the people to obedience of their native king, and not by popular sermons (which hath bene the euersion and decaye of great cities and common wealths, and hath greatlie in times past bred disquietnesse to the state thereby) to trouble and perturb the countrie. The said master Andrew being called before his highnesse, presumptuously answered that he would not be iudged by the king and counsell, because he had spoken the same in pulpit, which pulpit in effect he alleged to be exempted from the iudgement and correction of princes, as if that holie place sanctified to the word of God and to the breaking of the bread of life, might be anie colour to anie sedition in word or deed against the lawfull authoritie, without punishment. Alwaies his maiestie (being of himselfe a most gracious prince) was not willing to haue be-

He anie righe against the said master Andrieu, if he had humble submitted himselfe, acknowledged his offence, and craved pardon: who notwithstanding shewd of his owne guiltinesse, being prync to diuers conspirators before, fled out of the realme, whose naughtie & presumptuous refusing of his highnesse iudgement, was the occasion of the making of this second act: that is, that none should decline from his highnesse authoritie, in respect that the common proverbe beareth *Ex malis moribus bonae leges natae sunt*, which is, that Of euill manners good lawes proceed. And in verie deed it wanteth not anie right intolérable arrogancie in anie subiect called before his prince, professing and authorising the same truth, to disclaime his authoritie, neither do the prophets, apostles, or others (conducted by the spirit of God) minister the like example: for it is a great error to ascribe (as manie do) that princes and magistrats haue onlie power to take order in ciuill affaires, and that ecclesiasticall matters do onlie belong to the ministerie.

By which meanes the pope of Rome hath exempted himselfe and his cleargie from all iudgement of princes, and he made himselfe to be iudge of iudges, and to be iudged of no man: whereas by the contrarie, not onlie by the example of the godlie gouernours, iudges, and kings of the old testament; but also by the new testament, and the whole historie of the primitive church, in which the emperours being iudges ouer the bishops of Rome, deposed them from their seats, appointed iudges to decide and determine causes ecclesiasticall, and challenge innocent men, as Athanasius from the determination of the counsell holden at Tirus, and by infinit god reasons which shall be set before by the grace of God in an other seuerall worke, and shall be sufficientlie proued and verified. But this appereth at this present to be an untimely and unprofitable question, which hath no ground upon their part, but of the preposterous imitation of the pretended iurisdiction of the pope of Rome. For if there were anie question of this land of heresie, whereby the profound mysteries of the scriptures behoued to be searched forth, his maiestie would vse the same remedie (as most expedient) which the most godlie emperours haue used: and his maiestie following their example would allow the counsell of learned pastors, that by conference of scriptures the veritie might be opened, and heresie repressed.

But God be thanked, we haue no such controuersies in this land, neither hath anie heresie taken anie deepe root in the countrie; but that certeine of the ministerie, joining themselves to rebels haue travelled to disquiet the state with such questions, that the people might embrace anie sinister opinion of his maiesties vpright proceedings, and factions might be nourished and interteined in the countrie: neither is it his maiesties meaning nor intention in anie sort, to take awaie the lawfull and ordinarie iudgement in the church, whereby discipline and good order might decaye; but rather to preserve, increase, and mainteine the same. And as there is in this realme, iustices, constables, shiriffes, prouosts, bailiffes, and other iudges in temporall matters: so his maiestie alloweth that all things might be preferred in the order, and a godlie quietnes may be preferred in the whole estate; the synodall assemblies by the bishops, or commissioners, where the place was vsed to be conuenient, twise in the yeare, to haue the ordinarie triall of matters belonging to the ministerie and their estate: alwaies reseruing to his highnesse, that if they, or anie of them do amisse, neglect their dutie, disquiet the estate, or offend in anie such manner and sort, that they in no waies pretend anie

immunitie, priuiledge, and exemption, which onelie was inuented by the popes of Rome, to tread vnder foot the scepter of princes, and to establish an ecclesiasticall tyrannie within this countrie, vnder pretence of new inuented presbyters, which neither should answer to the king nor bishop vnder his maiestie: but should haue such infinit iurisdiction, as neither the law of God nor man can tollerat; which is onlie his maiesties intention to repress, and not to take awaie anie godlie or due order in the church, as hereafter shall appeare.

The third act of his maiesties foresaid parliament discharge all iudgements ecclesiasticall, and all assemblies which are not allowed by his maiesties parliament. Which act speciallie concerneth the removing and discharging of that forme, inuented in this land, called the presbyterie: wherein a number of ministers of certeine precincts and bounds, accounting themselves to be equall, without anie difference, and gathering vnto them certeine gentlemen and others of his maiesties subiects, blurpe the whole ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, & altereth the laws at their owne pleasure, without the knowledge or approbation of the king, or of the estate: a forme of doing without example of anie nation, subiect to a christian prince. The perill thereof did so increase, that in case it had not bene repressed in due season, & forbidden by his maiesties lawes, the same had troubled the whole countrie: and being tried by his highnesse to be the overthrow of his maiesties estate, the decaye of his crowne, and a ready introduction to Anabaptistrie, and popular confusion in all estates; his maiestie hath giuen commandement against the same. And that the reader may know the danger thereof by manie inconueniences, which thereby insue in this land, I will onlie set before one, whereby they may vnderstand what perill was in the rest.

The ambassadoz of France, returning home into his countrie, commanded the prouosts, bailiffes, and constable of Edinburgh to make him a banquet, that he might be receiued honourable according to the amitie of ancient times betwixt the two nations. This commandement was giuen on the saturday by his highnesse, and the banquet appointed to be on the monday. A number of the foresaid pretended presbyterie vnderstanding thereof, assembled themselves on the saturday in the morning, and presumptuously determined & agreed, that the ministers of Edinburgh should proclaim a fasting vpon the same monday; where their seuerall ministers one after another made three seuerall sermons, and inuented against the prouosts, bailiffes, and counsell for the time, and the noble men in the countrie; who repaired to the banquet at his maiesties command. The foresaid presbyterie called and perswaded them, and scarcely by his maiesties authoritie could be withhelden from excommunicating the magistrats and noble men, for obeying onlie his highnesse lawfull command; which the law of all countries called *Ius gentium*, requires towards ambassadoz of foreign countries. And not onlie in this, but innumerable other things, their commandement was proclaimed direalie, vnder the paine of excommunication to the kings maiestie and his lawes.

Which forme of proceeding ingendered nothing but disquietnesse, sedition, and trouble: as may manifestlie appeare, in that the especiall authors of the inuenting, promoting, and assisting of the foresaid pretended presbyterie, hath joined themselves with his maiesties rebels; and being sowne of the realme, in respect of their guiltinesse, hath discovered what malicious practises was deuised amongst them, if God had not in time provided remedie.

The

The other forme of iudgement, which his maiestie hath discharged, is the generall assemble of the whole cleargie in the realme: vnder pretense whereof a number of ministers from sundrie presbyteries did assemble, with some gentlemen of the countrie; whereof, some for that time (malcontents of the state) sought that colour as sauozers of the ministerie, by the which they haue practised manie enterprises in the realme: where there was no certeine law in ecclesiasticall affaires, but all depended vpon the said generall conuention, where the laws of the church were alterable after the number of voices, which for the most part succeeded vnto the most vnlearned of the multitude.

^a which is one of the estates of parliament.

This generall assemble amongst other things, did appoint and agree with his maiesties regents in his minozitie, that the estate of bishops should be maintained and authorized, as is registred in the booke of counsell, and subscribed by the commissioners for the time. Which order was obserued manie yeares, and bishops by their contents appointed to their diocesse, vntill within this late time, in assemblies holden at Dundee, and Glasgowe, respecting the foresaid ministers and assemblies, toke vpon them contrarie to their owne handwritting, to discharge the estate, and to declare the same to be vnlawfull in their pretended manner. And there commanded the bishops of the countrie, to demit and leaue their offices and iurisdictions, and that in no wise they should passe to the kings counsell or parliament, without commission obtained from their assemble: that they should confirme nothing in parliament and counsell, but according to their acts and iniunctions. And further, they directed their commissioners to the kings maiestie, commanding him and the counsell vnder paine of the censures of the church (whereby they vnderstood excommunication) to appoint no bishop in time to come, because they had concluded that estate to be vnlawfull. And notwithstanding, that which they would haue effected in the bishops, they purposed to erect in themselves, desiring that such commissioners as they should send to parliament and counsell, might be authorized in place of the estate: whereby it should haue come to passe, that whereas now his maiestie may select the most godlie, learned, wise, and experienced of the ministerie, to be on his maiesties estate, his highnesse should haue bene by that means compelled to accept such as the multitude, by an od content of the most vnlearned, should haue appointed, which could not tend but to the ouerthrow of the realme.

After they had discharged bishops, they agreed to haue superintendents, commissioners, and visitors: but in the end they decerned that there should be no difference amongst the ministers, and imagined that new forme of presbyterie, whereof we haue spoken before. Neither was there anie other apparance that they should haue steied from such baslie alterations in the common-wealth, which could not but continuallie be disquieted, where the law of conscience, which they maintained by the sword of cursing, was subiect to such mutations, at the arbitrement of a number, thereof the most part had not greatlie tasted of learning. At once the foresaid assemble was accustomed, not onelie to prescribe the law to the king and estate, but also did at certeine times appoint generall fastings throughout the realme; especiallie, when some factioner in the countrie was to moue anie great enterprise. For at the fast, all the ministers were commanded by the assemble to sing one song, and to crie out vpon the abuses (as they termed it) of the court and estate for the time: whereby is most certeine great alte-

rations to haue ensued in this land; while at the good pleasure of God, and his blessing towards his maiestie, the pretense of the last fast was discovered, and his highnesse deliuered from such attempts, whereby his maiestie hath bene iustlie moued to discharge such conuentions, which might import so preiudiciallie to his estate.

But especiallie his maiestie had no small occasion, whereas the same assemble being met at Edinburgh, did authorize and auow the fact perpetrated at Ruthuen, in the taking of his highnesse most noble person. The which deed notwithstanding, with the aduise of his estates in parliament accounted to be treason, the said assemble esteeming their iudgement to be the soueraigne iudgement of the realme, hath not onlie approued the same, but also ordeined all them to be excommunicate that would not subscribe and allow the same. So the acts of this assemble, and the lawes of the estate directed, wete in ciuill matter, with the which the assemble should not haue medled, it behoued his highnesse either to discharge himselfe of the crowne, or the ministerie of the forme of the assemble, which in deed of it selfe, without the kings maiesties licence and approbation, could not be lawfull, like as generall counells at no time could assemble, without the commandement of the empero; for the time. And our king hath no lesse power within his owne realme than anie of them had in the empire. Vea the bishop of E. And whereas had not in time of poperie, power to conuent the bishops and clergie out of their owne diocesse, without licence giuen before by his highnes most noble progenito; of god memorie, and the causes thereof intimate and allowed.

Notwithstanding that his maiesties intention and meaning mate fullie be vnderstood, it is his highnesse will, that the bishop or commissioners of anie diocesse or prouince, or part thereof, shall at their visitation appoint in euerie parish, according to the greatnesse thereof, some honest, vertuous, and discret men, to aid and assist the minister, and to haue the ouersight and censure of the maners and behauior of the people of that parish. And if there be anie notable offense, worthe of punishment, that the bishop and commissioners be aduertised thereof, who shall haue an officer of armes to be assistant for the punishment of vice and execrations to follow therevpon: that they who contemne the godlie and lawfull order of the church, maie find by experience his maiesties displeasure, and be punished according to their desertings. And further, his maiestie vpon necessarie occasions which shall fall forth, by diuers maners of waies amongst the clergie, vpon humble supplication made to his highnesse, will not refuse to grant them licence to assist the bishops, commissioners, and some of the most vertuous, learned and godlie of their diocesse, where such ecclesiasticall matters, as apperteine to the vniformitie of doctrine and conuersation of a godlie order in the church, maie be intreated and concluded in his maiesties owne presence, or some of his honorable counsell, who shall assist for the time: where if necessitie so require, a publike fast throughout the whole realme maie be commanded, and by his maiesties authoritie proclaimed, to auoid the imminent displeasure and danger of the wrath of the Lords iudgements, which is the right end of publike humilitie, and not vnder pretense thereof to couer such enterprises, as haue heretofore disquieted and troubled the peace of this common wealth.

The twentieth act ratifieth and approueth, and establisheth the estate of the bishops within the realme, to haue the ouersight and iurisdiction, euerie one in their owne diocesse: which forme of gouernement, and

and rule in ecclesiasticall affaires, hath not onlie continued in the church from the daies of the apostles, by continuall succession of time, and manie martyrs in that calling shed their blood for the truth: but also this realme embraced and receiued the christian religion, the same estate hath bene maintained, to the welfare of the church, and quietnes of the realme without anie interruption, vntill within these few peares, some curious and busie men haue practised to induce into the ministerie an equalitie in all things, as well concerning the preaching of the word, administration of the sacraments, as likewise in discipline, order, and policie. The which confusion his maiestie finding by most dangerous experience, to haue bene the mother and nurse of great factions, seditions, and troubles within this realme, hath with aduise of his highnes estates, aduisedlie concluded, the said pretended partie in discipline, orders and policie in the church, to be no longer to be tolerated in his countrie, but the solicitude & care of all churches in one diocesse to apperteyne to the bishop and commissioners therof, who shall be answerable to God, and his maiestie, and estates, for the right administration and discharge of the office of particular ministers, within the bounds of his iurisdiction. For as it becommeth his maiestie, as Eusebius writeth of Constantinus the great, to be a bishop of bishops, and vniuersall bishop within his realme, in so far as his maiestie should appoint euery one to discharge his duetie: which his highnesse cannot, his countrie being large and great, take him to euery minister that shall offend and transgresse against dutie, or quarrell with the whole number of the ministerie: but it behoueth his maiestie to haue bishops & ouerseers vnder him which maie be answerable for such bounds, as the law and order of the countrie hath limited and appointed to euery one of them. And that they hauing accesse to his maiesties parlement and counsell, maie intercede for the rest of the brethren of the ministerie, propone their graces vnto his highnesse and estates, and receiue his maiesties fauorable answer therein. The which forme doth preferue a godlie quietnesse, vntie, concord and peace in the estate, and one vniforme order in the church. As contrariwise, the pretended equalitie diuideth the same, and vnder the pretence of equalitie maketh the same of the most craftie and subtle dealers to be aduanced and enriched: and in pretending of partie, to seeke nothing but their owne ambition and aduancement aboue the rest of the simple sort.

And notwithstanding that his maiestie hath reestablished the said estate, it is not his highnesse will and intent, that the foresaid bishop shall haue such full power as to doe within his diocesse what he pleaseth. For his maiestie cannot allow of anie popular confusion, wherein (as the proverbe saith) Nulla tyrannis equiparanda est tyrannidi multitudinis, that is: No tyrant can be compared to the tyrannie of a multitude, hauing commandement and power in his hands: so on the other part his maiesties will is, that the bishops authoritie in anie graue matter, be limited to the counsell of thirtene of the most ancient, wise, and godlie persons of his diocesse, selected out of the whole synodall assemblee of the prouince: by whose aduise, or at the least the most part thereof, the weightie affaires of the church maie be gouerned to the glorie of God, and quietnes of the realme. Further it is his highnesse will and commandement, that their bishops and commissioners twise in the yeare, to wit, ten daies after Easter, and the first of September, hold their synodall assemblies in euery diocesse, for the keeping of good orders therein: and if anie be stubborne, or contemne within these

bounds the good order of the church, that it maie be declared vnto his maiestie, and punished to the example of others, according to their desertings. Besides this it is his maiesties meaning or intent, that such bishops or commissioners as shall be appointed, shall receiue their onelie and full commission of his maiestie without admission or dinarie, by such as are appointed to that effect in the church: but hauing his highnesse nomination, presentation, and commendation as lawfull and onlie patrons, they to be tried and examined, that their qualities are such as they are able to discharge their cure and office. And if it shall happen anie of the said bishops or commissioners, to be negligent in their office, or to be slanderous or offensive in their behauior, life, and manners, in time to come, it is not his highnesse will, that they shall be exempted from correction, notwithstanding anie priuilege of his highnes estate, counsell or parlement: but their labors, trauels, diligence and behauiors, to be tried in the generall assemblee, not consisting of a confused multitude, as it was before; but of such worshipfull persons as is heretofore prescribed in his highnesse presence, or his deputies to that effect.

Lastlie his maiestie giueth commission to the said bishops or commissioners at their visitations, to consider in that part of the countrie, the enterpise, or interpretation of the scripture, by conference of a certeine number of the ministerie within those bounds, maie be most commodiouslie once in euery fixtene daies. For as his maiestie inhibits all lawfull meetings, that maie ingender trouble and contention in the countrie: so his maiestie is well affected to see the ministerie increase in knowledge and vnderstanding, and by all meanes to fortifie and aduance the same. Wherein his highnesse commandement is, that a graue, wise, and sage man shall be appointed president, who maie haue the oversight of these bounds, and be answerable therefore to the bishop, his counsell and synod; and he to be respected reasonable for his paines, at the modification of his pends: that all things maie be orderlie done in the church, peace & quietnesse maintained in the realme, and we deliuered from apparant plagues, and the blessings of God continued to the comfort of our posteritie. And in the meane time his highnesse inhibits & expresse forbids vnder the paines contained in his maiesties acts of parlement, & all other pains arbitrable at his maiesties sight & counsell, that no minister take in hand to assemble themselves for the foresaid cause, without the appointment and order taken by the said bishops or commissioners, whereby his highnesse maie be certeinlie informed, that the foresaid ministers assemble not, to meddle with any ciuill matters, or affaires of estate, as was accustomed before; but onelie to profit in the knowledge of the word, and to be comforted one by another in the administration of their spirituall office: which his highnesse wisheth them faithfullie to discharge, and then to call to God, that his maiestie maie in a prosperous reigne enioie god and long life, and continue and increase in the feare of the almighty.

Besides which, the king at the end of this his intention, did further articulate his intention into sundrie heads as here followeth.

The kings intention drawne into
certeine articles, and published
in print.



As maiesties intention is, by the grace of God, to mainteine the true and sincere profession of the gospel, and preaching thereof within his realme.

S. J.

2 His

2 His maiesties intention is, to correct and punish such as seditiously abuse the truth, and factiously apply or rather bewaite the text of the scripture to the disquieting of the state and disturbing of the commonwealth, or impairing of his highnesse and counsels honour.

3 His maiesties intention is, if anie question of faith and doctrine arise, to conuocate the most learned, godlie, wise, and experimented pastors, that by conference of scriptures the veritie may be tried, and all heresie and schisme by that means expressed.

4 His maiesties intention is, that for the keeping of god order in euerie paroch, certeine ouerscers to the good behaviour of the rest, be appointed at the visitation of the bishop or bisshour, who shall haue his maiesties authoritie, and officers of armes concurring for the punishment of vice.

5 His maiesties intention is, to mainteine the exercise of prophesie for the increase and continuing of knowledge amongst the ministerie: in which a wise and a graue man selected by the bishop or commissioner at the synodall assemblie, shall render account of the administration of those bounds, where the exercise is holden, for which cause some respect of living shall be had vnto him, who susteins that burthen.

6 His maiesties intention is, not to derogate from the ordinarie iudgement of matters of the church by the ordinarie bishops, their counsels and synods: but if anie of them doe amisse, and abuse their calling, to take order for correcting, amending and punishing thereof.

7 His maiesties intention is, not to hinder or state anie godlie or solid order, grounded vpon the word of God, and order of the primitive church, but that the ministers of the word meddle themselves onelie with their owne calling, and iudge not fearefully of the estate.

8 It is his maiesties intention, that the presbyteries consisting of manie ministers and gentlemen, at Landwar or otherwaies, be not further tollerated in his realme: but the exercise of iurisdiction of all churches to be in the hand of the bishop or commissioner, and their counsels and synods.

9 It is his maiesties intention, that the bishops or commissioners assemblie not anie generall assemblie out of the whole realme, without his maiesties knowledge and licence obtained therevnto: which vpon supplication his highnesse will not denie, that an vniforme order may be obserued in the whole realme, and the bishops and their diligences there tried and examined, and the complaints of euerie particular heard and discussed.

10 It is his maiesties intention to assist this assemblie himselfe, or by a noble man of his counsell, his highnesse deputie.

11 It is his maiesties intention, that when anie paroch findeth necessitie of anie fast, they informe the occasion to the bishop or commissioner and their counsell, that they may vnderstand the cause to be lawfull, as likewise the bishop of the diocesse finding lawfull occasion, may with the same, with his counsell preferre anie publike humillation.

12 It is his maiesties intention, that a generall fast throughout the whole realme, shall not be proclaimed but by his maiesties commandement, or by a generall counsell, wherin his maiestie or his highnesse deputie is present.

13 It is his highnesse intention, that the bishops in the realme in euerie diocesse with their counsell proceed into the ecclesiasticall gouernement, but as is said with a counsell, that both tyrannie and confusion may be auoided in the church.

14 It is his maiesties intention, that commissi-

oners be directed vniuersallie throughout the whole realme, to establish a godlie order, and that his maiesties commissioners take order presentlie for the translation of such ministers, whose trauels they esteeme may more conuenientlie and profitablie serue in an other place.

These things was the king satne to publish, to state the euill report of such as went about to touch him for the breach of the christian order in religion, which being nothing but that which seemeth answerable to naturall sense & princelie maiestie, should neither by malice haue moued, nor for colour of religion procured anie beyond the warrant of the word of God, or the duetie of naturall allegiance to resist the kinglie ordinance, or to lift vp their sword or word against him, who being a god in earth, presenteth the maiestie of the God of heauen. But leauing the discourse of these things to preachers, to whom it belongeth to instruct vs in our dutie to God, to our prince, & to our neighbours, we will turne againe to the other following occurrences of Scotland. And yet before we speake anie thing of those matters, I haue in this place as well as in manie other spoken of parlements & acts of parlement, I thinke it not amisse to set downe somewhat collected out of authors touching their manner and order of parlement, and that the rather because the same consisteth of three estates, and the princes confirmation as our parlement doth, from whence it seemeth to me that they haue set their light. Touching which, Lellesius in his Scottish historie lib. 1. pag. 75. vnder the title of Leges Scotorum, writeth in this sort. Qui vero seculi negotijs sese implicantes in ecclesiasticorum album non referuntur, legibus, quas reges descripserunt, aut regum voce confirmatas, tres regni ordines sanxerunt, continentur, has partim Latino, partim Scotico sermone confirmatas, regni municipales leges vocamus: libro qui leges Latine scriptas continet, titulus (regiam maiestatem) præfigitur, quod ab illis vocibus libri exordium ducatur. Reliquis legum libris, comitiõrũ (quæ populari sermone parlamenta dicimus) acta inscribuntur. Quanquam hic aduertendum, nos ita lege municipali teneri, vt si causa multis controuersijs implicata (quod sæpe incidat quæ legibus nostratibus non possit dirimi, statim quicquid ad hanc controuersiam decidendam necessarium censetur, ex ciuilibus Romanorum libris promatur. Sed si quis legum nostrarum originem velit conquistè inuestigare, intelligat potestatem has ferendi antiquandique trium ordinum suffragijs liberè in publico latis regis assensu confirmatis esse positam. On which parlements so assembled, consisting of the three estates, & the princes confirming voice (in the beginning whereof the king goeth to the place where that assemblie is made, to keepe such parlement attired in his regall garments, with the sword and other ornaments, the ensignes of his kingdome and kinglie authoritie, caried before him, attended on with all his nobilitie and cleargie) those common people will manie times giue such his names as seemeth best liking to themselves, and is most answerable to the nature & order of that parlement, as we also doe here in England, whereof I could produce manie examples of both nations, which at this time I will forbear, and onelie set downe one profe (as well of England as Scotland) to confirme the same, least in passing it ouer without some example thereof, I might make a vaine shew of knowledge consisting in naked words, without anie sound matter. Wherefore I saie, that as in England in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred fiftie and eight, being the two and fortieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, the parlement

The running
parlement.

Lellesius.

The par-
lement of Scot-
land consisteth
of these estates.

Lellesius li. 4
pag. 133.

Parlements
nicknamed.

The made
parlement.

The running
parlement.

Lesleus.

ment held at Oxford by the lords against the king, was called Parliamentum insanum, because manie things were there intreated which turned to the death of diuerse noble men. So the Scots in like maner bynamed a parlement, in the yeare of Christ 1556, (being the fouretenth yeare of Marie the now imprisoned quene of Scotland) and called the same a running parlement, because there were manie intermissions and remouings during the continuance thereof, as appeareth by Lesleus in these words. *Aestate sequenti habita sunt Edinburgi trium ordinum comitia, in quibus domini Brunstonius, Grangius, Balnauus, & alij nonnulli, quorum bona a gubernatore publicata fuerunt, singulari regis Francie commendatione dignati, fame atque bonis restituti sunt. Hac vero comitia quod intermissa, potius quam omissa, quasi continuarentur, nomen a vulgo acceperunt, vt currentia dicerentur.* Thus much being said about their parlements, let vs againe fall with our pen into the other matters of Scotland, which followed the former parlement assembled in Maie, and moued the king to make that declaration thereof which I haue before set downe.

About the time that the earle Gowrie or Gowrie was as before is remembred beheaded, the king did roiallie set forward his iourneie, and possessed the towne of Sterling, in which the said earle was executed, hauing a sister married to Lesle earle of Rothos, and a daughter married to Steward earle of Atholl. After the death of the said earle Gowrie, lord treasurer of Scotland, the king bestowed that office vpon Grahame earle of Montrose, who had married the lord Momands sister, which name of Grame is supposed to be deduced from Grahame, who in the yeare of Christ foure hundred twentie and two, resisted the Romans, inuading the Picts and Scots, for when Victorinus the Romane legat, had againe commanded a trench or fence to be made from the castell of Abincorne to Cluide, the same was vtterlie overthrowne and cast abroad by the noble Capteine Grame, of whom as is supposed the familie of the Grames lining at this daie had their originall, the same place to this daie being called the trench of Grame or Grames trench.

The tenth of September (after that he was sent for by the quene of England vpon certeine articles laid against him) did George Talbot erle of Shrewsburie (a graue and honourable person, who had Marie the imprisoned quene of Scots in his custodie at Sheffeld castell) repaire to London according to his dutie, to answer those things which should be objected against him, who comming to London verie honozable attended on with his owne retinue, amounting to the number of two hundred horse, and with some few others of the quenes men, which were sent to bring him by, repaired to his house at Coleherbert in London from whence in Nouember going to the court to answer the things to be objected vnto him, about the custodie and vsage of the same quene of Scots, which had manie yers bene vnder his charge, he answered the matter verie honozable, and to his good discharge, being then dismissed of the keeping of the same quene of Scots. During whose being here at London, the quene of Scots was appointed to the charge of sir Rafe Sadler knight banneret, a graue and old counsellor to the state of England, and chancelor of the dutchie of Lancaster; with whom was also ioined in the same commission John Summers esquier, cleerke of the signet, a wise and modest gentleman, well sene in the languages, excellent at deciphering, and brought by vnder it at worthy and rare witted gentleman; doctor Nicholas Wotton, of whom I haue spoken moze in the historie of England. These hauing this

quene thus committed vnto them, did (as persons carfull of so weightie a charge) remoue hir to a place of good strength, and conueled hir to be kept in the castell of Tutburie, where she (not remaining long in their custodie) because they were remoued and others put in place, was afterward about Maie following as anon shall appeare, committed to the charge of sir Aimes Paulet one also of the priuie counsell of England, hauing before bene ambassador legier in France, a person descended of an ancient and honourable familie, with whom and vnder whose charge she still remaineth at this present in the said castle of Tutburie.

But to leaue that matter, we saie that about the tenth daie of Januarie following this discharge of the earle of Shrewsburie, sir Lewis Valentine knight, iustice, clerke, and maister of the ceremonies of the kings house, which office as I haue bene credible informed by a Scot (but how trulie I leaue to others) his father, his grandfather, and great grandfather before him, did iniole, and to whom most of the nobilitie of Scotland, either by affinity, consanguinitie, or aliance, were linked in blood, a goodlie young gentleman about the age of thirtie yeares, was sent ambassador into England for the redeliuerie and accusation of the erle of Angus and Marre, and the other nobles which were fled out of Scotland into England for a supposed treason wrought by them against their king, whose redeliuerie was required of the quene of England, to the end the king might execute the law vpon them. In which his ambassage he behaued himselfe before the counsell of England so grauelie and learnedlie, that the said earles were sent for from Norwich (where they sojourned before his comming) to Westminster, there to answer to such things as should be laid to their charge by the said sir Lewis Valentine. Whereupon after that the said ambassador had remained in England at London (honozable entertained and feasted of the nobilitie and others) by the space of seuentene weeks, he was dispatched into his countrie with answer, that hir maiestie would shortly send an ambassador into Scotland which should fullie satisfie the king. Whereupon the said sir Lewis Valentine departed from London on the tenth daie of Maie following, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred eightie and five, and so returned into Scotland; much about which time, as is before a little touched, was Marie quene of Scots, remaining in the custodie of sir Rafe Sadler in the castell of Tutburie, committed to the keeping of sir Aimes Paulet.

After this the quene of England the ninetenth daie of the said moneth of Maie dispatched in ambassage into Scotland, Edward Wotton esquier, a gentleman of good descent, and one whose ancestors had honozable & faithfullie serued manie princes of England, as well in the place of priuie counsellors, as also in manie ambassages into forren nations: which ambassador being of yeares not much more than the said sir Lewis Valentine, had traueled the most part of Europe, and had before time bene ambassador for the quene of England into Portugal. This gentleman so sent from the quene of England to the king of Scots, attended on by other English gentlemen, departed as is before said from London towards Scotland the ninetenth of Maie, who remaining at Berwike about thre daies, did there receiue his conduct from the king of Scots to passe into his kingdome; which once obtained, he presently entred that land on Whitlun dæ, being the nine and twentieth daie of the said moneth of Maie, and so came that daie to Edinburgh, being first at his entrance into the Scottish borders recti-

S. l. ij.

ued

Lesleus li. 4.
pag. 133.

1585

ued by the lord Hume and his retinue, who conueied them to Seton house, where they were interteined by the lord Seton: after which when the ambassador was departed about halfe a mile from the said lord Setons house, he was met with sir Robert Meluin knight, maister William Keith one of the kings chamber, and others, which conueied him that night to Edinburgh. The next morrow (after that the English ambassador was come to the citie of Edinburgh) being Whitsundaye, the ambassador was 10 after dinner brought to the kings presence, where he had full audience for the deliuerie of his ambassage, consisting vpon the confirming of the old and concluding of a new league of amitie betwene the two nations of England and Scotland; which the king accepting in honorable part, did for that time dismisst the ambassador, buttill the minds & consents of the nobilitie might be vnderstood and had. With which answer the ambassador then satisfied, took leave of the king for that present, and remained still at Edinburgh some fortnight, interteined with 20 sports of delights answerable to the course of the yere, and the dutie of an ambassage. From thence the ambassador attending on the king was conueied to Dumfermling, where the king remained some time to repose himselfe, progressing from thence to Falkland, and so to saint Andrews, hauing the ambassador alwaies with him. When the king was come to saint Andrews, the noblemen and states of the realme repaired thither to hold a parlement, according to the former appointment.

But whilst these things did thus passe at saint Andrews, the time drew on, when the borderers of both the nations of England and Scotland should assemble according to the custome of the true daies, there to determine for recompense of all such iniuries as each people had offered to other, in conueying of cattell or other booties from their borders; for which cause there did about the sixteenth daie of Iulie assemble the people of both the borders, and the 40 wardens of the same; at what time the lord of Fernhurst warden of the Scottish borders, and sir Francis Russell knight lord Russell, and sir John Foster knight warden of the middle marches came with their companie to the borders of Scotland, not far from Bertwike, and so entred into speech with the Scots of such causes for which they repaired thither. After when the wardens were set vpon the bench to heare and determine the same, there did suddenly arise among the people a contention, whereby followed at the first some small fraie, which being perceived by sir Francis Russell, he arose from the bench and called for his horse, who meaning to appeale the matter, went among the preale. At what time a certaine number of shot comming on him, he was suddenly, but most vniustlie, slaine with a peece amongst the rest discharged against him by a Scot boine about that place (suspected by the most to be the brother of the lord of Fernhurst) contrarie to the nature of such assemblies, where each part 60 should labor for quiet sith publike faith that such times are given, that euerie one shall retorne home without anie damage or iniurie offered by anie side. The losse of which sir Francis Russell, being a gentleman of great hope, was much lamented of the English, and that especiallie sith his vntimelie death so iniuriouslie (by the rule of Arrane, as the common fame went) procured and so suddenly performed, in the five and thirtieth yere of his age, did bereaue the realme of England of a goodlie young person, well staied in gouernement, bountifull, wise, and vertuous, whose death happening the daie before that his honorable father the earle of Bedford (being of the same christian and surname) departed the world, oc-

casioned T. G. first in Latine, and then in English, to set downe certaine funerall and mourning verses touching both the father and the son in these words:

*En duo Francisci subito occubere, simulque
Et pater & natus, Russella splendida stirpis
Lumina, quos binos mors abstulit atra diebus.
Londini, comitem prouecta etate parentem,
Finibus ac Scotia natum florentibus annis,
Ille perit morbo, insidijs cadit alter iniquis:
Dum miser occulta traiecit viscera glande
Incaute Scotus, heu ficta sub nomine pacis.
Occidit ante patrem, non multis filius horis.
Anglia magna tibi est rapta iactura parentis,
Nec leuis est nati, de quo spes optima fulsit.
Quis scit an irati foret hac vindicta Iehoua,
De vitijis penas dum nostris sumit acerbas?*

The English thereof is in this forme drawne into verse by the first author of them T. G. in this sort:

Lo Francies twaine at once
both suddenlie are gone:
Two shining stars of Russells race,
the father and the sonne.
Whom in two daies vntimelie death
hath from vs caught awaie:
The earle in London natures debt,
the father old did paie.
The sonne his heire, lord Russell hight,
of courage fresh and yeares:
On Scottish borders lost his life,
whose want now well appeares.
The father did by sicknesse die,
the sonne through fraud vniust:
By Scottish hand with gun was slaine,
whilst nothing he mistrust.
The sonne before the fathers death
not manie houres was slaine:
Great is thy losse, o England, of
these peerelesse nobles twaine.
Thy fathers worthie vertues late
knowne well (and long) to all:
From fathers steps the sonne great hope
gaue that he would not fall.
Who knowes if God the Lord of hosts,
this punishment doth send:
Our sinnes so great thereby to scourge,
and wicked liues amend?

Of which rule of Bedford (hauing occasion to mention him in this place by the death of his sonne) I suppose not amisse to saie somewhat more, especiallie concerning such matters whereof he was a dealer with the imprisoned quene of Scots, when she was at libertie and in hir best estate.

In the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred and thre score, Francis the French king died at Orleans in the kalends of December. After which, in the yere following, Marie the quene of Scots, Dowager of France and widow to the said Francis, sojourned a certaine time in France about Januillie and Lozeine, where the chiefe part of hir friends & kindred (being of the house of Guise) did remaine, during whose abode in France, and before she went into Scotland: this earle of Bedford and sir Nicholas Throgmorton (ligier ambassador in France for the quene of England) were sent vnto the quene of Scots to conclude with hir, that the agreements and conditions of peace, which were established a litle before at Leith should be established by hir consent. Whereunto for answer she affirmed, that she could not determine anie thing therein, unless that she were present with the nobilitie of hir kingdom, to whom the administration of the realme of Scotland was committed at the intreatie of the English. And that when she was in Scotland, where by Gods good furtherance she hoped shortly for to be

be, the would earneſtly trauell all the might for the eſtabliſhing of all good conditions of peace. Againe when the king of Scots now liuing was by his god-fathers to be taken from the font and to be regenerate in Chriſt, in the yere of our ſaluation one thouſand five hundred threſcore and ſix, being the foure and twentieth yere of the reigne of the ſame Marie queene of Scots, this earle of Bedford as ambaffador from the queene of England, was ſent to the queene of Scots by waie of deputiſhip to preſent the perſon of his miſtreſſe requeſted to chriſten the pong prince of Scotland. At what time this earle of Bedford preſented, in the behalfe of the queene of England, one font of gold curiouſly wrought, weighing thre hundred thirtie and thre ounces, and amounting in value to the ſumme of one thouſand fortie thre pounds & ninetye ſhillings. Thus this much ſpoken by the way of the earle of Bedford.

The report of the death of ſir Francis Ruſſell before mentioned, came to the knowledge of the ſaid Edward Wotton, as yet remaining ambaffador in Scotland, and then lieng at S. Andrews: where vpon the ambaffador went to the king, and opening vnto him the iniurie done to the Engliſh by the procurement, as was thought, of James Stewart erle of Arrane then chancellor: he obtained that the king (ſinding the matter to ſound both to reaſon and iuſtice) did command the ſaid earle to priſon, where he remained ſome time, and was after at the ſute of William Stewart brother of the earle, vpon the kings remouing from ſaint Andrews, releaſed from the priſon, and committed to reſtreint in his owne houſe, untill ſuch time as he had cleared himſelfe of the ſame impoſed crime, and cauſe of breach of amitie betwene the two nations of England and Scotland. During which impriſonment of the earle of Arrane, the former appointed parlement or aſſembly at ſaint Andrews was holden by the king & the nobilitie there gathered together, which were Graham earle of Montroſe treaſurer of Scotland, Robert Stewart erle of March ſometime biſhop of Catheneſſe, and now prior of S. Andrews, great vncle to the king and to the young duke of Lenex, Keith erle marſhall, Ueſle erle of Rothos, Stewart earle of Atholl, & Patrike Conſtance archbiſhop of S. Andrews, with diuers others. Amongſt whom the king opening the contents of the ambaffage ſent out of England for the concluding of the league betwene the two nations, ſhed vnto them this following ſpeech, wherein declaring the opinion he conceived of the religion, the neceſſitie of the ioining with England, the ſwoyne league of other nations againſt the profeſſors of the goſpell, and the reaſons which induced him to moue this matter vnto his people, all which he vttered in this ſort.

The kings ſpeech to the eſtates, concerning a league in religion with England.

Who cauſes my lordis and ye all of the eſtates haue moued me to ſend for you at this time to craue your aduiſes towardis them, quharof ſith the one is generall & the other particular, I will begin at the generall as the matter of greateſt weight. Amongſt all the benefites that God doth beſtow vpon his elect and church, the triall and ſitting of the god cholin from the bad hypocritis, is one of the maſt ſpeciall, which he hath beſed in all ages for the ſeparatioun of ſhame, alſwell for that to lang companie of the wicked doth corrupt it & godlie, as alſo that their ſeparatioun is a taken in this earth, of Godis lue towardis them, which triall he doth now chaſtie vſe, for that the number of the wicked doth abound in theſe letter

daies, quherin God doth permit the deuill moſt to rage. For quhat greater triall of the faithfull can there be, than the confederating togidder of all the baſtard chriſtians, I meane the papiftis, in a league which they terme holie albeit moſt unholie in varie truth, for the ſubuerſioun of the trew religion in all realmes throughout the quhole world. This is a matter ſo maniſeſt and notorious to you all, euen by the report of the ſmalleft merchantis that traull, as it doth dilat the ſelfe, thought I were ſilent.

This leagues whome of I ſpeake, are compoſed of Frenchmen, and Viſpaignols, aſſiſted with the king of Spaines and the papes monie, ſolemly ſwoyne to perſorme the ſoſaid enterpriſe before they leaue armes: the performance quherof we ought to reſiſt for thre cauſes (to wit) for conſcience, honor, and loue of ſelfis. For gif they may atteine to their purpoſe (as God forbid) either will they deſtroie or rot out vs, our biſis, and childrein, & quhat ſouer we poſſeſſe, gif we remaine conſtant; either elſe muſt we render Chriſt Jeſus, and ſuffer our ſaulis which is the maſt nabiſt part of man to be bund with the bundis of idolatrie, and our bodie to be vſed at their inordinat pleaſuris. But ſith the loue of our ſelfis and our honour cannot permit the one, and that our conſciences and the reuerence we owe to God, cannot ſuffer the other: I craue my lordes your beſt and ſoundiſt opinions and aduiſis quhat ye thinke meſteſt to be beſed for the remedie hercof. But gif ye deſire to haue firſt my opinioun, it is this in ſew woordes; that as ſoundrie chriſtian princis haue alreadie counſelled me, our contraleague ſhalbe maid, not anelie in termes, but in effect holie, for the ioining togidder all true chriſtian princis to defend themſelfis, in caſe of others inuaſioun. A thing hurtfull to none, profitable for ſelfis, acceptable to God, and viſe in the ſight of the world. By this meanes ſhall our conſciences, honor, and liſis be preſeruid, and God and his religion glorified and aduanced.

And ſith the queene of England is not anelie a true chriſtian, but alſo nereſt ioinit to vs in neighbourhood, conſanguinitie and gudwill, I thinke it meſteſt in mine opinioun, that it be our league firſt & maſt adſtrictlie maid with hir; for quhich cauſe I haue maid & ſet downe a forme of act to be ſubſcribit by you all, quherin ye promes to ratifie and approue in parliament, quhat ſouer articles I, or anie in my name ſhall conclude with the queene of England, or anie in hir name, for the making and the effectuating of the ſoſaid league. But for that the act it ſelfe vill mare ample inſorme you, it ſhalbe preſentlie read in all your audiencis.

Vpon this ſpeech, the lords being of diuerſe opinions, ſome willing to imbrace the league with England, and ſome deſtrous to leaue it, and to ioine in amitie with France according to the moſt ancient ſt leagues, which haue bene eſtabliſhed betwene them and the Scots (by moſt of their former kings, whereof the firſt was Achaius, who entering league with Charles the great, had a token of confirmation thereof, which was the floure delices added to the armes of Scotland) there was nothing done in that conuention. After which, the baniſhed lords of Scotland remaining in England, entered their countrie: the maner and time of the entrance of which nobilitie was in this ſort.

Towards the latter end of September, the earls of Angus and Arrar, with ſuch others of their faction as were in England, did (after that they had long before this, ſent thither the maſter of Clames out of England to prepare their waie, which he did verie effectually) returne into Scotland; at whoſe coming

ming into that their native countrie, there met with them about the borders, manie others of the nobilitie to ioinz in one action, for the redress of such gouernment as was vsed by persons about the king, suspected to nuzzell him in the Romane religion. After this their first meeting, they did by appointment disperse themselves, euerie one to the place of his most strength, and where he could make most friends and followers, appointing a daie to meete againe at Fawkirke, a meete place fenced by nature for the assemblie of an armie. Whereupon, some departed to Lothian, some to Dumfries, and others to other places. But in short time following, they reassembled in October at Fawkirke with such power as they could make, which amounted to the number of ten or eleuen thousand persons. The report wherof was brought vnto the king, then remaining at a noble mans house (not far from Sterling) whereas a contract of marriage was solemnized. Upon which, the king supposing it to stand most for his suretie (iudging these noblemen to assembled to be his enemies) conueied himselfe, and such nobilitie as were with him to Sterling, raising power (such as the present state of the time would permit) intending with them to haue subdued the earle of Angus and his companie: for which cause also, the earle of Arrane came from his house to Sterling, and the maister of Greie with commission rode to saint Johns towne to assemble the kings subiects.

After that the earle of Arrane was come to Sterling to the king, the earles of Angus, Mar, Bothwell, Atholl, Marshall, the lords Hamilton, Hume, Heres, Cambuskenneth, Dribourgh, Paislaie, & Coldingham; the lairds of Selsford, Drumlarige, Codentnewes, Medderburne, with other earles, barons, gentlemen & commons, with their friends & complices, marching all night from Fawkirke, did in the next morning come to saint Pinians chapel within a mile of Sterling, and presented themselves before the towne of Sterling, before any suspicion was had of their approach so nere. At what time, being the first of Nouember, they pitched their tents, placed there as it had bene a new towne, to the great terror of their enemies within Sterling: deuising for the cause of their comming this proclamation following.

The proclamation published by the nobilitie of Scotland, containing the causes of their repairing towards the towne of Sterling to the kings maiestie, the second day of Nouember.

Wheras the kings maiestie our souereignes god, naturall, and vertuous education is now plainelie vnderstood to haue bene abused, and his totall qualities given to him by the almightie God (which caused his fame far above the capacitie of his yeares to be magnified, and worthilie praised, to the great comfort of all his subiects) hath bene these yeares past obscured by the craft & subtiltie of some lewd and wicked persons of no defect or worthinesse, and for the most part of base linage, not bozne to one foot breadth of land, yet of maruelous aspiring wrongs and cruell inclination; who vnder colour of friendship and bloud creeping in about his maiestie, and seeking onelie theirowne particular profit and promotion: shaking off (as it were) not onelie all christian and charitable nature: but euen the generall points and offices of humanitie vsed amongst most barbarous people, without feare of God or man, as subtil fores and bloudie woulues, by wrestling of lawes and

other deceitfull practises hath so wasted, tozine in pieces, and deuoured the whole bodie of this afflicted commonwealth, that of the whole ancient forme of iustice and policie receiued of our ancestors, remaineth nothing, neither in spirituall or temporall estate; but the naked shadow & counterfeited maske thereof to our souereignes high dishonour, our opprobrie (who are a part of his nobilitie) and heauie griefe of all good men throughout the realme. It is euidentlie knowne that iustice and quietnesse was in the realme, that heartie loue betwixt his maiestie and his subiects, that beautifull countenance the church of God had, that daillie hope of increase, that expectation was of his highnesse in forren nations, before the arriual of Obigneie, afterwards called the duke of Lennox; and the entring in credit of James Stewart, and coronell Stewart with their unhappie companies. But what hath succeeded since no true Scottish heart can remember without extreame dolor: for there is no part or corner within the land at this time peaceable or quiet, but all replenished with particular enimities, and cruell reuenges without punishment.

It is also well knowne, that whereas the wisest of his maiesties most noble progenitors labored by clemencie, not by crueltie to possesse the hearts of their subiects, & to keepe the strengthis of their realms in their owne hands (thereby meaning the better to preserve themselves against such inconueniences, as manie princes of that land misgouerned, and lead by peruerse counsell haue bene subiect vnto) that the foresaid abusers had depriued his maiestie both of the one and the other so far as in them laie. For the chiefe strength of the realme are in Arrane his hands, who bragging of his pedigree by descent from duke Morvacke (one that was beheaded for his treason against his souereigne) was not ashamed to saie (meaning of himselfe) here stands the person of king James the seventh. And to the end that the hearts of the people might be alienated from his highnesse, and so (as appeareth) his maiestie made vnable to punish them, if at any time hereafter he should perceiue their false and treasonable doings, what can be added more than these said seditious hath alreadie done in that behalfe, seeing vnder his maiesties name and authoritie, such partialitie is vsed in all matters such extortion with crueltie, and incredible dissimulation throughout the whole land, that were it not of his good subiects (vpon the experience of his mild & calme gouernement before these lewd men about him) claerlie vnderstood that the causes of all these misorders ought to be imputed vnto them, & not to himselfe, they had long agone by vniuersall male-contentment of the people (procuring from the causes aforesaid) procured a great distraction of the kings lages hearts, and had cast his maiesties honoz, crowne, and estate in maruelous danger, whereas now (blessed be God) all his true subiects are certeinlie perswaded, that if the said lewd persons could be separated from his maiestie, he would returne againe to exercise his former clemencie and towardnesse in euerie respect, which hath bene these yeares past maruellouslie eclipsed by the craft of those treasonable persons aforesaid, who not onelie haue sought & seek for their particular commoditie, the destruction of certeine feuerall persons, but euen (as it appeareth) haue conspired against the whole bodie of the realme, in so much as there is no estate of the land free from their persecutions.

The worthiest and most ancient of the barons and nobilitie (namelie such as haue given best proofe of their forwardnesse in true religion, and fidelitie to their souereigne) are by partialitie, and wrestling of lawes, without mercie either executed, cōfined, imprisoned,

personed, banished, or at the least debarred his maiesties presence, against the ministerie, schoules, and clergie, acts and proclamations published, inhibiting their presbyteries, assemblies, and other exercises, priuileges, and immunities ratified by parlements, proceedings, or at the least by laudable custome permitted euer since the first reformation of religion within this land; and without the which the puritie of doctrine, and right forme of the ecclesiastical discipline cannot long continue: as being the onelie meanes to trie and examine the liues, manners, and knowledge of euerie person, and to reforme the same if need require. With this the most learned, and of most vnspotted liues of that number, are either compelled for safetie of their liues and consciences to abandon their countrie, or else inhibited to preach, or deprived of their stipends, felicitie, seminarie preests, and such as be knowne preachers in diuers nations for the execution of the bloudie counsell of Trent are interteined, and in great estimation; yea some indurated papists in fession, to occupie the places from the which the most godlie and faithfull senators haue bene by them dejected. An euident preface of the ouerthrow of true religion. And concerning the estate of burrowes, by intrusion of such magistrates to rule aboue them, as neither are comburgesses, nor apt to discharge themselves of such offices, but men elected to applause and to consent to the appetite of the seditious aforesaid, their priuileges and ancient liberties are so preiudiced, that without timelie remedie, that estate (sometime a great ornament of the land) must needs suddenly decaye. So as these three pillars (whereby the king and common wealth should be preferred, and vpholden) being waisted and vndermined in manner aboue witten, what can be expected but vniuersall ruine and ouerthrow of the whole bodie of the estate; except God of his mercie preuent the same. Besides all these, the foresaid abusers not resting content with the enozmities aboue expressed, haue practised, and daile doo practise to turne the happy amitie and loue, which now a good space hath stood betwene the inhabitants of the whole Ile in open hostility and hatred, without respect of neighborhood or kindred, standing betwene the two princes, or regard had to the benefites that hir maiestie of England hath bestowed vpon the king our soueraigne, and his whole countrie, first by planting of true religion within this realme, and next by preferring his maiestie, when as in his minority he could not take in hand or enterprise for himselfe.

To this effect they openlie delt with such persons, as by all meanes sought hir maiesties destruction, as by the confession of sundrie hir maiesties rebels lately executed in England is made manifest. But how soone they perceiued open danger to arise, by open dealing with hir enimies, then fraudfullie to illude hir maiestie, they haue pretended these monthes past, in great friendship and kindnesse, promising largelie in that behalfe, and offering to capitulate a band offensive and defensive to stand perpetuallie. But in the end, notwithstanding all these liberal promises, the effects by experience declare nothing to haue bene in their minds but falshood & crueltie, as by the late murder of the lord Russell is manifest to the whole world, who being a young nobleman, for his birth and qualities verie honorable and vertuous, and of great expectation, & for his earnest zeale to religion, and good affection to the king our soueraigne, and to all Scottishmen in generall, one that merited great praise, loue and commendation: yet he was murdered in most odious and treasonable manner, euen when as greatest kindnesse and friendship was pretended; which cannot but produce mar-

uellous suspicion and slander, aswell against the king our soueraigne, as against the whole countrie, to his maiesties great dishonor, and discredit of his innocent subiects, if condigne iustice be not ministered vpon the authors and the executors of the horrible crime aforesaid.

Last, which is most of all, and necessarilie craveth present reformation, the foresaid abusers couer all these enozmities with his maiesties name and authoritie, thereby thinking to excuse themselves, and to lase the burden on him. And therefore, as it cannot be but verie slanderous and dangerous to his maiestie, if such licentious persons (who hath already made shipwacke of all honestie) be suffered to remaine in his companie, so is it shamefull to be reported in other nations, that such a few number of biggerlie fellows replenished with all vice, should extinguish the beautie of the nobilitie, haue empire ouer the whole countrie, & keepe his maiestie thrall to authorize by his roiall power their abhominable and execrable facts. For the causes aforesaid and manie others that might be iustlie alleged, we of his maiesties nobilitie here present, in the feare of God and our soueraignes obedience, being through Gods free mercie called to be professors of the blessed euangell, and bozne counsellors to his highnesse our soueraigne, bound in duetie not onelie to hazzard, render and renounce our liues, lands, and goods (if need be) for the same euangell and true religion, but also in conscience charged to be careful of his maiesties welfare, honor, and reputation, and to procure to our abilitie, peace and quietnesse to him and his realme, hauing our lands and heritages for that effect, holden of his maiesties most noble progenitors of worthie memorie.

In consideration of which great enozmities and tyrannies, hauing conuened our selues together for redresse and reformation of the same, seeing the suffering thereof hath already wounded the estate of true religion, dishonored his maiestie, distressed the whole realme, and had almost disioined aswell the hearts of the princes as of the subiects of the two nations, we thinke it therefore high time, and we are in dutie and conscience (all doubt and perill set apart) to procure the separation and thrusting awaie of the said desperate and enozme persons from about his maiestie, that his highnesse being restored to his former libertie, maiestie, peaceable, and wiselie gouerne his subiects and realme, by aduise of graue, modest, and indifferent counsellors; onelie respecting his maiesties suertie and preferuation, to the end that the afflicted church within this land maie be comforted, and all acts latelie made in preiudice of the same, maie be solemnlie cancelled, and for euer adnulled, his maiestie restored to his former libertie, the bodie of his commonwealth (by purging of vice cheslie vpon the authors of these late misorders, and maintenance of vertue) maie be once disburdened of the heauie oppressions and iniuries that they haue with no small graefe so long sustained, and the happy amitie with England reestablished and conserued, to the high glorie of God, honor of the king our soueraigne, and vniuersall contentment of all good men euerie where. In prosecution whereof, we protest before God and his holie angels, we shall neither spare our liues, lands, nor goods, but frankelie hazzard and expend the same as need craveth, vntill the said abusers be either apprehended or presented to iustice, to suffer for their demerits, or else (if they cannot be found out) till they be debarred from his maiesties companie, and expelled the realme.

Wherefore we command and charge (in our soueraignes lords name) all and sundrie his subiects, as well

well to burrow as to land, to fortifie and assist this godlie enterprise, and to concurre with vs to that effect, as they will giue testimonie of their affection to the aduancement of true religion, his maiesties suertie and welfare, and the publike quietnesse of the whole realme, certifieng all and sundrie that dooth attempt anie thing to the contrarie, or will not take one fold and plaine part with vs, we will repute them as partakers of all vice and iniquitie, assisters of the treasonable conspirators aforesaid, and enemies of true religion, to his maiestie and his authoritie, and to the publike quietnesse betwixt the two realmes, and will vse them in bodies and goods accordinglie. And that all iustices as well lords of sessions as shiriffes, commissioners, and other inferior iudges sit and administer iustice to the furtherance thereof, according to the lawes of the realme, as they will answer vpon their allegiance and vttermoost perill, with certification of the disobedience as is aforesaid.

This assemblie of the nobilitie, and the proclamation thus knowne; the earle of Arrane and others which were in Sterling with the king, placed foure hundred men vpon the walls of the towne to defend the assault. But the earle of Arrane chancelor, knowing that he was the principall person, against whome they directed their force, did secretly without anie other companie flee from thence to Dunbartaine, escaping the hands of the lords of the religion, whereupon small resistance being made by such as were within Sterling against the assailants, vntill their force by the space of two houres, the earle of Angus and the rest did quietly enter Sterling and all parts; which being perceived by such of the nobilitie as were within the towne, they (as the earle of Montrose, Crawford, Rotholme, Glenkarne, Arroll and the Colonell) fled to the castell whither the other faction did chase them. Now when the lords of the religion (for so they of the presbyterie terme them) had fullie gotten possession of the towne of Sterling, they placed their ensignes before the foreblockhouse of the castell, and so ordered the matter, that there was no waie for anie in the castell to escape their hands, for they had by strength inuironed the same, and by siege brought it as some said to that extremitie, that they within were in great default of vittels. Whereupon the king (after agreement made, that persons on each part might passe betwixt to compound the matter) sent forth of the castell vnto the lords of the religion, the maister of Greie his secretarie and sir Lewes Ballentine, iustice Clarke (deputie to the earle of Argyle chiefe iustice of Scotland by inheritance) and colonell Steward, desiring three petitions of his nobilitie; the first whereof was, that his life honor and estate might be preserved; that the liues of Crawford, Montrose and the Colonell, might be preserved; thirdlie, that all things might be transacted peaceablie: on which conditions he would hereafter be ruled by their aduise and counsel. Wherevnto the noble men answered, first that the lord knew that they neuer had anie other intention but to preserve his noble person, his honor and estate, and to deliuer his maiestie out of their hands, who vnder his name had so greivously oppressed the church and commonwealth; and therein hazarded as well his life and crowne, as the danger of other of the nobilitie. Wherefore they were onelie there assembled in the feare of God, and loue to his person and their countrie, wholie to endeavour themselves to shew the performance of their obedience and dutie vnto him, and so to shew themselves faithfull and good subjects.

To the second point they answered, that where

the liues of such were desired to be preserved, which had disturbed the whole kingdome, and bene instruments of the great confusion in the church & commonwealth, they could doe no lesse in respect of the loue and dutie which they bare to the king and their countrie, but vse all meanes possible to bring them to the triall of iustice, thereby to receive the reward of their demerits. And for the third they would most humble craue of his maiestie, that these things might be done in most peacefull manner in due time required therefore, whereby all his good subjects might be satisfied, towards the execution whereof they offered their assistance, with the vttermoost of their endeavour, because they were assembled and come thither for the doing thereof.

Wellies which at the returne of these commissioners, the nobilitie exhibited other three petitions vnto the king, whereof the first was, that the kings maiestie would allow of their intention, subscribe their proclamation (containing the declaration of their cause) vntill further order were established by the estates, and so agree vnto the reformation of the premisses, & that all the common holds & strengths might be rendered into their hands to be kept as the counsell of the ancient nobilitie should appoint, who were there in good number assembled. Secondlie, that the said disquieters of the commonwealth might be deliuered into their custodie, vntill they had received their due triall by the law. Thirdlie, that the old gard might be removed and another placed of modest, wise, and godlie men. Which petitions being so to the king exhibited, the first was vpon diuers considerations granted, and the castles of Dunbarton & Kineile were assigned to the custodie of John lord Hamilton; the castell of Edinburgh was committed to sir James Hume of Coddinkolles; the castell of Sterling was restored to the earle of Marre, to whome the custodie thereof did belong by descent of inheritance; the castell of Blacknesse to the lord of Dalkeith; Cantallan and Dowglass were deliuered to the earle of Angus. Touching the satisfaction of the second request of the lords, the said earles of Crawford, Montrose, Glenkarne, Rotholme, Arroll, and colonell Steward, the lords Seton, Leuingstone, Greie, Summertwell, sir William Steward brother to the earle of Arrane, and William Steward capteine of Dunbarton (who had bene taken in the towne of Sterling, when the lords of the religion entered thereinto) were committed to the safe custodie of manie noble men. For the performance of the lords third petition, the old gard was immediatlie removed, & the maister of Clames was appointed by the consent of the whole nobilitie capteine of the gard, with such gentlemen as the nobilitie and he should chuse of those which are already entred into their places and offices.

In the meane time, as is before touched, James Steward earle of Arrane did at the entering of the lords of the religion into the towne of Sterling, flee to the castell of Dunbarton, where he was inclosed, as well by sea as by land, without anie great store of vittels. The bishop of saint Andrews was taken by the scholars of the vniuersitie, and young men of the towne aforesaid (as was said) to be presented to iustice into the hands of the lords of the religion; and so all captiues were set at libertie, the banished ministers called home (though manie of them still remained in England) and restored to their former offices, dignities, and liuings, and the Iesuits and seminarie priests wonderfullie amazed, who were willinglie minded to flee disguised in mariners attire into the parts beyond the seas. Thus the king granting the requests of the nobilitie, and yielding

to

The earle of Arrane chancelor.

The earle of Angus entered Sterling.

The castell of Sterling besieged.

The king sent forth to the lords of the religion.

The answer of the lords of the religion to the kings demands.

The king in the custodie of the nobles of the religion.

William Knolles sent ambassador into Scotland.

The earle of Bothwell made chancelor.

James Steward earle of Arrane married to the widow of the earle of March.

Noble men committed to custodie.

The kings gard removed and a new place.

The bishop of saint Andrews taken.

The ministers called home.

The Iesuits ready to flee Scotland.

The king in the custody of the lords of the religion.

to the state of the present time, committed himselfe to the protection of these lords of the religion remaining in their custodie, after that they had once entered the castell of Sterling.

Whereupon much congratulation being made for this returne of those banished lords into Scotland, the quene of England having intelligence thereof, did send hir ambassadoz William Knolles esquire marshall of hir bench into the parts of Scotland, to vnderstand the parts thereof, and of the manner of the proceeding of these noble men with the king: which ambassadoz after his abode and honorable intertainment in that countrie, returned home in December following. In which moneth there was a parlement called at Lithgo, for the full ratifying and confirming of the restitution of these lords of the religion: at what time the earle of Arrane was displaced both from his earledome of Arrane, and office of chancellozship: and the earle of Bothwell was admitted to that office of lord chancelloz. Besides which also the custodie of the lunatike earle of Arrane, sonne of the duke of Chateaufault was taken from the same James Steward earle of Arrane, and committed to John lord Hamilton lord of Arbroth, and brother to the lunatike earle, sometime remaining in the wardship of the said John Hamilton, before that the said James Steward had gotten the possession of that lunatike earle into his owne hands, out of the custodie of the same John Hamilton.

But somewhat to leaue the lunatike earle in safe keeping, we will speake a litle of this James Steward earle of Arrane, and of his wife; who being a woman of delight of change in marriage, was (after the second shipwracke) married to this earle of Arrane; for she being one of the daughters of the earle of Atholl, was first married to the lord Louet. After which, iudging it better to marrie than to burne (although by the sequele of the same she felt small contentment therein) she bound hir selfe with the knot of matrimonie vnto Robert Steward earle of March and bishop of Cathnesse; but after finding occasion of diuorce, the contenti- on and sute whereof continued verie long, from the said earle, she was in the end separated; and then the third time bestowed hir selfe in marriage vpon this James Steward earle of Arrane, by whome she had issue diuerse sonnes and daughters, the eldest whereof the king tooke from the font and christe- ned.

Thus leauing this erle of Arrane for this time, I thinke it not amisse in this place to step aside from the matters of these present times; and herein at the advancement of this earle Bothwell to be lord chancelloz of Scotland, to record some things touching some such persons as haue (to my knowledge by reading of Scottish histories) possessed that office of chancellozship before time, as in an other place before at the mention of an other chancelloz I haue discoursed of the originall and deriuation of the name of that office. In which this my discourse of the succession of chancelloz, although I shall set downe but few persons in number, & can not make a full continuance of their orderlie succession, from their first institution vnto this daie: yet I suppose it better to mention those which haue come vnto my hands, thereby to occasion others hereafter to treat more liberallie of such honorable officers, than vtterlie to drowne them in the pit of forgetfulnesse. Which treatise of the chancelloz I am the willing- er to deliuer, because I haue done the like (but more amply) for England, as being better acquainted with our owne than their histories.

The names and times of certaine
chancellors of Scotland, gathered out
of the histories of that nation.



William Wood bishop of Dunblaine was chancelloz to William king of Scots, which began his reigne in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred eightie and five, as some haue (but Lesleus lib. 6. pag. 226 giueth it to the yeare of our Lord God one thousand one hundred and thre score, whose account herein is false) and continued in that office at the time of the death of the said William, which fell in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred and fouretene. After whose death he was by Alexander the second confirmed in the same place of chancelloz.

John Lion chancelloz of Scotland (in the time of Robert the second of that name, and the first of the house of the Stewards which ware the crowne) was chancelloz of Scotland, who being in great fauor with the said Robert the second, married the ladie Elisabeth daughter vnto the said king, with whome he had in franke marriage diuerse possessions called Glames, whereby he was called lord of Glames; of which Lion is that surname descended, who in memorie of that marriage beare in their armes the lions and lillies with the tresse in such forme as the king of Scotland beareth the same, except that their lions be placed in a blacke field, as Holinshed hath noted. Which Lion being chancelloz was slaine in the yeare of our Lord one thousand thre hundred and eightie, being about the tenth yeare of the same Robert the second, who after banished the earle of Crawford.

Gilbert Grenlaw bishop of Aberdeen, being chancelloz about the yeare that the word became flesh, one thousand foure hundred and eleuen in the vacancie of the kingdome, vnder duke Morzatke, betwene the death of Robert the second (which fell in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six, and the beginning of the reigne of James the first, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand foure hundred twentie and six) was sent ambassadoz into France with other noblemen of Scotland, touching which, thus writeth Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 270. Mortuo interea Roberto Scotiæ gubernatore, filius eius Mordacus regni procurator designatur. A quo Carolus septimus Francorum rex (in patris quoque locum suffectus) per legatos auxilium contra Anglos postulat. Assensus ille est, & eisdem duces (quos paulo ante in Franciam in copiis traiecisse commemorauimus) cum valido militum manu Gallo subsidio remisit. Cum eis quoque Gilbertus Grenlaw episcopus Aberdonensis, vir magnæ inter regni primores singularem ob prudentiam auctoritatis, qui cancellariatus magistratum magna gessit dexterrate, in Galliam mittitur legatus, qui regem Carolum consolaretur, & certiorum faceret eos, qui Galliam aduenerat, & totius Scotiæ incolas, adeo in eius fide & amore perficere, vt se atque bona omnia, pro illius Francorumque salute tribuere ex animo, sunt parati: idque rei exitus probabit. After which ambassage in France this Gilbert liued not verie long, for Henrie Lichton, who came shortly in his place of the bishoprike, was with other sent ambassadoz into England, to fetch home James the first, and to inuest him in the crowne of Scotland.

William Creighton knight, whom Lesleus termeth the wisest man that ever Scotland saw, being chancelloz to James the first, was (in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and thre, about the ninth yeare of the same king James) with the earle of Angus, and Adam Hepborne of Pales, sent

sent to the castle of Dunbar, with letters signed with the kings hand, directed to the keepers of the castle to deliuer the same to the bringers thereof: which the keepers of that castle durst not disobeie, but permitted them to enter accordingle. After this, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thirtie and five, and the eleventh of the same king, he was sent ambassadoz into Denmarke, where he concluded a sound peace betwene the nations of Denmarke and Scotland; which good seruice being well rewarded, he was after the death of James the first, and in the entrance of James the second into the government of Scotland, in the yeare of Christ 1436, confirmed in his office of chancellozship, beside which he had the government of the kings person, and of the castle of Edinburgh committed to his charge. Then by reason of contention which fell betwene sir Alexander Levingston the governor of the realme and this chancelloz, they fell to parts taking in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thirtie and seven, whereby ensued much mischief and bloudshed in the realme (as alwaies by my obseruation I haue found to happen during the minority and the insufficiencie of kings) at what time the quene taking part with the governor against the chancelloz, found means by subtiltie to get the king into hir possession out of the hands of the chancelloz, after that she had handsomlie trussed by the king in a tronke like a fardell full of apparell, whereupon the governor besieged the chancelloz in the castle of Edinburgh, but in the end they agreed that Creichton should still kepe the castle of Edinburgh and of his office of chancelloz.

That done, in the yeare one thousand four hundred thirtie and nine, and the third yeare of James the second, the chancelloz obtained to haue the quene Dowager, and hir husband James Steward lord of Forne released out of the prison of Sterling, whither they were committed by the governor. Which done the chancelloz keeping in mind the deceit of the quene, in ouerreaching him, by getting the king out of his possession, and seeing the governor to take the whole authoritie on him at his pleasure, did so worke that he found means, that he onlie accompanied with foure and twentie persons, did againe get the king (as he was one morning hunting in Sterling parke) into his possession, whom he carried with him into the castle of Edinburgh, wherewith the governor was grauoullie displeased, but not able to remedie the same, there was an agreement made betwene the chancelloz and him, that the king should remaine in the custodie of the chancelloz, and the governor continue his office in administrating the affaires of the realme. Whereupon in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and fortie, and the fourth yeare of James the second, the governor and the chancelloz assemble a counsell of the nobilitie at Edinburgh. In the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fortie and foure, being the eight of the same James the second, both the governor and the chancelloz (at the persuation of William earle Dowglas) were removed from their offices by the king, who being now about fourtene yeres old, had taken the absolute government of the kingdome upon him: besides which they were also put from the counsell, their friends were banished the court, and they were summoned to appeare before the king, which they refused, not as gillie in conscience, but as fearing the crueltie of their enemies, whereupon they were proclaimed rebels and put to the horne, which occasioned William Dowglas the chancellozs great enimie to gather a power and spoile the lands of this William Creichton, for requitall thereof, Creichton gathered a like power, entred the land

of Dowglas, and spoiled the same all that he could, which thing adding further heat to the Dowglas, caused him to procure the king in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie and five, being the ninth yeare of the kings reigne, to demand of Creichton the deliuerie of the castles of Edinburgh and of Creichton, which he denieng to doe untill the king came to full age, had all his goods confiscat, hauing therein no iniurie done unto him, for as saith Lesleus: Primus omnium sanciuerat Creichtronus, vt qui regi castrum aliquod postulanti restiterit, violata maiestatis arceatur, cuius ille legis poenam primus subiit, as did he which deuised Phalaris bull. But after when the king had besieged Edinburgh castle nine moneths, Creichton being therein, the same was deliuered with condition, that Creichton should still remaine chancelloz, which obtained, he neuer after delt in the affairs of the common welth, whereby growing againe into the kings fauour, he was with others in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fortie & six, being the tenth of James the second, sent ambassadoz to the duke of Gelderland to obtaine Marie the dukes daughter to wife for the king, which he brought to passe. All which notwithstanding in the yeare following he fell againe into the princes disgrace, and was by parlement holden in the yere of Christ one thousand four hundred fortie and seven, forfeited, for that his seruants would not deliuer Creichtons house or castle to the king, as before you haue heard. But after as it saith, such is the mutabilitie of fortune, he returned into the kings grace, for which in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and fiftie, he was by the earle Dowglas (supposing him to be the cause that the king misliked the earle) assaulted one morning as he was comming out of the castle of Edinburgh, from which although wounded, he escaped unto his castle of Creichton, where in short space after he assembled a power, recovered Edinburgh from the Dowglas, and had destroyed the earle at that present, if he had not shifted awaie moze speedilie: who being thus dishonorable chased from Edinburgh, drew the erle of Crawford and Rosse to ioine with him against Creichton, but he little esteeming thereof and requiting god for euill, did in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fiftie and three, or a thousand four hundred fiftie and foure as some haue, procure a pardon for the earle of Crawford, grauoullie fallen into the kings displeasure. In which yeare also the king calling a parlement at Edinburgh, the earldome of Purrie was given to sir James Creichton, or rather restored to him, from whom it had bene wrongfullie taken by the iniust sentence of William earle of Dowglas, who had procured it to be assigned to his brother Archibald Dowglas, although the right remained in the same sir James Creichton. But yet when the same sir James could not kepe that earldome without the enuie of diuers persons, he surrendered the same into the kings hands. Beside all which at this parlement was George Creichton created earle of Cathness, which I thought good to note in this place, because it touched the name of Creichton, whereof I doe now intreat by reason of this chancelloz.

Andrew Steward lord of Anandale was chancelloz of Scotland in the yere of Christ one thousand four hundred three score and eight, being about the eight yeare of the reigne of king James the third, & was sent with others into Forrewe to conclude a marriage with the king of Denmarke, betwene his daughter Margaret & the king of Scots, which ladie he brought with him into Scotland in Iulie, at what time they were married accordingle. Some yeares after which, that is about the yeare of Christ one

Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 277.

James Stewart.

Andrew Stewart.

one thousand foure hundred foure score and two, and the two and twentieth of James the third, when Alexander Stewart Duke of Albanie with the duke of Gloucester were come unto Rastalrig with the English power, this man amongst others, was sent to the English campe to treat with the two dukes, with whom in the end an agreement was made. By which the duke of Albanie, before fled out of Scotland, was restored home, and had both honours and offices bestowed on him; who with this chancellor & other noble men had the government of the kingdom for a certaine space: during which time, this duke the chancellor and others, going to visit the queene at Sterling, the duke by the queenes persuasion without knowledge of the other, went to Edinburgh, and by force restored the king to libertie, before taken and kept in hold by some of the nobilitie, which being knowne to the chancellor and the other lords at Sterling, they fled to their owne countries.

James Beton
1071.

James Beton archbishop of Glasco was chancellor in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred & thirtene, being the first yeare of king James the first. This man being of great wisdom, was appointed amongst others to assist the queene in the government of the realme, whereunto he was for a time advanced: but the woman not induring to be directed by others, taking quarrell against the bishop, did immediately after the marriage, performed the first of August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fouretene, betwene him and Archibald Dowglas earle of Angus (which this bishop incountred as much as he could) take the great scale from the said bishop of Glasco, at saint Johns towne, whereupon the bishop got him to Edinburgh, and assisted with many lords, kept the queene and his husband out of that towne, whereby great dissension and part taking was raised amongst the nobilitie of the realme. But as I gather, peace being made betwene them, he was againe made chancellor. After this, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftene, he commeth with the earle of Arrane, who submitteth himselfe to the gouernor, shortly following, the gouernor gaue to this archbishop of Glasco the abbete of Arbroth, assigning to the earle of Murray a large pension out of the same, which bishop being thus in fauor with the gouernor, was in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred and seuentene in Fraice, when the gouernor went into France) appointed, amongst others, to haue the rule of the realme untill his returne. Two yeares after which, the nobilitie being diuided about the quarrell of the earle of Angus & Arrane, this bishop in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and ninetene, being then also chancellor, with other noble men of the realme, kept the towne of Glasco; but after that, this chancellor who would not come to Edinburgh, the king of England and of France their ambassadoes came to Sterling, where a peace was proclaimed amongst the nobilitie.

But what can long continue in one state, or what peace will be long imbraced amongst ambitious minds: for in the yeare following, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and twentie, the noble men fell againe to factions: for when diuerse of the peeres were come to Edinburgh to aid the earle of Angus against the earle of Arrane (this chancellor remaining then in the towne) they pursued the earle and chancellor so hotlie, that they were both constrained to forsake the towne, and to flee through the north Loch, about the thirtieth daie of April. But as the events of quarrels be doubtful, not by now downe, so this archbishop not long after this disgrace, recovered breath, and in November following, did accompanie the regent come out

of France to Edinburgh, where was a parlement holden, to summon the earle of Angus to appeare; but he refusing, it was agreed that the earle should passe into England there to remaine.

The bishop thus hauing the better of his enemies, Andrewe Forman bishop of S. Andzeus died, in the yeare one thousand five hundred twentie and two, being about the ninth yeare of James the first, by occasion whereof, this chancellor James Beton bishop of Glasco was aduanced to that see, and further made abbat of Dumfermling. Upon which new honor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and foure, he was appointed one of the gouernors of the realme by parlement: but he not possessing this honor any long time, the earle of Angus (who had gotten the king into his blurted gouernment, and denied the deliuerie of the king, being sent for by this bishop and the other nobilitie) sent to the chancellor for the great scale, which was deliuered to the messengers: upon which, this bishop not forgetting the same, hastened the sentence of divorce sued before him, betwene the queene and the earle of Angus. Whereof the earle, to reuenge the same, did with the king, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and six, take for the queene and the bishop of saint Andzeus: but because they were kept secretlie in their friends houses (so that they could not be heard of) he spoiled the abbete of Dumfermling, and the castell of saint Andzeus, taking awaie all that the archbishop had. Notwithstanding which, the archbishop keeping in fauor with the old queene and the young king, did in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and nine, and the sixteenth yeare of James the first, chysen James the kings sonne bozne at saint Andzeus, and not long after, surrendered his soule to God in the said yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and nine: of whome it shall not graue me to set downe what Lelleus hath written, which though it be somewhat long, yet because it is necessarie, I had rather set downe the plaine words of the author, than by abridging of them into our our tong, to deprive the author of his due by his owne stile: thus therefore he writteth.

Iacobus Betonius archiepiscopus Santandreae politanus, qui maximis reipublicae honoribus summaque gloria apud nos quam diutissime floruerat, aetate iam grandior, naturae concedebat, ac in aede sancti Andrae tumultu honorifice tegebatur. Hic antistes quosdam, quos egregie charos habuit, viuis constituere, ut in beneficia sibi mortuo sufficeretur. In episcopatum autem Santandreae politanum, ac in abbatiam Arbrothensem, vir summa prudentia, & animi magnitudine praestans David Betonius cardinalis, eius ex fratre nepos, in abbatiam verò Dumfermlingensem Georgius Dureus, in alia denique alij: quam illius voluntatem rex non impedivit, quominus illi, quos archiepiscopus ante obitum constituerat, beneficijs liberè fuerentur: ne cuius viui mentem semper laudaret, eius mortui voluntatem malitiosè videretur rescidisse. Hic archiepiscopus praecipuum illius collegij quod nouum Santandreae politi dicitur, partim suo sumptu excitauit, ac maximam pecuniae vim qua reliqua pars inchoata perpoliretur, testato reliquit: verum pecunia illa in alios usus postea traducta, collegij ius (ne quid acridi dicam) perierat. Thus much Lelle, and thus much I, touching this chancellor, spoken of also in my treatise of the archbishops of saint Andzeus.

Lelleus lib. 9.
pag. 450.

Gawen Dunbar archbishop of Glasco, and the kings scholemaster, was chancellor as appeareth by Lelleus lib. 9. pag. 399. who in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and two, writteth: Non multò post Andreas Formannus episcopus

copus Santandreapolitanus vita cessit, huius quam primū honore ac titulo insigniebatur Iacobus Beton archiepiscopus Glasguensis, qui quidem archiepiscopatus omnium summa voluntate cessit præfatis-
fimo cuidam viro Gawino Dunbarro; cui quod recōditæ eruditionis, sinceræ vitæ consilijque graui-
ssimi laudibus præfiterit, regis tenella ætas moribus doctrinæque informanda credebatur, quem intimis
sensibus ita dilexit rex, vt sui intimi concilij socium,
regniq; cancellarium postea illum coaptauerat.

David Beton (the brothers sonne of James Beton deceased archbishop of saint Andzeus) was
chancellor of Scotland, who being abbat of Arbroth,
was with others sent ambassadoz into France in
the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thir-
tie and foure, being the one and twentieth yeare of
the government of James the first, for to procure the
earle of Mandolmes sister in marriage for the king;
but the same toke not effect, because the king going
in person into France liked hir not. About three
yeares after, which was in the yeare of Christ one
thousand five hundred thirtie and seuen, and the
four and twentieth yeare of James the first, this Da-
uid was aduanced to the honoz of a cardinall, of
which title I do not at this time remember, that e-
uer I haue read anie other to haue intioied but Wal-
ter Wardlaw, of whome Onuphrius thus writeth:
Walterus episcopus Glasguensis presbyter cardina-
lis creatus, anno Domini 1383, 10 kalend. Ianua.
6 pontificatus Clemētis 7, obiit inter annum 1400,
& 1409, whome the Scottish histories make cardin-
all somewhat before in the yeare one thousand
three hundred fourscore and two, about the eleuenth
yeare of Robert the second (at what time with others
he was sent to Charles king of France as ambassa-
doz to renew the league betwene France & Scot-
land) by Paul the third, then pope of Rome, to whom
also the king of France gaue in commendam the
bishopricke of Mitropen: of the making of which Be-
ton cardinall, thus the same Onuphrius writeth: Da-
uid de sancto Andrea Scotus episcopus Miropiensis
presbyter cardinalis tituli sancti Stephani in Cælio
monte creatus, anno Domini, 1538, 13 kalend.
Ianuar. per Paulum tertium, anno pontificatus 12. In
which words Onuphrius, and Lelcus following him,
refer the creation of this cardinall vnto the yeare
one thousand five hundred thirtie and eight, though
others attribute it to the yeare one thousand five
hundred thirtie and seuen. In which yeare one
thousand five hundred thirtie and eight, he was
with others sent ambassadoz into France after the
death of the quene, to procure Marie of Lozreine
widow duchesse of Longuile, and daughter to the
duke of Guise, to be giuen to king James in mari-
age; which matter he brought to his desired effect.

The next yeare after, being the yeare of Christ
one thousand five hundred thirtie and nine, as
you haue heard before, he was by his vnckle James
Beton archbishop of saint Andzeus, & abbat of Ar-
broth, appointed to succede in the same bishopricke
and abbete, which he intioied accordingly: who ad-
uanced with these dignities, did after the death of
James the first, falling in the yeare of Christ one
thousand five hundred fortie and two, laboz by po-
licies and other extraordinarie deuises to be gouer-
noz of the realme, during the minority of the yong
quene; but he was disappointed thereof by the no-
bilitie, who chose the earle of Arrane to that functi-
on; by meanes whereof, there fell continuall dissen-
sions betwene the nobilitie, which ended not vntill
this cardinall was slaine as after it shall appeare.
For shortly after in the said yeare one thousand five
hundred fortie and two, being committed to ward
(in the castle of Walketh vnder the custodie of the

lord Seton, smallie fauoring the French faction) be-
cause he would haue persuaded the nobilitie to fol-
lowe the motion of the k. of England, determining
to marie his son prince Edward to the yong quene
of Scots. But the cardinall did not long remaine
there; for by the gouernors appointment he was
remoued to his owne castell of S. Andzeus, hauing
watch and ward about him, to see him safelie kept,
in which place also he did not long continue: for cor-
rupting his keepers he found meanes to escape; which
done, in the yeare one thousand five hundred fortie
and three, he came to the coronation of the yong
quene, and shortly after persuaded the earle of Ar-
rane the gouernor to leaue the part of the king of
England, and to be come French.

Now at the coronation, the cardinall ordered all
things, appointing euerie officer, and growing into
great credit, did in like sort at other times dispose
of the common-wealth as seemed best liking vnto
him. Whereupon, the earle of Lennox taking part
with the English, opposed himselfe against the go-
uernor and the cardinall, whereby followed sharpe
warres, the cardinall still supporting and counsel-
ling the gouernor: which troubles being somewhat
abated, by reason the earle of Lennox was gone in-
to England, the cardinall in the yeare of Christ one
thousand four hundred fortie and foure, receiued
the patriarck of Jerusalem arrived in Scotland.
In which meane time, there was great contention
betwene the cardinall and the archbishop of Glas-
gow, for bearing their crosses in the others iurisdic-
tion: whereupon they fell from words to swords,
which the gouernor appeased: that done, the patri-
arck the popes legat comming to Rome, procured
the legantine power to be granted to this cardinall,
which he long intioied not. For being greatlie en-
raged by reason of these honozs & some græuous facts,
certeine persons in the yeare one thousand five hun-
dred fortie and six (after that he had burned George
Wilschart a learned man, condemned at saint An-
dzeus by an assemblie of bishops) did the thirtenth
daie of Aprill (when they had secretlie in the morning
entered the castell of saint Andzeus where the car-
dinall was) repell the porters of the foresaid castell,
the cardinals seruants, and slue the cardinall naked
as he came to mete them, whose death sir James
Heremount prouost of saint Andzeus thought to
haue staied by assembling a power therfore: but
after that he saw the cardinals dead bodie hanged
out ouer the wals, he made no further attempt. The
death of which cardinall comming to the gouernors
eares, he banished the author thereof, as writeth Lel-
cus in these words: Gubernator, quod nec cognato
suo sanguinis coniunctio, nec cardinali dignitas, nec
cancellario maiestas ac domus propria, ad impio-
rum invidias effugendas quicquam profuerit, æger-
rimè ferre. Consilio itaque Huntlei ac Argadij suasu
indicto, in cadis auctores capitis proscriptionisque
sententia data est.

George Gordon earle of Huntley, sonne of John
Gordon, being chancellor of Scotland, in the yeare
of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and se-
uen, falling about the first yeare of the reigne of Ma-
rie quene of Scots, was taken prisoner by the Eng-
lish at Spinkelbozto field, who pittieing the miserie
of diuerse of his countriemen, wounded and taken
at the same battell, did vnder take for their ransom;
whereupon they were permitted to depart, and left
to shift for themselves as well as they might. In the
next yeare, which was the yeare of Christ (as hath
Lelcus one thousand five hundred fortie and eight)
the protectoz of Scotland sent Carnegie knight and
senatoz to the protectoz of England, to ransom
Huntley, or at the least to obtaine that his wife
might

Two cardi-
nals onlie in
Scotland.

Monseigneur
Rubic kepte
the great se-

Lelcus lib. 39
pag. 48a.

George
Gordon.

his wife might come vnto him. Whereupon the earle was with his keepers permitted to come to Spoythet, where expecting his wife, he thought vpon his escape, and from thence after supper, deceiuing his warders, he fled by night into Scotland, through the aid of one George Carre his deere friend, who prouided him speedie hostes therefore. The earle being thus come into Scotland, was so fullie interteined of the quene, the gouernour, and the other nobilitie; but chieflie of his wife, whose earnest desire to see him was the occasion of his escape. But as all ioy hath some hard hap for the most part attending vpon the same; so this earle did after feele the force of like misfortune. For about seuen yeares after, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, he was againe committed to prison as after shall appeare. Before which, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftie, he with other noble men goeth into France with the quene mother of Scotland; but before that iourne, whilst he was preparing for the same, he commanded William Mackintosh chiefe of the Glenchatins to be executed at Stratbolgie, for a priuie conspiracie made against him, being the kings lieutenant in the north parts. Which thing raised a great commotion like to haue succeeded to great slaughters (in that the earle of Cassels and manie others favoured Mackintosh) if the wisdom of the quene mother had not appeased the same.

After that the quene mother had bin in France, she in the same yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftie, returned into Scotland through England; but the earle Huntlie warilie fearing to fall into the dangers of the English (whome he thought would not forget his escape from them, returned by sea into his owne countrie: after which, when he had bene about foure yeares in Scotland, the quene mother regent in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, sent this earle Huntlie into Hettland to take John Spidzab; but returning without him, he was committed to prison in Edinburgh the eleuenth of October: at what time the regent changed all the officers, toke awaie the great seale from this earle Huntlie the chancelloz, and gaue it to monsieur Rubie a Frenchman, which monsieur Rubie thus made keeper of the great seale in the said yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, and the twelfth yeare of Marie quene of Scots, had the vse of the same seale in the place of the earle Huntlie then chancelloz in ward. But the earle of Huntlie after being set at libertie, it seemeth that he was still chancelloz. For besides that Lesleus saith that he was restored to all his dignities (except the earldome of Murreie, whereof he had a gift of inheritance, the earldome of Murreie, the farmes of Mureneie & Hettland, and the quenes land at Straitsdie, all which he gaue for his libertie) he is also by the Scottish histories named still chancelloz, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and one, and the nineteenth yeare of quene Marie, being then by the nobilitie amongst other, chosen to be of the priuie council. Of whome before this also Lesleus writeth, that in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and nine, the quene hauing receiued a bill of supplication from the protestants: Illa hunc protinus libellum supplicem per Huntleum regni cancellarium synodo exhibendum, vt de illis definiret, reddidit.

After this, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and two, in October being the twentieth yeare of the same quene, he was in the faction betwene him and others (for diuerse misdemeanours also, vpon his coming with an armie

to Cornethie in Mar) slaine, and John Gordon his sonne taken prisoner, brought to Aberdine the nine and twentieth of October, and there beheaded. Now for the other chancelloz which followed in succession of time, because they fall yet fresh in memorie, and some mention is made of them in this my continuation of these annals; I do not intend to make anie double recitall of them in that place, being a thing superfluous so to do; & therefore, because Omne nimum vertitur in vitium (whereto the lawiers agree safeng, that Frustra fit per plura quod fieri potest per pauciora) I will referre the for the supplement of this title of the chancelloz, to the same continuation of my annals, there at thy pleasure to collect and dispose them, as best shall serue thine owne memorie or knowledge.

Wherefore leauing them, and returning to the consideration of other things, which following time hath begotten and brought forth in Scotland: we saie, that as the quene of England had before time, after the taking of Sterling, sent maister Knolles into Scotland to vnderstand the estate of these times: so in like sort the Scots with like congratulation, dispatched a messenger vnto the quene of England, by whome she might haue knowledge of such things as were after done. For maister William Keith one of the chamber to the king, was sent from the king of Scots to the quene of England in the same moneth of December, a little before Christmas with letters, who coming to the court then remaining at Greenwich, did there make deliuerie of the same letters. During whose abode here in England, some of those which had before assisted the earles of Angus and Marre, against such as seemed to nourish the king in the Romane religion, fell from their former opinion, & either for loue to the same Romane religion, or for malice to other of the nobilitie, or for a desire to be singular to themselves, embraced the abolished doctrine of the pope, & set vp the ceremonie of Italie. Amongst whome, one, not of the meanest, the lord Marwell, who had married the earle of Angus his sister, did in Januarie aduance the same, and heard masse at Lincluden a mile from Dumfries, contrarie to the publike lawes appointed in Scotland. Wherof intelligence being brought vnto the king, he forthwith dispatched a messenger vnto him, commanding him to surcease the same. But the lord Marwell persisting in that his former action, was (in the end apprehended, and vpon the refusal of an oth touching the same, according to the lawes of Scotland) committed to prison in Edinburgh, where he long remained.

These things thus done in Scotland, the aforesaid maister Keith departed from London towards that countrie, about the foure and twentieth of Januarie, with answer that his maiestie of England would shortly send an ambassadoz into Scotland, who should fullie satisfie the king in all things, and further deliuer vnto him the fall of his maiesties determination. Whereupon Thomas Randolph esquier, a person who had manie times before executed that function in those countries, and was well acquainted both with the state & maners of the people, was by the quene of England dispatched into those parts; who being so authorized, toke his iourneie from London towards Scotland on the eight daie of Februarie. After which, in Aprill following, maister Archibald Dowglas (one that had bene sometime of the session or parliament of Edinburgh) hauing remained some yeares here in England, vpon displeasures which the king of Scots conceived against him, did make his returne into his owne countrie, where he behaued himselfe so

Et. 1.

wiselie,

William Keith
sent into Eng-
land.

The lord
Marwell hear-
eth masse.

Maister
Randolph go-
eth into Scot-
land.

Monsieur
Rubie keeper of
the great seale.

twisellie, that he obtained great fauor after his re-
turne home. In this yeare, the presbyterie (as they
had manie times done before, but especiallie in the
yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fourescore
and thre, which I thought to note in this place, be-
cause I would not often vse repetition of one thing
done at severall times in so manie places) did ex-
communicat their metropolitan the archbishop of S.
Andrews, and the rest of the bishops also, because
they would not in all their actions, support and con-
firme the doctrine which the presbyterie had esta-
blished. Which excommunication the presbyterie
did the more boldlie, because they were supported by
the assistance of the maister of Lindsete, a great eni-
mie to this Patrike Adamson bishop of saint An-
drews.

But the king in the beginning did assist him a-
gainst them, and the archbishop did in like sort thun-
der an excommunication against them. Which di-
vision not being made to be in the cleargie, who
ought to be (as the apostles were) of one hart, and of
one mind, will in the end as Christ saith, bring
the same realme to confusion: for Omne regnum
in se diuisum desolabitur: which must needs be,
where euerie man will be a lord, & that the inferiour
of the clergie will neither acknowledge nor obeie
anie superiours. In which place, sith I haue menti-
oned Patrike Adamson the archbishop of saint An-
drews, because I shall not haue occasion to speake
anie more of him, I will here set downe a collection
of all the archbishops of that see.

A Cathalog of the archbishops of saint

*Andrews, collected out of the histories
of Scotland.*



The Scots seeking meanes to rid them-
selves from subiection of the bishop of
Rome, who was the metropolitan of
Scotland, did in the yeare of Christ one
thousand foure hundred threescore and fouretene ob-
taine of the pope that they might haue a metropo-
litane see within themselves, by reason of the conti-
nuall wars which was betwene the two nations;
during which they could neither vse appellations to
their metropolitan, nor haue other bishops conse-
crated. Whereupon the pope erected the church of S.
Andrews into an archbishopricke in the time of king
James the third, touching which, thus writeth Les-
leus, lib. 8. pag. 317. Hoc anno (which was the yeare
of Christ one thousand foure hundred threescore and
fouretene) Patricius Grahamus sedis Andreapolita-
na ecclesie episcopus, crebris litteris ac nuntijs a pa-
pa efflagitauit, vt metropolitana potestas in diui An-
dree ciuitate figeretur: iniquum esse enim contendit, vt
Scoti ab Eboracensi episcopo tanquam primatu pe-
derent, cum propter crebra bella (quibus se Scoti &
Angli mutuo lacerant) Scotis ad illum non pate-
retur tutus accessus, nec liberum ius, praesertim in ap-
pellationibus. Annuit summus pontifex, vt Andrea-
politano deinceps episcopo potestas metropolitana
incumbat. Dies indulto pontifici promulgandi
mense Septembri dicta est, atque maxima populi no-
biliumque laetitia celebrata. Episcopi reliqui Graha-
mi odio flagrant, illius auctoritatem repudiant, re-
gisque animum ingenti pecunia (which was as other
authoris saie, eleuen thousand marks) occupant, ne
Grahami partibus studeret. Interea praesules Roma
mittunt qui sui defensionem contra Grahamum sus-
cipiunt. But in the end they did not preuaile. Gra-
ham was made archbishop.

Patrike Graham being bishop of saint Andrews
and the first archbishop of that see, was after his ad-
uancement to that title depprived in this sort. In the

yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thre
score and seuentene, pope Nissus the fourth of that
name sent a legat called Husman into Scotland,
which should displace this Patrike the archbishop of
saint Andrews, condemned by the sentence of the
pope and the cardinals for an heretike, schismatike,
simoniacke, wherupon he was depprived of all ecclesi-
asticall dignitie, and commanded to perpetuall pri-
son; in whose place was William Schewes chosen,
to whose custodie and disposition this Patrike was
committed, after which Graham being removed for
his safe imprisonment first to saint Colms Ile, then
to Dumfermeling, and lastlie to Lochelvine, there
in the end he died, and was buried in saint Sarmis
or Seruianus Ile in Lochelvine after that he
had bene thre yeares archbishop.

William Schewes being created archbishop of
saint Andrews in the yeare of Christ one thousand
foure hundred threescore and eightene as some haue,
or one thousand foure hundred threescore and nine-
tene as others haue, in the Holie rood house in E-
denburgh, in the presence of king James and ma-
nie of the nobilitie receiued the pall, as the ensigne
of his metropolitan power, being declared legat
and primate of Scotland, at what time he was not
withstood by anie of the other bishops, who being es-
tranged from the king anie fauor to Graham, did
often infringe his authoritie, and in the end expelled
the same Graham from his archiepiscopall see. Af-
ter which in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure
hundred fourescore & two, this archbishop Schewes
sied into his owne countrie, and after at the request
of the king resigned his archbishopricke, contenting
himselfe with the bishopricke of Murrie.

Andrew Steward uncle to king James the third
was vpon the resignation of William Schewes
made archbishop of saint Andrews, after which in
the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred foure
score and foure the king sent this archbishop ambas-
sado: to Rome for the obtaining of certeine priuile-
ges, which he brought to effect. In the yeare of Christ
one thousand foure hundred fourescore and eleuen, in
the time of king James the fourth, about the third
yeare of his reigne was great contention betwene
the archbishops of saint Andrews and Glasgou,
touching both their authorities: which when it had
drawen manie of the nobilitie into diuers factions,
it was ceased by the king for a certeine time, untill
all doubt thereof might be taken alwaie, by deciding
the same by the canon law before ecclesiasticall iud-
ges. When in the yeare of Christ one thousand five
hundred and seuen, being about the nineteenth yeare
of James the fourth, the bishop of saint Andrews
with the earle of Arrane were sent ambassado: into
to France.

Alexander Steward bastard sonne to king James
the fourth, was made archbishop of saint Andrews
in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and
ten, about the two and twentieth of the reigne of the
same James the fourth: this man having long sta-
died with Erasmus in Germanie, and in the low
countrie was aduanced to this see of the archbi-
shopricke when he was yet in Flanders; who hauing
intelligence thereof by his friends, came forthwith
into Scotland, where he was sofullie receiued by the
king, the nobilitie, & his kindred. He was flaine to-
gether with his father king James the fourth at
Floden field, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five
hundred and thirtene. After which, John Hepburne
prior of saint Andrews strongly besieging the cas-
tle of saint Andrews, forced the same to be yielded
vnto him. The cause of which bessege grew, that Hep-
burne being chosen bishop of saint Andrews by his
canons of that church (wherevnto the whole nobilitie
were

Lesleus. lib. 8.
pag. 317.

Lesleus pag. 317.

William
Schewes.

Andrew
Steward.

Andrew
Steward.

Lesleus.

1483

Alexander
Steward.

Lesleus. lib. 8.
pag. 353.

Lett. pag 373.

Andrew
Fozman.

were helpers) was hindered to possesse that archbishopske, by such spendarrie people of Calvine Dowglaſſe as kept the castle; whereupon the quene and the earle of Angus, after that they understood how the castle was by force come into the hands of Hepburne, did take in euill part that he who was so troubleſome vnto them, should ascend to so high a dignitie, and that Calvine Dowglaſſe so deſerue to them beloued, and to whom they had giuen that bishopske should be helpless of the reconerit therof. Whereupon the quene and the duke of Albanie diligently labored by ambassadoꝝ sent to Rome, that a third person (sith Calvine Dowglaſſe could not obtaine it) might be aduanced therevnto, which third man was Andrew Fozman bishop of Purrie: further requiring therewithall that he might be abbat of Dumfermling, & Aberbroth, which in the end with much intreatie they obtained of the pope.

Andrew Fozman bishop of Purrie was at Edinburgh by the popes buls on the eighth kalends of Januarie in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftene (being about the second yeare of the reigne of James the first) declared archbishop of S. Andrews, and abbat of Dumfermling and Aberbroth. Whereupon the prior of saint Andrews before named, still contending that he was archbishop, both in respect of the election of the couent, and the consent of the nobilitie, did labor all he could against Fozman, appealing him to Rome, for which cause he with the lord Hales and other his friends came to Edinburgh to defend the matter, at what time the lord Hume chamberlaine of Scotland and such others as openly assisted Fozman, did oppose themselves against the prior, which nobilitie (because they were great in the court) did the more molest and hinder Hepburne, shortly after by publike edict (and proclamation of the king) banishing the prior & his followers. Hepburne being stricken with the sharpnes of that precept, did prouide depart the towne, and the prior went to Rome, hoping by the popes authoritie to wrest from Fozman the archbishopske, which he could not obtaine by violence. But how he sped at Rome I do not know, for I onely find this, that in the yeare following, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftene, about the third yeare of the same James the first, that the gouernour perceiuing that all these contentions, hatreds, and diuisions of the nobilitie did arise by these byalles, which were betwene Fozman and Hepburne for the see of saint Andrews, desired to cure this greivous wound made in the commonwealth. Wherefore he perswaded Andrew Fozman that he should resigne all his ecclesiasticall benefices into his hands in an open assemblee at Edinburgh, for by that meanes the gouernour thought that he might pacifie the minds of the nobilitie, and bitterlie root out those breaches of dissention. Whereupon there was a daie appointed to the nobilitie to assemble: at what time Andrew Fozman freely resigned to the gouernour the duke of Albanie all his ecclesiasticall promotion, to be disposed at the dukes pleasure. In consideration thereof, the duke bestowed the archbishopske of saint Andrews and the abbete of Dumfermling vpon the same Andrew Fozman, and gaue the bishopske of Purrie to James Hepburne (greatly fauored of the earle Bothwell and the competitor of Fozman) being therevnto substitute by John Hepburne prior of saint Andrews in place of the said John, to whom moreover the duke appointed a perelite pension of a thousand marks, to be paid by the same Fozman out of the abbete of Dumfermling. After which, about six yeares or somewhat lesse, this Fozman departed his life, being in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and two, and the

ninth yeare of king James the first, to whom succeeded James Beton.

James Beton archbishop of Glasgowe and chancellor of Scotland, was made archbishop of saint Andrews (as is before touched) after the death of Andrew Fozman, hauing therewith the abbete of Dumfermling, as his predecessor before had possessed it, of whom see more in my discourse of the chancellors of Scotland.

David Beton brother to the same James Beton was after the death of the last archbishop of saint Andrews named to that see by his brother before his death, which place he possessed accordingly, after the death of the same James Beton. Of this man being a cardinall I haue spoken more liberally in my discourse of the chancellors of Scotland.

John Hamilton (brother to the gouernour) being abbat of Dalkeith, was by the same gouernour in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortye and six, being about the fourth yeare of Marie quene of Scots made archbishop of S. Andrews, after that he had returned out of France (where he applied his studie) in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortye & thre, being the first or second of quene Marie of Scotland. This man coming out of France, passed through England, and hauing other learned men in his companie, did visit the king of England, of whom he was most honourable and courteouslie receiued. From thence going into Scotland he was made treasurer, which office he kept as long as his brother was gouernour, whom he did further in all good counsels at home, and saue & defend in the wars abroad. When in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and nine, being the seauententh of quene Marie, he was with the quene besieged in Leith. After still following the quenes part, he with others metesth hir in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and six, at Spilkelbozow, and so attendeth on hir, who not long after in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred seuentie & one, being about the fourth yeare of James the first, was taken in the castell of Dunbartaine, and sent prisoner into Sterling, where being examined by the regent Spathew earle of Lenex, about the murder of Henrie king of Scots, sonne to the said Spathew, he was there drawn, hanged, and quartered, being the first archbishop that I haue yet heard of that suffered so ignominious a death.

Patrick Adamson alias Constance succeeded John Hamilton in the archbishopske of saint Andrews, who possessing this place at this daie, and hauing occasioned me to speake of him in seuerall places in this my continuance of the annales of Scotland, is here to be ouerpassed, and therefore I referre thee to the same annales, if thou desire to know what I haue said of him. Thus knitting vp the catalog of the archbishops of S. Andrews, we saie that as you haue heard before, that in Februarie last Thomas Randolph esquier was sent ambassadoꝝ from the quene of England into Scotland, so he still remaining there a long time in that countrie dispatcht his ambassage to good effect. During whose abode there, there was an assemblee holden at Edinburgh in Spate, wherein these things which follow were concluded vpon for the establishing and order of the same commonwealth.

The articles concluded in the assemblee holden at Edinburgh in Maie.

First, the whole realme was diuided into synodes, & the number of ministers and churches appointed to enerte presbyterie.

Item,

2 That

2 That there shall be two prouinciall assemblies in the yeare in euerie prouince, the first tuesday of October and Aprill.

3 There shall be one generall assemblee in the yeare, the first of October next ensuing.

4 All assemblies doe consist of these persons, the pastor, doctor, and elders, & all the thre to haue votes, as well in the presbyteries prouinciall as generall assemblies: and that all such as haue anie lutes in the assemblies may see and here, but giue no vote except they be of the number of the thre afoze specified.

5 That there was onelie foure offices in the church, the pastor, doctor, elder and deacon, and that the name of bishop was onlie proper to the pastor or minister, and that he had especiall charge and surtion in the church, but no greater than a common pastor.

6 Item, that visitation in the church was lawfull, and at this time necessarie, in respect of the eldership as yet is not lawfullie planted, and that this visitation did appertene onelie to a pastor or pastors sent from the assemblee, and not else.

7 That when euer the assemblee maketh mention of a bishop, they meane onelie S. Pauls bishop and none other.

8 That the receiuing of presentations, giuing of collations, triall of ministers, deposing them for iust causes, shall be in the power of the most learned and soundest iudgement of two presbyteries, and this to stand untill the presbyteries be better erected.

9 That a commissioner appointed by the generall assemblee, being a pastor, as pastor shall be tried and censured in life and doctrine by the presbyterie, or prouinciall assemblee, but in respect of his commission, he shall be tried by the generall assemblee, of whome he receiued the same.

10 If he admit or doe any thing without consent of his assemblee, it shall be of no effect, and a iust cause of his deposition.

11 The power which he shall receiue shall be *Ordinis causa non iurisdictionis*.

12 Commission appointed by the prouinciall or generall assemblies to visit, shall visit presbyteries or particular churches, alwaies not preiudging the power of the presbyterie within the bounds of their visitation.

13 The visitors appointed by the generall assemblee for this present to stand for one yeare, and thereafter as the assemblee shall appoint.

14 That no commission giuen by ante in times past before the date of this assemblee shall be baileable, but such onlie as the said assemblee shall appoint. In which assemblee also it seemeth that the kings maiestie made certeine requests, to haue somewhat established concerning the bishop of saint Andrews, whereupon these things were concluded against him, and he brought to subscribe the same, to the preiudice of his metropolitan iurisdiction ouer the rest of the clergie of his crowne.

The meanes taken in this generall assemblee, touching the bishop of S. Andrews, at the desire of the kings maiestie.

If the bishop by his owne handwriting or personall appearance in the assemblee, will in Gods presence denie, that euer he publihelie professed or meant in ante to claime a supermasie, or to be iudge ouer other persons and ministers, or euer allowed the same to haue a ground in Gods word: and that if he had so done, it had bene great error and against his conscience and knowledge.

2 If he will denie, that in the last synodall as-

semblee he claimed to be iudge thereunto, and that if he had done it, that he erred in it, and in his impious behauiour or contempt of the said synod and his brethren, in that he will remit him to the brethren present, and craue pardon for the oversight thereof, and promise good behauiour in the time to come.

3 If he will promise to claime no further than he shallie may by Gods word, and according to the last conference, and endeuour himselfe in all behauiour to shew himselfe in all time to come a moderate person, and so serue, as that he may proue agreeable for a bishop prescribed by S. Paule, and so submit his life and doctrine to the iudgement and censure of the generall assemblee without anie reclamation, prouocation, or appellation from the same in anie time to insue.

These things being demanded at the archbishops hands, he was contented to yeld to them by subscribing his name with his owne hand thereunto, which done, the said assemblee at Edinburgh did for their part in like sort publish their dutifull mind & obedience to his maiestie, in aduulling the processe of excommunication against the said bishop of saint Andrews, and to continue him in his former estate, as followeth.

The decree of the assemblee at Edinburgh, concerning the restitution of the bishop of S. Andrews.

In the name of our Lord Iesus Christe, we his maiesties satisfaction, and to giue testimonie with what god will we would obeye his helres so farre as we ought, or in our conscience we may, and for god hope we haue in his maiesties fauourable concurrence in building up of the house of God within this realme, and because the processe of excommunication was laid, and the sentence pronounced during the time of the conference, whereupon his maiestie hath taken occasion of offense, which for manie god causes were conuenient to be removed, we will forebare to examine the said processe, or decide it, whatsoeuer prouocation or appellation, or to call in doubt the legalitie or forme of the said processe, or to condemne the said synod. Yet for the respects afoze said, and vpon god and weightie considerations, we hold the said processe and sentence as vnlaid, vnderdotted or pronounced, and restore the said bishops in all respects so farre as may concerne the said processe and sentence of excommunication in the former estate he was immediatlie before the same, like as no processe nor sentence had been laid and deducted against him. Prouiding alwaies he obserue what hath bene promised by him in the premises, & behaue himselfe dutifullie in his vocation in all times comming.

This done the earle of Rutland (hauing a commission directed to him, to William lord Cuers, and to the same Thomas Randolph) went to Bertwicke as his maiesties ambassadours, to confirme that league betwene the two nations of England and Scotland, which the said Randolph had before concluded. Whereupon the commissioners of England, the earle of Rutland, and the lord Cuers, from out of England, and Thomas Randolph from out of Scotland, came to Bertwicke the place appointed where this league should be fullie established. For the meeting of whome at the same place, were commissioners of like number, and equall honor and authority, appointed to come to Bertwicke for Scotland. But some delaie being made of their appearance, and manie excuses therewith to intertine time by messengers vsed, at the length cometh to Bertwicke Francis earle Bothwell, Robert lord Boid, and

and Sir James Hume of Colden knowles knight and baron, commissioners for the king of Scots, who there meeting with the foresaid commissioners of England, did conclude a league defensue and of fence betweene these two nations: which done, the earle of Arundell returned home, and maister Randolph departed againe into Scotland to take his leaue of the king, whom when he had saluted he left, and returning into England came to London about the fiftenth of August, where I will now leaue him. But before I turne my pen to any of the persons of Scotland, I determine to set downe certeine verses which Buchanan dedicated vnto him. For although they be matter impertinent to this historie of Scotland, yet because they were written to him (here mentioned) by a Scot, and are meet for the instructions of the yong Scottish king, I will not refuse to set them downe in this sort as followeth:

Sape tibi Randolphe iubes me pingere regem,

Qualem optem, tribuat sic mihi vota Deus.

Accipe: sit primum vera pietatis amator,

Effigiem summi se putet esse Dei,

Pacem amet: si res poscat, sit ad arma paratus,

Exuat in victos arma, odiumque simul,

Nolo nimis parcus, nimium sit nolo benignus,

Vtraque regno aqua est exitiosa lues,

Non sibi sed populo sese putet esse creatum,

Et se communem vniuersis esse patrem:

Puniat inuitus, cum res iubet esse seuerum,

Publica cum poscent commoda lenis erit.

Præstat, ut exemplar populo sit rectæ sequendi,

Sit vultus prauis terror, amorque bonus,

Excolat impense ingenium, corpusque modestè,

Luxuriam frangat cum ratione pudor:

Iam tacitus tecum, tentas me fallere, tanquam

In tabula nostram, qui mihi pingit heram.

During the time of the abode of this Randolph in Scotland, there was an ambassadoe sent from the king of France to the king of Scots, which ambassadoe being called monsieur D'annauall had at this time small interteinment in Scotland; where not staid long after that Randolph was come into England, he also came hither out of Scotland, to the end to passe through this countrie into France. This summer Montgomerie erle of Eglinton, whose father died not manie yeares before, hauing married the daughter of the lord Woid was slaine in this sort. The earle being a godlie yong gentleman, and like to proue a god member of his countrie, as manie of his ancestors had done before, did for his delight ride forth on hunting (a warlike exercise, & much vsed by the Scots) about five or six miles frō his owne castell, where hauing satisfied his pleasure, he returned home. But hauing wait laid for him by an ambush of his enemies, he was in his forneie towards his castell intercepted by the lord of Glencarns brother, with the lards of Hacket and Robertlands, and some of the surnames of the Wairs; at what time he was most miserable slaine by them to their great dishonor, and his countries discommoditie. After which, in September Archibald Dowglas (who as you heard before departing this realme in Aprill last, was admitted to come into his owne countrie) was sent ambassadoe from the king of Scots to the quene of England; in whose companie were attendant on him William Hurro one of the kings chamber, and Richard Dowglas nephew vnto the same Archibald. Which ambassadoe after his comming into England, had full audience at the court then remaining at Windsor, on the first of the same moneth of September, with whom remaining still here in England, at the writing hereof, expecting the end of his ambassage; I will set end to this slender dis-

course. Thus hauing patched vp a Rapodie of some few things done in Scotland since the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred seuentie and one, in which I began my annals of that countrie so nakedlie deliuered by me, I determine to knit by all whatsoeuer is set downe before, with a catalog of such writers of Scotland, as either by mine owne search in histories, or by others intelligence by conference haue come vnto my hand. The which I haue bene the willinge to do, because I would obserue that course in Scotland which I haue done in my additions to the historie of England, first written by Raphaell Holinshed, for hauing there closed vp that historie with a generall catalog of all such as haue written anie thing concerning England, so will I wrap vp these annals of Scotland, much after that manner, with a generall discourse of the writers of that countrie. In doing whereof I haue not refused to follow the order of Lelæus and other historiographers of Scotland, obseruing the like course in the repetition of the names of a few persons at the end of most of their kings.

A generall catalog of the writers of Scotland, with the times in which they liued, as well of the yeare of Christ, as of the reigne of Scottish kings.

BEfore I enter into the discourse thereof (which I speake not by wale of impeaching anie glorie of the Scottish nation) I must deliuer the opinion which I conceiue of some of the Scottish writers, set downe by manie of their historiographers, who (sauiug correction) finding manie learned writers to be termed Scots, do transference them to all their owne countrie of Scotland. But in that they came vnto me (holding the same for this present untill I may see good authoritie to disproue it) to be ouer couetous in taking from other that which is their due. For I do herelie suppose, that manie of those men so termed Scots were Irishmen borne. For vntill late yeres a little before the conquest (if my memorie faile me not) the Irishmen were called Scotti or Scots; whereupon it is, that the Scots and Irishmen at this date now knowne by seuerall names, do challenge Duns, Columbanus, and others to be borne amongst them, some calling them Scots, and other naming them Irishmen, and rebuking the Scots for chalenging those men vnto them. For although the Scots came out of Ireland, and the Irish were called Scots, it is no reason to call a Scot borne in Ireland, by the name of a Scot borne in Scotland, as some writers do vnder the amphibologicall name of Scot. But I (whose determination is not to aduance the one, or derogate from the other) will oulie in this place set them downe as I find them, & shew the different opinions touching the same, still leaving it to the iudgement of others, to thinke thereof as they please; for I neither may nor will sit as Honorarius arbiter betwene those two nations. Wherefore thus I enter into the catalog of the writers of Scotland as followeth.

Fergusius the first of that name king of Scots, Fergusius, who died, as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, in the yeare of the world three thousand six hundred seuentie and eight, and two hundred ninetie and two before the birth of our Lord Iesus Christ, but Lelæus saith three hundred and five before Christ, did write Leges politicas lib. 1. This man the Irish make to be there borne amongst them; for thus writeth Stanihurst in his writers of Ireland: Fergusius sonne to Fergusus king of Ireland, the first king of Scots, whom some affirme to be borne in Denmarke, the more

part suppose to haue bene an Irishman, was in the five and twentieth yeare of his reigne by misfortune drowned nere a rocke in the north part of Ireland, that of him at this daie is called Caerfergus. Upon whose mishap these verses following were made:

Icarus Icareis vt nomina fecerat vndis,

Fergusius petra sic dedit apta suæ.

Iosina.

Iosina, the ninth king of Scots, after *Fergusius* the first, who flourished in the yeare of the world, as hath *Gesnerus*, three thousand eight hundred twentieth and six, before the birth of *Christ* one hundred thirtie and seven, as the same author saith, but one hundred three score and one as hath *Lesleus* lib. 2. pag. 89 did write *De viribus herbarum* lib. 1.

Theodinus.

Theodinus the first of that name king of Scots, who (delighting in musike) was in the yeare of *Christ* one hundred ninetie and foure, and the third yeare of his reigne, as hath *Lesleus*, but one hundred ninetie and six, as hath *Gesnerus*, saith by a musician of the *Hebrides*, did write *Ad Pictorum regem plures epistolas*.

Celcius Sedulius.

Celcius Sedulius a Scot by birth, as hath *Gesnerus*, which flourished about the yeare of *Grace* foure hundred and thirtie, in the reigns of *Fergusius* the second, and *Eugenius* the second, kings of Scots, who being a companion to *Hildebert* a learned bishop of the Scots, did after the death of *Hildebert* for further learning trauell into *Spain*, *France*, *Italie*, *Græce*, and *Asia*, as hath *Lesleus* lib. 4. pag. 134. Whome the pope *Gelasius* wondering at his vertue and writing was wont to call *Venerabilem*, or worthy reuerence, as our English *Bede* is accustomed to be termed. This *Sedulius* did write *Carmen paschale* lib. 4. which books are intituled *Libri mirabilium diuinorum*. Besides, he penned *Annotationes* in omnes *Pauli* epistolas, printed at *Basill* by *Henric Peter*, *Hymnum de seruatore*. *Ad Theodosium Cæsarem* lib. 1. In æditionem *Donati* lib. 1. In *Prisciani* volumen lib. 1. *Exhortatorium ad fideles* lib. 1. *De Christo* lib. 2. with diuerse other verses and epistles.

Merlinus Calidonus.

Merlinus Calidonus otherwile called *Merlinus Syluestris*, or *Wylandish* (a different person from him which is called *Merlinus Ambrosius Britannus*) was borne in the borders of Scotland, and the scholer of the British prophet *Telefinus*. This *Merline* *Calidon* executed manie prodigies or strange things against the English Saxons, which man flourishing about the yeare of *Christ* five hundred and tenetie, did write *De vaticinijs* lib. 1. in which he intreated of matter belonging to historie.

Columbanus.

Columbanus, whome *Gesnerus*, *Bede*, and the Irish histories affirme to be an Irishman borne in *Ulster*, but *Sixtus Senensis* in his *Bibliotheca sancta*, *Lesleus*, & the Scottish & Englishmen name to be of other nations, as of Scotland and England, was a monke & father of manie monasteries, being *Abbas Luxuriensis*, as hath *Gesnerus*, *Sixtus Senensis*, and *Lesle*, being a place in *Burgundie*, which abbete he built (by the permission of *Theodoricus* the king) together with the abbete of *Fontenelle* in France. This man at the first held the feast of *Caister* contrarie to the west church, but in the end was reduced thereinto. He went into *Almanie* now *Germanie*, where he left saint *Gall*, and after passed into *Italie*, where he liued a most holie life in the monastrie of *Bobbens*, or (as hath *Marianus*) of *Boulens*, which he built for a perpetuall monument of his liberalitie, and died in the same on the twentieth daie of *November*. He flourished in the time of *Conballus* king of Scots, about the yeare of our redemption five hundred ninetie and eight, and left these books to posteritie, *Commentaria in totum psalterium* lib. 1. *Epistolarum* lib. 1. *Monasteriorum methodos* lib. 1. *Aduersus Theodoricum regem adulterum* lib. 1. *De moribus monachorum metricè* lib. 1. *Collationes ad monachos* lib. 1.

Aduersus Theodoricum regem adulterum lib. 1. *De moribus monachorum metricè* lib. 1. *Collationes ad monachos* lib. 1.

Briget, a most holie woman, whome the Irish affirme to be borne in *Ulster*, but *Gesnerus* and *Lesle* with the Scots do affirme hir to be borne a Scot, being by *Gesner* called *Brigida Lagenensis*, she became religious, and was veiled by the bishop of *Span*, as hath *Lesleus* lib. 4. pag. 149. She flourished about the yeare of our Lord five hundred three score and eight, as hath *Lesleus*, in the reigne of *Conballus* king of Scots; some other saie she flourished in the yeare five hundred and ten, *Gesnerus* in the yeare of *Christ* five hundred and eightene, and wrote twelue books of reuelations verie darke and full of mysteries, which books *Lesleus* will not haue to be written by this *Briget* a Scottish woman, but by *Briget* called *Brigita Suetica* that flourished manie yeres after this Scottish *Briget*, writing thus: *Imperitè tamen hanc nostram cum Brigita Suetica, cuius nomine reuelationes multæ inscribuntur, quidam cõfundit: siquidè multis sæculis hanc Brigita nostra fuisse posteriorem satis constat. Tanta veneratione Scoti, Picti, Britanni, Angli & Hibernenses diuam Brigitam sunt vbique prosecuti, vt plura templa Deo in illius memoriam apud illos omnes erecta videas, quàm in vllius cæterorum diuorum omnium. Illius sanctum corpus Hibernici, Duni, quo loco sancti Patricij illorum apostoli corpus seruatur se habere contendunt. Nostri eandem gloriam sibi vendicant, qui idipsum in canonicorum collegio Abrenethi rectè se colere hætenus putantur, &c. Touching which I haue read these old verses, by which the Irishmen chalenge hir with *Columbanus* and *Patricius* to be buried in Ireland, which verses are thus:*

Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in vno,

Brigita Patricius, atque Columba pius.

Malcolmus or *Malcolmus* Scotus, as *Gesnerus* termeth him, did flourish in the yeare of our Lord six hundred foure score and nine, he wrote *De Paschatis obseruatione*, whome I take to be *Malcolmus*, who was notable learned in the *Græke* and *Latine*, first a scholemaster, and after abbat of *Malmsburie* called in the beginning *Maidulphi curia*, or *Malmsburie*, after the name of this *Malcolmus*, who as hath *Lesleus* lib. 4. pag. 137. did flourish in the yeare of *Christ* seven hundred and sixtene. Now it is certaine both by our and the Scottish chronicles, that *Malcolmus* the builder of *Malmsburie* monastrie was a Scot.

Kilianus a Scot being a monke, was martyzed in *Germanie* about the yeare of our Lord six hundred three score and nine, as hath *Gesnerus* out of *Bale*, but *Lesleus* affirmeth him to liue in the gouernment of *Ethelinus*, which died in the yeare of our Lord seven hundred three score and two, being the thirtieth yere of his reigne. This *Kilianus* did write *Contra peregrinos cultus*, lib. 1. *Gesner* also out of *Mat. Dresserus* nameth *Lecturā Kiliani super magistrū sententiarum*, which peraduenture might be this *Kilianus* the Scot.

Jonas Monachus being borne in Scotland, and the disciple of the abbat *Columbanus*, flourished in the yeare of *Christ* six hundred and thirtie, as hath *Gesnerus*, he wrote *Vitam sancti Columbani* lib. 1. *Vitam sancti Eustacii abbatis* lib. 1.

Adamannus Coladus, being a Scot as hath *Gesner* out of *Bale*, was a monke of the apostolicall order, and moderator, ruler, or abbat of the monastrie in the Ile of *Iona*, who flourished in the yeare of *Christ* six hundred foure score and ninetene, and wrote *De locis terræ sanctæ* lib. 1. *De situ Ierusalem* lib. 1. *De pascheta legimio* lib. 1. *Epistolas multas*. From this mans works *Bede* affirmeth that he had

had man's things which he inserted in his owne booke. But I much doubt whether this Adamannus were a Scot, in that he is called Adamannus Colubius, that is Adam of Colubi, which Colubi is a place in Northeshire belonging to the bishopricke of Forke, and now at this date is in English called Catwood.

Florentius (whom Scotland brought forth flourisheth in the yeare of Christ six hundred foure score and eight, in which yeare Eugenius the first king of Scots began his reigne) was, as hath Lesleus, noble boine, who travelling into strange countries, converted manie from paganism into Christ, leading a most austere life in the solitarie woods, not far from Bzulchius the famous riuer in Alsatia, and built a monasterie for such religious persons as came to him out of Scotland, being after the death of Rotharius by the Argentines made their bishop. He was buried in that monasterie before named, builded for his Scots. This man I take to be the same man of whom thus writeth Gesnerus: Florentius Volusenus Scotus scripsit theologicā orationē suae cōmendationem piā & eruditā, Griphius excudit Lugduni 1539. Idem de animi tranquillitate carmen ibidem excusum 1543. & Basilæ apud Ioannē Oporinum cum pijs aliquot poetis an. 1551. Idem edidit aphorismos beatæ vitæ & dialogum de animi tranquillitate, which may be the booke of that matter before mentioned.

Artullus.

Artullus, or Artullis a worthy gentleman, the sonne of a most noble person borne in Scotland, flourisheth, as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, in the yeare of Christ seven hundred and ten, but Lesleus appointeth him to haue liued in the time of Eugenius the eight of that name king of Scotland, who as he further saith, began his reigne in the yeare of Christ seven hundred thre score and two, this Artullus writ De rebus mathematicis libri vñ, ad Adelmum episcopum lib. 1.

Sedulius Junior.

Sedulius Junior being bishop of the south Scots did write Statuta concilij Romæ ad sanctum Petrum habiti, and liued in the yere of Christ seven hundred and fouretene.

Bonifacius.

Bonifacius, as hath Marianus Scotus by the witness of Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 166, being of the Scottish blood, went to Rome, from whence by pope Gregorie the second he was sent into Germanie to convert them to the faith, where he was made the first archbishop of Mentz, being called the Germane apostle, after which he was the popes legat and sent into France: In qua (as saith Lesle) Thuringis, Hessis, & Austrasionibus ad rectam religionis viam traductis, messum longè copiosissimam collegerat; after which he went againe into Germanie, & from thence into Frisia, where he was martyzed in the yere of Christ seven hundred fiftie and five, who being a monke of the order of saint Benet, did write; Epistolarum ad diuersos lib. 1. Vitam quorundam sanctorum lib. 1.

Ioannes Mailrose.

Ioannes Mailrose whom Gesnerus maketh mention to be all one with Ioannes Scotus, being the companion of Alcuinus, in the time of Charles the great: this man being skillfull in all diuine knowledges, liued in the time of Donald the first of that name king of Scotland, as saith Lesleus bishop of Ross, and also flourisheth in the time of Gregorie king of Scots, in the yeare of Christ eight hundred fourescore and twelue. This Ioannes Scotus after many yeares spent at Athens in the Græke letters, was called into France by Lodowike emperor of the Romans, who besides other monuments of his learning, at the commandement of the said emperor, did turne the Hierarchie of saint Denis into Latine, besides the commentaries of Hugo de san-

cto Victore, a most notable diuine. Shortly after which, the said John was sent by Charles the great into England, to Alured, or Alfred the king thereof, to congratulate so worthy a prince for the victories which he had of the Danes: who after that he had settled a perfect league betwene the French and the Scots, remained in England continually, intertained by Alured, of whose children he was admitted to be chiefe scholemaster and instructor.

But shortly after, professing diuine and humane learning in the monasterie of Palmesburie, to all such as would come to his lecture, he was by certeine scholars of his (whose pride and euill conditions he did sharpe rebuke, wounded & killed pitifullie with Pugionibus, as saith Lesleus. Which John, the king of England (as I suppose) by the authority of the pope, procured to be numbred amongst the martyrs of Christ, ordaining a notable monument to be erected ouer him in the same monasterie: of whose writings and doings thus writeth Gesnerus in these words: Ioannes Mailrosius cognomine & natione Scotus, Alcuini socius, scripsit super canones Aizadhelis lib. 1. Ad Carolū regē lib. 1. Versus diuersi generis lib. 1. In euangel. Mat. lib. 3. De officijs humanis lib. 8. De officijs diuinis lib. 1. Dialogum de natura lib. 1. De natura diuisione lib. 1. De primo rerū principio lib. 1. De eucharistia lib. 1. Commentaria scripturarum lib. 1. Homilias eruditissimas lib. 1. De Germani, iuxta Irenium lib. 1. Claruit anno 792, Baleus. Idem libros Dionysij Arcopagitar in Latinam linguam transtulit. Carmen eius ad Carolum magnum extat apud M. Dress.

Kennethus king of Scots, who died in the yeare of Christ eight hundred fiftie & five, wrote a booke of godlie lawes which are expressed by Lesleus lib. 1. pag. 75. of whome thus writeth Gesnerus: Kennethus Scotorum rex, Alcuini regis filius, scripsit Breuiarium antiquarum legum, quibus in foris per Angliam iuriconsulti vtuntur. But in that Gesner is deceiued; for we neuer read (as far as my memorie serueth) that euer the English borrowed lawes of the Scots; but contrarie, the Scots haue borrowed, & bene enforced to obteine the lawes of England, as receiuing them from the kings of this land, their superiour lords: to whome they haue done their homage, although time hath now wrought the same out of vse.

Kennethus king of Scots.

Claudianus Clemens, by birth a Scot & a monke, being the disciple of Bede, was companion to Albinus or Alcuinus, as saith Sixtus Senensis in bibliotheca sancta: he was verie studious in the scriptures, & skillfull in other humane knowledges, who liuing in the time of Charlemaine, in the yeare of Christ eight hundred, and eight hundred and ten, did in verse and prose write manie learned works, whereof these are knowne to be his: In pentateuchum lib. 5. In Iosua lib. 1. In Iudicum lib. 1. In Ruth lib. 1. In psalterium. In Matthæum lib. 1. In Paulum ad Galatas. De euangelistarum concordia. Contra

Claudianus Clemens.

Bonifacium Anglum, & alia multa.

Beornillus bishop of the Scots, of whome thus writeth Parker in his booke of the liues of the archbishops of Canturburie: Beornillus Scotorum episcopus acerrimus verborum & sententiarum aculeus carmine scriptis, monachorum turbam laceffuit: which Beornillus was also at the councill of Calne in Wiltshire in England, about the yeare of Christ nine hundred threescore and seuentene. For Alfrith the quene procured Alfrith or Alfred earle of Mercia in England, that he should labor to haue this Beornill to be present there, which this bishop Beornill did performe, and vehementlie spake in defense of the secular priests, against the placing of monks in their houses.

Beornillus.

Alcuinus

Lentius.

Lentius archbishop of the Scots, being martyred, and so termed a martyr, is supposed to have written certaine homilies; he flourished as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, in the yeare of Christ one thousand and seuen, under the government of Orme and Malcolme (the second) kings of Scots.

Malcolme.

Malcolme the second of that name king of Scots, who began his reigne in the yeare of Christ one thousand and ten, and reigned thirtie yeares, departing the world in the yeare of Christ one thousand and fiftie, did write of his countrie lawes, Lib. 1. being at length slain by his owne courtiers.

Marianus Scotus.

Marianus Scotus so called, because that he was borne in Scotland, was a monke of the order Benedictine, who when he perceived all the realme of Scotland to be kindeled with continuall and cruell hatred in the time of the tyrant Mackbeth, beginning his reigne in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiftie and six, he forsooke his countrie, and first came vnto the monasterie of Hulda in Germanie; where for a time he continued vnder Richard the abbat (a Scot, no lesse famous for his godlinesse, than for his learning) which at the time of his coming thither, had the government of the same abbey. After which, Marianus went to Mentz, and passing ouer a solitarie life by the space of thirtie yeares, in an opinion of all men for his vertue, he shortly after died, who (flourishing vnder the said tyrant Mackbeth, & Malcolme the third of that name king of Scots) did leaue behind him these works of his: Chronica ab initio mundi vsque ad sua tempora lib. 3. De concordantia euangelistarum lib. 1. De computo lib. 1. Emendationes Dionysij. Annotationes scripturarum. De cyclo paschali Algorithmum. Breuiarium in Lucam. Epistolas hortatorias, obiit Maguntia, anno Dom. 1086.

Turgotus.

Turgotus by Gesner called deane of Durham, and by our chronicles called prior of that house, was a verie vertuous person, and after created bishop of saint Andrewes, who being in life in the yeare of Christ one thousand fourescore and sixtene, in the time of Malcolme the third, surnamed Canmor, or with the great head king of Scots, did write De Scottis regibus lib. 1. Chronica Dunelmensis lib. 1. Annales sui temporis lib. 1. Vitam Malcolmi regis, & vitam Margaretæ Angliæ reginæ. In which Gesner hath mistaken himselfe, for there was not arie Margaret quene of England manie hundred yeres after this Turgotus, vntill the latter time of king Edward the first. Wherefore it should rather be the life of saint Margaret quene of Scotland, and the wife of that Malcolme.

David Scotus.

David Scotus, of whom Gesner maketh two distinct writers one after another, first setting downe David Scotus, and next David Presbyter Scotus, this man being borne in Scotland, was first scholemaster at Wiceburgh, who being after called into the court by Henrie the first the emperor, of whom Auentinus abbas Vrspengensis & manie others do write, was after made bishop of Bangor in Wales. This man writing the discourse of the tourneie which the emperor Henrie the first made into Italie after the pacification had betwene him and the pope about the inuestiture of bishops, did occasion William of Malm'burie to saie thus much of him in his first booke De regibus. At verò Henricus antiquis Cesaribus in nulla virtute deiectionior, post pacatum regnum Theutonicum præsumebat animo Italicum; rebellionem vrbium subiugaturus, questionemque de inuestitura suo libito recessurus; sed iter illud ad Romani magnis exercitationibus peccatorum magnis angoribus corporis consummatum. David Scotus Banchorensis episcopus exposuit, magis regis gratiam quam historicum deceret accluius. He lived and pro-

lived about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred and ten in the times of Edgar and Alexander (the first) kings of Scotland, & did write Henrici imperatoris in Italiam expeditionem lib. 1. Magistratum insignia lib. 1. Apologiam ad Cæsarem de regno Scotia lib. 1.

Richardus de sancto Victore (of whom I do not as yet find anie mention in Gesner, but in John Maior and Lesleus) lived in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentie and foure, vnder David the first king of Scotland, who being a religious person of the order of saint Augustine, and not inferior to anie diuine of his time, as well in scholasticall as other diuinitie, did set forth manie works to be read, & was buried in the cloister of saint Victor in Paris, whose monument is yet to be seene with this epitaph recited by John Maior in his memorieall;

*Moribus, ingenio, doctrina clarus & arte,
Pulvereo hic tegeris docte Richarde situ:
Quem tellus genuit felici Scotica partu,
Te fouet in gremio Gallica terra suo.
Nil tibi parca ferox nocuit, nec stamina paruo
Tempore tracta graui rupit acerba manu:
Plurima namque tui superant monumenta laboris,
Qua tibi perpetuum sunt paritura decus.
Sed mihi ut lento sceleratis mors petit edes,
Sic propero nimis it sub pia tecta gradu.*

Walter the bastard sonne of David the first of that name king of Scots by a widow sometime the wife of one Walter a Scot, was so far estranged from the vaine things of this world, that from his youth he was (as saith Lesleus lib. 6. pag. 223.) wholly consecrat to holie exercises and offices, being first inuowed with the rich canonic of saint Oswald, and after with the honorable priore of Kirkham. But he rightlie considering with himselfe that there was nothing which did more weaken the force of vertue than riches and idlenesse, did refuse the archbishopricke of saint Andrewes, and closed himselfe in a monasterie, where he remained vntill he was aduanced to be abbat of Melrose, where vnto being so preferred, he was the author and occasion that Malcolme (the fourth of that name king of Scots, surnamed the virgin) laid the foundation of manie abbeies. This man made commentaries vpon the booke intituled the Ecclesiasticall rule, and at length being famous through manie miracles (as that age did simple suppose) he was installed amongst the number of the saints, and flourished vnder the same king Malcolme, which began his reigne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred fiftie and three, which Walter I suppose to be the same man of whom Gesnerus writeth in this sort: Gualternus Albanensis monachus scriptis delibris ecclesiæ lib. 1. claruit anno Domini 1180. Balcus.

Thomas Liermant alias Ersilton being borne in Scotland, was had amongst the common people in great admiration, who not being greatlie learned did by a certaine diuination (as though Apollo had spoken from the curteine) foretell things to come, but with what spirit we will not iudge, whose words obtained the more authoritie and credit, because he had foretold the fatall date of the death of Alexander the third king of Scots, which lost his life in the yeare one thousand two hundred fourescore and three. He wrote Prædictiones rerum Scotticarum rhythmicis versibus, speaking most commonlie also in rime, and was therefore by the English surnamed Rhythmicus, or the Rimer, living some yeares after the death of Alexander the third, for Gesner maketh him to flourish in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fourescore and six.

Richardus de sancto victore,

Michaël Scotus.

John D.

Walter the bastard sonne of king David the first.

Thomas Liermant alias Ersilton.

Michaël

Michael
Mathematicus.

Michael Mathematicus, being a learned man in all philosophy, astronomy, and the other mathematics, whereby he grew in admiration amongst the people, is twice mentioned by Gesner, a fault which I manie times find in his Bibliotheca, first pag. 607, by the name Michael Mathematicus cognomine Scotus, who flourished in the time of John Balliol king of Scots, and in the yeare of Christ 1290, being an old man, he wrote In gratia Frederici 2. imperatoris. De sphaera lib. 1. In Aristotelis meteoris lib. 4. De constitutione mundi lib. 4. De anima lib. 1. De celo & mundo lib. 2. De somno & vigilia lib. 2. De generatione & corruptione lib. 2. De substantia orbis lib. 1. De sensu & sensato lib. 2. De memoria & reminiscencia lib. 2. Contra Auerroem in meteoris lib. 1. Imagines astronomicas lib. 2. Astrologorum dogmata lib. 1. In ethica Aristotelis lib. 10. De signis planetarum lib. 1. De chiromantia lib. 1. De physiognomia lib. 1. Abbreviationes Auicennae lib. 1. De animalibus ad Caesarem lib. 1. whose booke of physiognomie was printed at Venice Anno Dom. 1503. by John Baptista de Sella.

John Duns.

John Duns by some called Iohannes Scotus, and tearmed the subtil doctor, was so surnamed Duns of the towne of Duns, eight miles from England, who (when he was yet but a boie) was by two frier minours brought into England to Oxford, there to be instructed: for at that time no long after was there not anie vniuersitie in Scotland. By means of which two friers he was placed in a house of their profession, in which this Duns at length took the habit and order of the Franciscans, proving of a most singular wit, whereby he became a sharpe and subtil disputer, who departing from Oxford, went to Paris, being called thither by the frier minours, where when he had for some space remained, and read vnto them of scholasticall matters, he traueled to Cullen, and there vntimely died in his youthfull yeares. He liued in the time of John Balliol king of Scots, which began his reigne in the yeare of Christ 1283, of which Duns all they which follow his opinions are (as saith Lescus lib. 7. pag. 250) called Scotists or Scotists as all they of an other faction are surnamed Thomists or the Thomists, after Thomas Aquinas. But now in our age it is growne to be a common proverbe in derision, to call such a person as is senselesse or without learning a Duns, which is as much as a foole: although trulie the same cannot stand with anie reason, this man Duns being so famous for his learning as he was, who wrote manie volumes as after shall appeare. But before I come to him, I thinke it not vnfit to set downe what other haue written touching him, sith both the English, the Irish, and the Scots, doe challenge him to be their countriman, borne amongst them. Thus therefore writeth Stanihurst in his description of Ireland vnder the title of the Irish writers. Iohannes Duns Scotus an Irishman borne, as in the forefront of this treatise I haue declared. Howbeit Iohannes Maior a Scottish chronicler lib. 4. cap. 16. would saide saith, that he was borne in England. So that there shall be as great contention rise of him as in old time there rose of Homers countrie, for the Colophonians said that Homer was borne in their citie, the Cyprians claimed him to be theirs: the Salaminians aduouched that he was their countriman. But the Smirniens were so stiffelie bent in proving him to be borne in their territorie, as they would at no hand take no naie in the matter, and thereupon they did consecrate a church to the name of Homer. But that countriman so euer this Scotus were, he was doubtlesse a subtil and profound clearkie. The onelie fault wherewith he was dasked,

was a little spice of haingloxie, being giuen to carpe and taxon his predecessors diuines, rather for blemishing the fame of his aduersaries, than for aduancing the truth of the controuersies. Thus much Stanihurst. Now the bookes which he wrote were these. Super sententias lib. 4. Quodlibeta quoque lib. 1. Sermones de sanctis lib. 4. Sermones de tempore li. 1. De cognitione Dei lib. 1. Comentarios Oxonienses lib. 4. Reportationes Parisienses lib. 4. In metaphysica quaestione lib. 1. 2. Quaestiones vniuersaliu li. 2. Quaestiones praedicamentoru lib. 1. In analytica posteriora lib. 1. In Aristotelis physica lib. 8. In Categorias eiusdem lib. 1. Lecturam in Genesim lib. 1. De rerum principio lib. 1. Commentaria in euangelia lib. 4. In epistolas Pauli. Collectiones Parisienses. Tetragrammatum lib. 1. & alia. Claruit Anno Dom. 1308. Of whose works thus further writeth Gesn. Iohanni Scoto sententiarum interpreti primaeuam sacratissimi Dionysij translationem ascribunt, cum alteri cuidam Iohanni Scoto (before named, and liuing about the yeare of Christ eight hundred ninetie & two, about three hundred yeares before this Duns) Qui istu multis saeculis antecessit, & Athenis Graece didicit, accepta referri debeat. Of the death of this man se Petrus Crinitus lib. 24. cap. 11. De honesta vita, where he affirmeth that this Duns did turne the hierarchy of S. Denys out of Greeke into Latine.

Thomas Warreie or Warraie flourished at the battell of Otterburne, which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred eightie and eight, in the time of Robert the second of that name king of Scots, at that time the English were put to the worst. This man vpon this victorie did compose manie things in Latine time beginning in this sort:

Thomas
Warreie.

Musare fert fatum fore scriptum carmine vatam, &c.
Who being master and ruler of Bethwallie, is not greatlie esteemed of the Scottish historiographers. Gesnerus referreth the time wherein he liued, to the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and ninetie, which is almost a hundred yeares before that, in which the histories of Scotland make anie mention of him.

William Elphinstone being borne in Scotland was a great learned man, but because I do find one hundred and fortie yeares difference touching the time wherein he liued, set downe within three or foure lines the one of the other by Gesnerus, I will saie nothing of him, but onelie verbatim set downe the words of the same author in this sort. Gulielmus Elphinston natione Scotus, Albonensis episcopus, scripsit antiquitates Scotorum, & conciliorum statuta librum vnum. Claruit anno Domini 1480. Laudat hunc valde Bostonus Buriensis in magno scriptorum catalogo, ob singularem eruditionem. Vixit circa annum 1340. Thus much Gesnerus.

William
Elphinstone.

James Stewart the first of the name of James, being brought by in England as a person estranged from his native soile, is by Gesnerus said to haue bene by some called Robert the third, which can not be so; for he that was so named was John Stewart, and not James. This man in the time whilst he remained in England, being a kind of banishment from his owne countrie, did compose one booke of verses, and manie other songs, he being both a learned diuine, philosopher, and musician, who was in the end slaine of his owne people, in the thirtieth yeare of his reigne, falling in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand foure hundred thirtie and six.

James
Stewart.

Iohannes Maior borne in Scotland, whom Sixtus Senensis in his Bibliotheca sancta dooth (not rightlie) call an Englishman, was brought by in Oxford, where attaining to sufficient learning, he went into France for the obtaining further knowledge

Iohannes
Maior.

ledge, and applied his studie in Paris, where he followed and professed diuinitie, as appeared by his owne workes. He was borne at Haddington in Scotland, as appeareth by Gesnerus, of whome he is named Iohannes Maior Haddingtonensis, he did write Decisiones sententiarum lib. 4. Sophisticalia Parisiensia, Placita theologica, Commentarios in Mathæum, Historiarum maioris Britannia lib. 6. Caxtonum Anglum transtulit lib. 7. He flourished at Paris, as hath Gesnerus, in the yeare of Grace one thousand five hundred & twentie, vnder James the first king of Scots, vnto whome he dedicated his storie of Britaine, containing England and Scotland. There is one John Maior bouché and aledged in Crisostomo Ioan. Eccij, which I doe take to be this man. And Sixtus Senensis in his Bibliotheca sancta amongst the writers of the bible doth speake of one John Maior in this manner: Iohannes Maior Angelus scripsit in quatuor euangelia scholastica postillam, and liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand and foure hundred, being an hundred and twentie yeares before the time appointed by others, and by Maior himselfe wherein he should liue. Of which Maior Buchanan hath verie scottishly set downe these foure verses here vnder written as followeth:

*Cum fateat nugas solo cognomine Maior,
Nec sit in immenso pagina sana libro,
Non mirum titulis quod se veracibus ornat,
Nec semper mendax fingere Creta solet.*

William Gregorie.

William Gregorie borne in Scotland, and student in Paris, where he professed diuinitie, did liue, as saith Bibliotheca sancta, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and seuentene, and also, as hath Bibliotheca Gesneri in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred twentie and seuen. He left manie books behind him which he had carefully and learnedly written, whereof these are the titles: De duplici potestate lib. 1. Elucidationes sententiarum lib. 4. Questiones vesperales lib. 1. In politica Aristotelis lib. 8. De triplici animæ potentia lib. 1. De regno Christi æterno lib. 1. De triplici principatu lib. 1. De scripturæ sensibus lib. 3. Ad vocabulare theologicum lib. 1. Collectiones Sorbonicas lib. 1. De disciplina Iuniorum lib. 1. De sacra synaxi lib. 1. In psalterium commentarios lib. 1. Sermones in euangelia & epistolas per circuitum lib. 2.

Hector Boetius.

Hector Boetius of Dundee in Scotland, was a learned and an eloquent historiographer, whose stile in manie parts goeth beyond the truth of times, places, and persons in his Scottish historie. He flourished in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred twentie and six, vnder James the first king of Scots, of whome I will saie no more, but let downe Gesnerus words: Hector Boetius Deidonatus, natione Scotus, scripsit catalogum regum Scotia. Descriptiones eiusdem regni lib. 1. Historias Scotorum lib. 17. Aberdonensium pontificum vitas, eius historia Scotorum excusæ sunt Parisijs, anno 1556: earundem historiarum à prima gentis origine cum aliarum & rerum & gentium illustratione non vulgari lib. 19. Duo postremi huius historiae libri nunc primum emittuntur in lucem. Accessit & huic ædicioni eiusdem Scotorum historiae continuatio per Ioannem Ferrerium Pedemontanum recens & ipsa scripta & edita fol. Parisijs apud Iacobum Dupuys 1580.

Gawine Dowglas.

Gawine Dowglas, borne of the noble house of the Dowglases in Scotland, being of a rare wit and learning, was made bishop of Dunkeld; who for contention betwixne him and the gouernor of Scotland, forsooke his countrie and fled into England, where he died at London, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and one, in the

time of James the first of that name king of Scots, who in his life time did write Palatium honoris lib. 1. Aureas narrationes lib. 1. Comcedias aliquot lib. 1. De rebus Scoticis lib. 1. Transtulit in patrum sermonem Aeneidos Virgilij lib. 12.

Dauid Lindsay of the mount of hill, otherwise by his office of principall herald of the realme of Scotland, surnamed Lion, was both a knight and a learned person, as may appeare by his workes written in his owne tong in verse, which were Acta sui temporis lib. 1. De mundi miserijs lib. 1. Tragedia Davidis Beton lib. 1. Testamentum cardinalis Beton lib. 1. as hath Gesnerus (if that booke and the tragedie of Dauid Beton cardinall be not all one) Testamentum psitaci lib. 1. Dialogus aulici & experientia lib. 1. Somnium Davidis Lindsey lib. 1. Deploratio mortis reginae Magdalene lib. 1. Of most of which his workes Gesnerus maketh no mention, although that he affirme that he flourished in the yeare of Grace one thousand five hundred and forty, in the time of James the first king of Scotland, with whome in his youth this Lindsay was brought up, and whome he after painfullie serued in the court.

Patrick Hamilton, borne of the noble familie of the Hamiltons, being the nephew of the earle of Arrane by his brother, was (as saith Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 427) Abbas Fenensis, who hauing applied his time in studie in Germanie, and followed the doctrine of Luther, did returne into Scotland, was after by the bishops condemned for an heretike, and burned in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand five hundred twentie and eight, as haue Gesnerus and Bale in the time of James the first of that name king of Scots. He wrote diuerse books, amongst which were these, De lege & euangelio lib. 1. De fide & operibus lib. 1.

Johannes Altus, so called by Gesner, being a Scot borne, had some contention with one Cusdan Porphet, to whome he did write in verse a sharpe and rebuking apologie which contained one booke; besides which also he did write another booke Contra Antiscotum of this Porphet, & Epigrammata lib. 1. He liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtie vnder James the first.

John Bellendon or Ballentine, who flourished in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and six, vnder king James the first, translated Hector Boetius out of Latine into Scottish and English, and wrote the description of Albanie or Scotland.

John Mouran being a canon regular, hauing applied himselfe to the studie of diuinitie, wherein he much profited, did write in his owne language Catechismus fidei lib. 1. and liued in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred forty and six, and in the fourth yere of the reigne of Marie quene of Scots.

John Herrison a Scot, liuing in the yere of our saluation one thousand five hundred forty and eight, being the first yere of Marie quene of Scots, did apply his time in the studie of diuinitie, and wrote, De amplectanda in christiana religione concordia lib. 1. which was written to Edward Seymour duke of Summerfet protector of England.

John Packeth called in Latine Ioannes Machabeus, being descended of a noble familie of the Scots, did follow his studie in matters of diuinitie; who flourishing in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand five hundred and fiftie, being the eight yere of the reigne of Marie quene of Scots, did compose, De vera & falsa ecclesia lib. 1.

John Packebate borne in Scotland, did flourish in Germanie in the yere that the word became

George Buchanan.

Patrick Hamilton.

John Bale.

Johannes Altus.

John Bellendon.

John Bale.

John Mouran.

John Herrison.

John Machabeus.

Patrick Hamilton.

Requ

fieth one thousand five hundred fiftie and eight, being the sixteenth yeare of the reigne of Marie quene of Scots. This man, whome Gesnerus supposeth might fortune to be the same John Bakleth before touched, did write Anglorum ecclesie originem & progressum lib. 1. Explicationem fidei lib. 1.

George Buchanan an Irish Scot, greatlie learned, but manie times maliciouslie affected, and that so vehementlie, as that he would not forbear in the highest degree of malice to upbraid and backbite euerie person and nation which had offended him, as maie appeare by his immodest speeches, not becomming a man of his learning, was scholemaster to James the first of that name king of Scotland, of whom living in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and nineteene, I will forbear to saie what I could, least I might offend in that which I mislike in him, & therefore will onlie set down what Gesner hath written of him. Georgius Buchananus Scotus rudimenta grammatice Latinæ Thomæ Linacri ex Anglico sermone in Latinum vertit: ea Nicol. Brilingerus impressit Basilie anno 1542. extant eius & elegantissima poemata: Iephthes tragedia, Luteria apud Valsolanum. Franciscanus & fratres, quibus accesserunt varia eiuſdem & aliorum poemata, Basilie apud Guarinum an. 1568. Eiuſdem psalmorum paraphrasis poetica, Genevæ, Argentinæ, Antuerpiæ impressa in 8 & 16, eiuſdem Baptiste siue calumnia tragedia, in 8. Francof. apud Wechelum. De iure regni apud Scotos editio secunda, Edinburgi 1580. Psalmi Davidis ab eodem versibus expressi nunc primum modulis 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, vocum a I. Seruino decantati. 4. Lugduni 1580. Rerum Scholasticarum historia lib. 20. Edinburgi in folio an. 1583.

John Knoles bozne in Scotland, a great enimie to the Romane religion, was sometime remaining in England as banished from Scotland, after being returned home he preached at the coronation of Charles James, the first of that name king of Scotland, and wrote manie booke in the Scottish English, amongst which were Ad Londonienses & alios lib. 1. Ad euangelii professores lib. 2. Qualiter sit orandum lib. 1. Contra missam papisticam lib. 1. Doctrina missalium lib. 1. De fide eucharistie epistola 1. Ad ecclesias afflictas epist. 1. Ad Scotiæ reginam Marianam epist. 1. Concilium in his angustis epist. 1. Bucinæ afflatum primum lib. 1. Appellationem a sententia cleri lib. 1. Ad populares Scotiæ librū vnum. He lived in the yere of Christ 1569.

John Langeie a Scot bozne, following his studie in Paris became a Sorbonicall doctor, who living in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and ten, did write a booke of the life, doctrine, and death of Martin Luther and John Caluin, and of manie other ministers of the new gospel (as he scornefully termed it) which booke were out of French turned into Latine, and lastlie into the Germane tongue, printed in 4 at Ingelstade in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred four score and two.

Iohannes Durus or Durie, whom Gesner calleth Woreus, being bozne in Dumfermling, and the son before he was abbat of the abbat of Dumfermling brother to the lord of Durie, was brought up in Paris and Louan, after which he became a priest, and then a Jesuit, who now living did in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred four score and four, write a booke which was intituled Confutatio responſionis Iohannis Whitakeri, ad rationes decem quibus fretus Edmundus Campianus Anglus Iesuita certamen Anglicanæ ecclesie ministris obtulit in causa fidei: which booke was printed at Paris in 8 by Thomas Humelins, In clauso Brunello sub signo oliuæ.

Patrick Adamson living in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and thirtane, did write certaine verses, whereof this was the title

and effect, as hath Gesnerus, Patricii Adamsoni gratiarum actio illustris. & potentiss. principi Elizabethæ Angli. Franc. & Hiberniæ reginæ, propter liberatam ciuili seditione Scotiam, & redactam inuictissimam Edinburgi arcem sub fidem regis carmen elegiacum, which man being now living, is archbishop of Saint Andrews.

Patrick Cockburne bozne in Scotland, and flourishing in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred & fiftie, in the time of Marie quene of Scots, did write, De vilitate & excellentia verbi Dei, which was printed at Paris by Michæll Fezardate, and Robert Craulson, in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and one. He wrote also De vulgari sacre scripturæ phrasi, lib. 2. whereof the first doth intreat of the sinne against the Holie ghost, which they call irremittable or unto death: the second booke doth with great diligence and fidelitie unfold the most hard and most obscure places of both the testaments, hitherto by manie euill understood, and worse interpreted: which worke was printed at Paris by Robert Weilline in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and two in 8 chart. 13.

John Leslie sometime officiall of Aberdeen, and bishop of Ross, of whom I haue spoken in the continuance of the annals of Scotland, being an obstinate fauor and furtherer of the Romane religion doth yet live in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred eightie & six, in the time of Charles James the first king of Scots, and hath written Pii afflictionum consolationes diuinæque remedia lib. 1. Animi tranquillitatis monumentum lib. 1. De origine, moribus, & rebus gestis Scotorum lib. 1. printed at Rome.

Ninianus Winzetus, who flourished in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred thre score and one, in the time of Marie quene of Scots, was a fauor of the popes doctrine, and enimie to John Knoles, touching whom I will set down the words of two severall authors, whereof the one is Lesleus a Scot, and the popes and his friend, and the other is Bibliotheca Gesneri, whereof the first saith: Hæc res (which was a disputation in religion) Niniano Winzeto maximam apud hæreticos inuidiam contulit, unde cum audirent illum (Ninian Winzet) iam apud typographum calere in libro excudendo, quo cogitaret cum Knoxio de fide violata ad nobilitatem expostulare, consilium ineunt de opere disturbando, Winzeto capiendū, typographo mulctando. Magistratus cum satellitibus irruit in typographiam, libros quos reperit, aufert, Iohan. Scoti typographū bonis mulctatum in carcerem abripit: sed Winzetum, quæ tantopere cupiebant, præ foribus magistratui occurrentem quod incognitus elapsus fuerat, dolent hæretici, rident Catholici. On the other side thus writeth Bibliotheca Gesneri: Ninianus Winzetus Renfrews, S. theologiæ doctor, & apud sancti Iacobi apud Scotos Ratissponæ, abbas flagellum sectariorum qui religionis prætextu iam in Cæsare aut in alios orthodoxos principes excitare student, quærentes ineptissimè quidem, Deo ne magis an principibus sit obediendū. Accessit velutatio in Georg. Buchan. circa dialogū, quem scripsit de iure regni apud Scotos 4. Ingolstadt ex officina typographica Davidis Sartorii, an. 1581.

Adam Blackwood bozne in Scotland in Dumfermling, was brought up in Paris, where attaining to manie degrees of learning, is now living, being advanced to the place of one of the chiefe counsellors of Poitiers. This man hath learnedlie written manie woorks, amongst which are his booke De coniunctione religionis & imperii, Funebres orationes admeralli regni Franciæ, & Iacobi Stuarti primi regentis (after that Charles James the first, attained to the crowne) Scotiæ. Besides which having written against the work of Buchanan intituled De iure regni, he is now in hand with a booke which he writeth against the chronicle of the same Buchanan.

Andrew Melvill one of the presbyterie in Scotland

Patrick Cockburne

John Leslie

Ninianus Winzetus

Adam Blackwood

Andrew Melvill

George Buchanan

John Knoles

John Langeie

John Durie

Patrick Adamson

land, and one who came hither into England with the earls of Angus and Mar, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fourscore and four, hath written manie epigrams, and amongst the rest, one inuective against the quene mother, to the king of France, which beginneth *Vipera cum catulis*.

James Erie. James Erie did (as hath Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 587) go to Rome, after which he became a companion of the Iesuits, who comming to Paris, trauelled by writing with his elder brother being a baron, to forsake the doctrine of Caluin; he flourished in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred threescore and one, vnder Marie quene of Scots, and did write *Ad fratrem epistola 1. Responso ad Knoxium lib. 1.*

Charles James.

Charles James the first of that name king of Scots notwithstanding, a toward young prince, and one well furnished with the gifts of nature and learning by birth and instruction, did in his yongest yeares about the age of seuentene or eighttene, write a booke of verses in his mother tong, containing manie matters of sundrie rare inuentions, and of sundrie forme of verses both learned and eloquent, which booke was after published to the world; whom I haue here placed the last in this catalog of Scottish writers, to the end that I would close vp the same title with no lesse honorable and rare person, than I first made entrance thereinto: and therefore beginning with a king, I thought good also to knitt it vp with a king.

Thus setting end to my trauels touching Scotland (which I haue not performed as the maiestie of an historie requireth, but as my skill, helps, & intelligences would permit) I desire the reader to take it in good part, remembryng that *Vltra posse non est esse*, sith according to our old prouerbe, A man cannot pipe without his vpper lip. For being denied furtherance (as in the beginning I said) both of the Scots & other of mine owne nation, and thereby not hauing anie more subiect wherupon to worke, I can do no more than set downe such things as come to my knowledge. And therefore contenting my selfe with this, that *In magnis voluisse sat est*; I commit my selfe and my labors to thy fauorable iudgement, who measuring my meaning with the square of indifferencie, and pardoning all imperfections in these my first labors, in respect of the shortnesse of time to performe the same (for I protest to thee that both the historie of England and Scotland were halfe printed before I set pen to paper to enter into the augmentation or continuation of anie of them, as by the inserting of those things which I haue done maie well appeare) thou shalt incourage me hereafter vpon more lesure, and better studie, to deliuer to the world rare matters of antiquitie, and such other labors of mine (*Ab sit verbis philautia*) as maie both shew the discharge of my dutie to God, to my countrie, to my prince, and to my friends. For though I maie seeme to be idle, yet I saie with Scipio, *Nunquam minus sum otiosus quam cum sum otiosus*.

Post tenebras lucem, sed nondum hora.





The first table alphabeticall
Conteining an absolute extract of such names and matters as
the description of Britaine and England doth afford, by present
view whereof the reader may iudge what frutefull knowledge
is to be gathered out of the same : collected by
Abraham Fleming.

<p>A.</p> <p>Abbey of Bangor now plo- wed ground, 83, a 30 Abbeie of Founteins famous how seated, 94, b 60 Abbeie of monks Benedictine suppressed, 103, a 60 Abbeie of Mucie by whom and whereupon it was begun to be built, 149, a 10 Abbeis in France how manie, 139, b 10 Abert in Brittain is the mouth of sail of euers river, 68, b 20 Abertaw the Brittain name of Werkfable, 65, b 60 Abstinence of the north Brit- tains, 166, a 60 Adamant stones, 239, b 20 Adber in the Saxen tong de- scribed after, 228, a 10, b 60 Admerall, and the reason of the name, 200, b 60 Adulterie. See Fornication and whozedome. Aegypt how manie cities it co- nteyned, now decayed, 193, a 40 Aeuum. See Age. Age of thirtie & thre score, &c. peares, and what Epaminon- das said thereof, 115, b 20 Age in Latine Seculū of Aeuū and what that word signifi- eth, 244, b 10 Aid foren and the hurt there- of, 6, b 10, 20, &c. Aittes stone, 239, b 20 Alabaster white where to be had, 235, a 40 Alabama how first called Scot- land, 117, b 60. What it con- teined as Britte left it, 116, b 20. The position of Albanas- tus the yongest son of Bruta- tus, 92, b 60. Divided by Fer- gus among his captives and soldiers, 118, a 10 Albanact the yongest sonne of Britte had Albania given him, 116, b 10. He is laime, & his death reuenged by his brethren, 117, a 20 Albion how long he governed Britaine, and by whome he was laime, 4, a 10. He with a compante of his race pproce- ding from Cham, 5, b 10. He & Bergion iointed powers a- gainst Hercules, 4, a 40. His name died not, though he were laime in fight, 4, b 10 Albion the name of Britaine, & why so called as some contee- ture, 3, b 10. The ancient reli- gion bled therein, 19, a 10. The name thereof how long it re- mained, 4, b 10. How long it was so called, 4, b 10. The name of it better knowne to</p>	<p>the Greeks than that of Bri- taine, 5, a 10. What sundrie nations had dwelt in it, 5, a 50 See Britaine & England. Alchumie a metall worthie to be banished out of England, 238, b 40 Alcluide a famous citie, 88, a 50 Alciel & how seated, 191, a 40 Alider growing in England whose barke serueth to die blacke, 213, b 10 Alidermarie church in London why so named, 113, a 60 Alideware a town about Came and why so named, 113, a 60 Alie diuerslie termed for the strength, 202, a 60. What slightes are vled for the bitterance of it, 170, a 60 Alen the east and west, rivers described, 90, b 30 Alexander ouerthrew and kil- led a lion, 226, b 10 Alexander Phereus and his dog, 231, b 10 Alfgric the seventh abbat of S. Albons, 192, b 20 Alfred first diuided England into shires, 153, a 50. King of Northumbers and the place of his buriall, 93, b 10. His death laid to earle Godwins charge, and how he was laime, 132, b 10 Alkes and Ares, 226, b 60 Alps, and that sundrie cities & holdes were placed among them, 4, a 60 Alps of hills of Snowdome, no lesse famous than the trans- marine Alps, 80, b 10 Alume: note, 236, b 10 Amber great stoe to be had in certeine Islands of Scot- land, 43, b 60. Amber a kind of geat stone, 239, a 40 Amber river described, 97, b 60 Amcolme & witham rivers of which goeth a byword, 100, b 10 Amneie river his course, 47, b 40. See Rivers. Amphibologie of the word Swords, 78, a 10 Anandale taketh his name of the river Anand, 88, a 40 Anearig of Crowlad Ile, why so called, 103, a 10 Ancafter seemeth to haue bene a geat thing, 217, b 20 Anchoys of word comon to the Gothlanders & others, 3, b 60 Aneres boze great way in time past in Anearig, 103, a 10 Andredeschetter, 217, b 10 Andrew word writt of fanta- sticall Englishmen, 172, a 10 Angles one of the six nations that came with the Saxons into Britaine, 5, a 30</p>	<p>Angles lend one of the names of Britaine, 5, a 20 Anglekie why so named, 36, b 10. Cut from Wales by wor- king of the sea, 35, b 60. Lost in the conqueors time and recovered againe in William Rufus time, 36, b 10. Fullie as great as the wight, 36, a 10 Angusian king of Scots bea- reth king Arthurs sword be- foze him in signe of homage, 120, b 10 Anselme archbishop of Can- tarburie pretending an un- willingnesse to be placed in that see, 133, a 60 Anthropophagi of the Irish in Britaine, 6, a 10 Antihomie, 236, b 10 Antiquities found in sundrie places of England, 216, b 60 217, 218 Antoninus his thozow fares, 249, a 30 Ape an enimie to yong children, 227, a 60 Apparell of clergie men in En- gland, 139, a 10. And of the laie people, 171, b 60 Aradian dogs, 232, a 20 Archbishop of Canturburies title and office at kings coro- nations, &c. 132, a 10. He crow- neth the king, 134, b 60. Bee- reaned of his pail, 143, a 10. Archbishop of Yorks authoritie extended thozough out all Scotland, 120, b 10. Fighteth against the king of Scots, 126, b 60. Crowneth y quene whose perpetuall chapleine he is, 134, b 60. His chappell called Cawod, and the vse thereof, 95, a 50 Archbishop Cranmer of Can- turburie spitefullie abused as being thought an offier, 152, a 20 Archbishop of London named Fastidius, 27, b 40 Archbishop Richard of Can- turburie misliked exemption of clergimen from the court & council, 135, a 60 Archbishop Robert of Cantur- burie a Rozman, 7, a 10. Im- bitious and malicious, 132, a 60. Expelled out of Eng- land, 7, a 50 Archbishops authoritie at the first equal, 134, b 60. They in Britaine in times past, 131, b 30 Archbishops of London their names, 140, b 60. So manie as are extant to be had from the fath first receiued, 147, a 10. Archbishops of Caertheon A. j.</p>	<p>bitterie extinguished, 131, b 30. Of London translated to Canturburie, 131, b 30. Of Yorkes restitution, circuit, and valuation, 145, a 60 Archbishops in France how manie, 139, b 10 Archdeaconrie of Canturburies iurisdiction, 140, b 10. Of S. Albons, 141, a 40 Archdeacons vnder bishops & called the bishops eyes, their office, 135, b 20. Belonging vnto the bishoppe of Lon- don foure, 141, a 20 Archerie. See Bowes. Archflamines (like bishops) co- stituted, 117, b 40. Conuer- ted into bishops, 118, b 50 Arme of able men that Eng- land can leaue, 198, a 60 Armour and munition in Eng- land, 198, a 10. Differing from that of other nations, and wherein it consisteth, 198, a 60 Armozie of the pince and of the nobilitie, 199, a 20 Arnold sir Nicholas knight byed the best hozles in Eng- land, 220, b 60 Arthur the great held a parle- ment at Chester, 73, b 50. His feast roiall held at Caerleon, whereat were present all the king his subiects, 120, b 10. His bodie higher by two foot than anie mans that came to see it, 10, b 30. His last and fa- tall conflict, & where fought, 65, a 10 Artificers diet, 167, b 50 Arundell John archbishop of Caturburie fled to Rome for feare of his head, 134, b 20 Arundell towne and the castell so named of the river Brun, 54, a 60 As cometh by naturalie of it seife euerie where in Eng- land, 213, a 50 Aspe growing in England, whereof fletcheres doe make their arrowes, 213, b 10 Asles none peldeth England, 220, b 60 Athelstane K. of Britaine sub- dued Scotiād wholie & gaue land thereof by deed, 121, b 60 Athelstane cheefe priuileger of Werkfable, 65, b 60 Athelstane ouerthzoweth thoz- lands of aliens at Seton in Deuonshire, 59, a 20 Atheniens, when they began their yeare, 244, a 10 Attaine, 155, b 60 156, a 10 Atturmes multiplied how in- conuenient, 156, a 10 Atwater the bishops purpose in beginning to clesne the Fosse dike, 100, b 40 Angu-</p>
---	--	--	---

The first table for the description

Augustine the monke his conuerting of the Saxons from Paganisme, 27, a 20. One and twentie hundred monkes slaine in his quarrell, 35, b 40. **Avon river**, and his course described, 57, a 60. **Avon river** the third by fundrie occasions growne famous, 67, b 10. **Avon or Rene river** giueth Hampton his name, 101, b 60. **Ex river** in Summersehire described, 58, b 60. **Ex river** the second of that name described, 67, a 50.

B.

Badgers in England, 225, b 30. **Barstiffes office**, 155, a 60. **Barnards castell**, when and by whom builded, 195, b 30. **Baldwine archbishop** of Canturburie, 226, b 60. **Bangor bishopps** erectio, circuit, and valuation, 145, a 30. **Bangor monasterie** now ploughed ground, 83, a 30. **Bank of Cheshill & the strange nature thereof**, 58, b 10. **Baptisme** without prestis, 41, a 20. **Baptistred** to a great foot at once, 41, b 50. **Banneret** an order of knights, 162, a 30. **Bards** and wherupon they had their name, 21, a 30. **Degenerate** from their first institution, 21, a 40. **A name** contemptible ascribed to idlers & fools, 21, a 50. **Bardus** the first king of y^e Celts, 21, a 10. **A Celtske word** and what it signifieth, 21, a 50. **Barnacles** generation verie strange, 222, b 60. **Great plenty** in Hyona and Ireland, being neither fish nor flesh, 38, a 40. **Their generation** by diligent inquisitie partly known, 38, a 50. **Barnet & Snillomaca** all one of no far in lunder, 191, b 10. **Baro** a word yet in vse, and commonlie pronounced **Barres**, 157, b 10. **Aron** whereof he beareth his name, & his dignitie, 157, a 60. **Whos** to craied, 158, b 10. **Baron** chiefe lord of exchequer, 157, b 10. **Barons** in England how many, 165, a 20. **Barrie** land went fiftie years ago for ten pounds, 75, b 10. **And** of certein strange noises to be heard at a rift thereof, 129, b 40. **Bath** how called in the Romans time, 190, b 50. **And** of the ancientnes of the same, 215, b 10. **Bath** and Welles counted but one citie, 189, b 30. **Bath** bishopps erectio, circuit, and valuation, 142, a 20. **Baths** hot, with their number, names, & colour of their waters, 216, a 30. **Whether** natural or artificiall, 215, b 10. **Baths** cold in Summerseshire, 214, b 40. **See Welles**. **Battell** first on the water that euer was fought, 3, b 60. **Battell** cruell betwene Hircules, Albion, and Bergion, 4, a 50. **Battell** on Blozeheath, **See** Blozeheath, **Constat**, and **warre**. **Beasts** saunge in England, 225, a 40. **Benemous**, 227, b 60.

Beauchampe Henrie crowned king of wight, 31, b 60. **Becket** Thom. writeth prouoclie to king Henrie the second, 133, b 30. **Beda** a famous prest & where he was brought by, 91, a 40. **B** 10. **Where** he was borne and dwelt, 91, a 10. **The first doctor** that euer was in Cambridge, 150, b 10. **Where** and the manner of brewing thereof, 169, b 30. **What water best** to make it, 170, a 40. **March** bare, 167, b 40. **See** **Bele**. **Bees** how ingendered, 228, b 40. **See** **Honie**. **Beggars** termed idle, who they be, 183, a 30. **Belforrest** his opinion touching the name Anglia, 5, a 40. **He** maketh but foure parts of the earth, 1, b 30. **Belme** a Wren part the whole empire betwixt them, 117, b 30. **Belmes gate**, 195, b 60. **Belus** a river: note, 187, b 60. **Belushes** gentlemen of an ancient and seruiceable house, 106, b 40. **Bentish hall** confined from the Wendishes by the monks of Feuerham, 106, b 40. **Benedict** bishop the monke, 187, b 40. **Benefices** in England so small that they will not mainteine a scholar much lesse a learned man, 36, b 10. **Dimis** the wiers steele, 136, b 20. **137**, a 10. **Cents** paid out of the yearlie to the prince, 136, b 30. **Two** by dispensation how they may be held, 136, a 60. **A direction** for patrons to bestow them well in y^e baronie, 151, a 10. **See** **Dimisters**. **Bergion** reigned ouer the Orichades as supream lord, 4, a 40. **He** and Albion slaine by Hercules, 4, a 10. **See** **Albion**. **Berill** in vse of glasse for windowes, 188, a 10. **Bernicia** otherwise called **Northumberland**, 220, b 20. **See** **Bernicia** & **Northumberland**. **Berkshire** towne sometime walled with foure gates: note, 65, b 60. **Berwike** yielded by to y^e king of England without resistance, 127, a 10. **Wone** by the Scots but not the castell, 126, b 60. **Berwike** by **Two** by whom builded, 118, a 50. **Biston**, **See** **Castell**. **Beuer** no where to be found in Britaine, but in y^e river **Cetis**, 79, a 50. **His** hinder feet and taile supposed to be fish, 225, b 60. **Benericie** how called in old time, and how it came to the present name, 93, b 20. **Benericie** John the first doctor that euer was in Oxford, 150, b 10. **First** teacher of diuinitie in Oxford, 93, b 20. **Birds**: **See** **Fowles**. **Bishop** first of the Ile of Man, 38, b 20. **But** a bishops shawow, and why, 38, b 20. **Of** the Orichades whose se is at Idomona 41, b 40. **Of** Shireburne slaine in the battell of Bithellane, 95, a 30. **Of** Winchester perpetuall priest to the honorable order of the garter, 141, b 10. **Wishop** and his clerks, certine

dangerous rocks, so named, 78, b 50. **Bishops** in their ancience as they sat in parlement An. 5. reg. Elisab. 165, a 60. **They** prech diligetlie, though their predecessors in times past were occupied in temporal affaires, 135, a 60. **They** are called honorable, 157, b 40. **And** lordes so, **Great** cities med in times past, 158, a 10. **Their** liuings decayed, & sundrie actions of theirs against this spitefull age defended, 139, a 30. **Italians** fine succeeded each other in worcesler se, 142, b 20. **Of** Durham sometimes carls Palantine, 145, b 40. **Of** Lichfield for a while called bishops of Cheshire, 143, a 10. **Of** London so manie as are extant to be had from the faith first receiued, 147, a 30. **Chiese** chiefe in Britaine, 14, a 20. **Preferred** from the pulpit to the keeping of the kings wardrobe, 142, b 50. **See** **Clergie**. **Bishoppe** of London why called honorable, 147, b 60. **In** the Ile of Man and whole donation, 146, a 60. **Bishopps** in England their erections and their feuerail circuits, 140, a 50. **Their** tenths & to what uses they yearlie amounted, 146, a 30. **Under** the se of Canturburie twentie one, and York, foure, 135, a 10. **They** beare the names of cities, and why, 192, b 40. **Quenthowne** and now out of name, which in old time were famous, 146, b 20. **Bought** & sold as other meannings, 137, b 30. **Chiese** thorough out all this land, 118, b 60. **How** manie in England with archbishopps, 189, b 20. **In** Wales their erection, circuit, & valuation, 145, a 10. **In** France how manie, 139, b 10. **Bitumen**, 236, b 20. **Blackene** and of what breed the sea is there, 3, a 20. **Blackheoues**, **See** **Castell**. **Blozeheath** battell betwene Henrie the first and the duke of York purposed, but not executed, 69, b 50. **Blow** stone, 2, b 30. **Badgers** suborned and licensed: note, 102, b 30. **Bodinus** & whense he deriuethe the name Albion, 3, b 10. **Bones** of dead men of greater stature than is credible found in Godmanchester, 102, b 60. **See** **Giantis**. **Bones** nature, & how he is to be hunted being wild, 226, b 20. **Come** made by awne, 221, b 60. **Borholder**, 154, a 20. **Botes** guided by the ferrimen by a rope without oze, 58, b 20. **What** number of them & water men are kept and maintained vpon the Thames, 47, a 60. **Made** of rushes & reeds, 3, b 60. **Bowes** long of great vse sometimes in England, 198, a 50. **See** **Archerie**. **Blackere** sometimes a noble towne, now scarce a good village, 102, a 60. **Blackwort**, 169, b 60. **Bawne** of the boze, wherein note the termes, 222, a 40. **A** meat not vsually knowne to strangers, 221, b 60. **Eaten** in

Alen by a papist that take it to be fish, 222, a 10. **Bread** why it holdeth not out the size, 168, b 10. **Of** butcher forts, 168, b 10. **Not** lacked vnto either for y^e se or for the, 202, a 40. **Bremucham** towne by what artificers chiefe mainteined, 97, a 10. **Brennicia** alias Northumberland a kingdome, 16, b 60. **Whereof** it sometime took that name, 89, a 20. **Brennich** river whereof Brennicia kingdome took y^e name, 89, a 20. **Breteton** blockes neuer seene, but against some mischefe to befall to that house, 67, b 20. **Bride** river month naturalie placed betwene two hills, fit for a haven, 58, b 40. **Bridge** of London a continual street situate ouer y^e Thames, 47, a 50. **Of** Rochester by whom begun and by whom finished, 52, b 60. **Of** the ouerthrowne by the rage of a river, 74, a 60. **Bricke** burning a decaye of wood, 234, b 50. **Brilow** how called in the Romans time, 190, b 60. **Bishoppe** like thereof, erectio, circuit, and valuation, 144, b 50. **Britaine** when not cut fro the maine by y^e dounes flood, 235, b 30. **The** first conquest thereof, 3, a 60. **The** gospill preached there and by whom, 23, a 11. **Diuided** by y^e Romans into fine prouinces, 17, b 30. **The** manifold alterations and conuersions of the estate thereof, since the time of Samothas, 28, a 10. **How** it lieth from the maine, 2, a 60. **What** what portion of the earth it is referred, 2, a 60. **Why** called Albion (as some cōiecture) 3, b 10. **Ships** brought of whicher sometime used in it, 3, b 60. **The** kings thereof from Samothas to Brites, and so forth, 17, b 18. **Of** y^e seules presence there, 23, a 10. **It** hath need of no nation but of it selfe, 237, a 50. **Subdued** by Julius Cesar, 118, b 30. **Edgar** king thereof rowed in a barge by six of his kings, 122, b 40. **Enioied** by Brites & his posteritie during two and fiftie descents, 118, a 10. **Why** named the great, 118, b 40. **The** sonneringie thereof how it remaineth to the princes of the same, 116, b 50. **Of** the people there, their constitution of bodie, age, &c. 114, a 60. **115**, a 10. **How** first diuided into three portions, 116, a 10. **Generallie** commented in an ancient monument, 112, a 20. **The** foure high waies sometime made in it by the princes of the same, 112, a 40. **The** aire, soile, and commodities thereof, 108, b 30. **Under** the Celts three hundred and one and fourtie yeares, 3, b 10. **The** distance of it from the maine, 3, a 20. **Called** Valentia, 5, a 20. **The** name of it knowne to some of y^e Greeks, 5, a 10. **The** longitude & latitude thereof, 2, b 20. **A** long while called Samothas, 3, a 60. **The** ancient names of it, 3, a 50. **Promonitoies** thereof, 3, a 10. **The** foume of it the cogned, 2, b 60. **Variance** among

among
past
of it
the
with
b 30
nation
it, 5
land
to be
it, 29
that
nerall
man
duid
ons
into
one
How
dissi
The
men
4, b
time
50, b
Albi
a ty
Dit
Baton
to ca
abitu
had
Alhe
20, a
ancie
much
the
led
duic
swall
30, a
degr
inon
cattio
comm
again
a 10,
10, a
bodi
built
well
Bzob
Bzutin
Bzute
rinet
ships
arriv
the
116,
taine
a 50,
his
then
lie
red
Bzuto
ford
robe,
Buccha
the
Bzite
Bucke
befo
Bucki
hane
their
Bucki
the
the
Bubali
Bubli
les
a 10,
lie
rions
212,
serui
Bubli
man
Bubli
land,
Burchy

mong writers about the co-
passe thereof, 2, b 40. A parcel
of it inhabited sometime by
the Irish, 6, a 10. Defended
with many forts of people, 5,
b 30. What sundrie people and
nations ferled themselves in
it, 5, 6, 7, &c. Called Angles
land by an edit, 5, a 20. Islands
to be seen upon the coasts of
it, 29, b 30. The first pounce
that received the gospel ge-
nerallie, 24, b 20. Into how
many kingdoms it hath bin
divided, 14, 15, 16. What na-
tions came with the Saxons
into it, 5, a 30. At the first
one enier kingdome, 14, b 50.
How some inhabited after the
division of the earth, 5, a 10.
The differing opinions of
men touching the name of it,
4, b 20. Whether it were some-
time parcel of the maine, 4, b
50. How long it was called
Albion, 4, b 10. Delivered of
a tyrant by Hercules, 4, a 60.
¶ See Albion, England,
¶ Britas, Romans, & Scots.
Britons divided this land in-
to cantreds, 153, a 50. Their
abstinence, 166, a 60. They
had some use of Logike and
Rhetorike from the Galles,
20, a 60, b 10. The speech of
ancient foet and of the Celts
much alike, 12, b 40. They &
the Celts indifferentlie cal-
led Cimbri, 13, a 10. They are
divided into Wales & Corne-
wall by the Saxons, &c. 6, b
30. Diligent and radie in pe-
degrees, 13, a 60, b 10. Their
industrie in the use and appli-
cation of the benefits of their
countrie, 111, b 20. Defended
against their slanders, 115,
a 10, b 10. Valourous, 114, b
10. The constitution of their
bodies, 114, a 60. Their slight
building, 187, a 20. ¶ See
Welshmen.
Buckes. ¶ See Rivers.
Bunting. ¶ See Bère.
Bute the sonne of Hyllus ar-
rieth in Britaine with his
ships, 5, b 10. What time he
arrived in Britaine, 4, b 10.
He surrueth all Britaine,
116, a 10. He divided all Bri-
taine to his three sonnes, 116,
a 50. From whence he learned
his religiõ, 22, a 60. His death
the manner thereof not certein-
ly knowne, 116, a 30. Inter-
red at his new citie, 116, b 30.
Buxton John bishop of Here-
ford keeper of 5 kings ward-
robe, 142, b 50.
Buccanan partlie followeth
the error of Goropius about
Britaine, 3, b 10.
Bucke, & what names he hath
before he be so called, 226, a 30.
Buckingham & Bedfordshires
hane the river Clea rising in
their berie confines, 102, b 20.
Buckhurst lord ambassadoz to
the French king in Henrie
the seuenth time, 231, a 30.
Bubaliolim in Anglia, 208, a 10.
Building and furniture of hou-
ses in England described, 187,
a 10. With stone now comon-
lie used, 234, b 40. New & cu-
rious deuises used therein,
212, b 10. Quarries of stone
seruing thereto, 234, b 20.
Buildings in Englad of what
manner, 109, b 10.
Buls wild sometimes in Eng-
land, 225, b 10.
Burchier fir Rale knight his

deuise of casting alabaster in
molds, 235, a 60.
Burgesses & citizens, 162, b 60.
Ancient maner of buriall in
Angleseie, 36, b 60.
Burials of the kings of Ire-
land, 40, a 20.
Burials of the kings of Scot-
land, 40, a 20.
Burrow, 154, a 20.
Burrow kind what kind of cu-
stome, 180, b 20.
Burrowes how they were wal-
led about with stone wallies,
217, b 60. And to what use the
Britons put them, 218, a 10.
Buttlemen and the cause that
butter riseth in the price, 203,
b 30.
Buxton baths, 214, b 30.

C.

Cæsar made a tabber of En-
glish pearle, 239, a 60.
Caim an English saint and of
his effectuall praieris, 68, a 30.
Cair Caradoz a strong place of
incamping, 195, a 50.
Cairmarden how called in the
Romans time, 191, a 10.
Caius de canibus Anglicis, 229,
b 50.
Calaminarie stones, 239, b 20.
Calcedonie stone, 239, b 20.
Calendar of England how it
might be the more perfect,
244, a 30, 60.
Calendar Romane, 242, b 60.
Papisticall in use in the ar-
ches, 182, a 20. Generallie cor-
rected by the pope, 244, a 50.
Calendar of the greatest faires
in England, 245, a 10. Of the
greatest trauelled thow-
saies and townes in Eng-
land, 247, a 40.
Calends of the moneth conse-
crated to Juno, & the reason
of the name, 243, a 10.
Calice a towne in Picardie, &
how far distant from Rome,
3, a 20.
Camelon the principall citie of
Britas, ouerthrowne by Ju-
lius Cesar, 118, b 30.
Camber the second sonne of
Bute had Cambria giuen,
116, a 60.
Cambria why so called, 68, b 10.
A peninsula of byland, now
named Wales, 116, a 60.
Cambridge how called in the
Romans time, 191, a 20. Uni-
uersitie erected by Sigibert,
144, a 50. Fortie six miles frõ
London, 148, b 20. Not long
since burned, 148, b 60. Col-
leges with their founders
names, 151. Kings col-
lege chappell of what stone it
is builded, 234, b 60. ¶ See
Universities.
Candels of tallow eaten by of
an Island gentlewoman,
231, b 50.
Candida casa, 146, b 60.
Cane stone, 234, b 60.
Cantaber a Spanyard begun
the vniuersitie of Cambridge,
148, a 60.
Cating. ¶ See Pedlers French.
Canturburie how called in the
Romans time, 190, a 60. The
chiefe citie of the kingdome of
Kent, 16, a 50. One of the two
onlie prouinces now of Eng-
land, 131, a 30. Bishopps
vnder the said see twentie one
135, a 10. Bishop of Rochester
crossebeare in times past to
the archbishop of the said see,
140, b 30. Archbishoppke

when and by whom first ere-
cted, & the circuit of the same,
66, 140, a 60. Archbishopps of
the popish stampe, proud, am-
bitious, contentous, &c. 132,
133.
Canutus lawes for his forreign,
206, b 50, 207, a 10. He was a
glutton, 170, b 40. His autho-
rising of the clergie to punish
whoredome, 185, a 60.
Capons made of gilded cocks
a practise brought in by the
Romans, 223, a 40.
Caradocks a linage of great ho-
nor, antiquitie and seruice,
69, a 30.
Carcer Aeoli an hole so called in
old time, 67, a 50.
Cardans fond opinion touching
dogs become wolues, and
wolues dogs, 232, a 30. His
report of Henrie the eight,
196, b 10.
Carduus benedictus, 209, a 60.
Carlell how called in the Ro-
mans time, 190, b 30. Some-
times named Cairdail, 146, a
20. Standeth betwene two
streames of rivers, 88, a 10.
The bishopps creation, cir-
cuit, and valuation, 146, a 10.
Carolus Clusius, 210, a 10.
Carpenters of England high-
ly comended, 188, a 40. They
passe in their new frames the
finest of old, 212, a 60.
Carpes latelie brought into
England and later into the
Chamers, 46, b 20.
Carthamus bassard saffron, 234,
a 60.
Castell of Bungie & Leicester,
&c. when & by whom defaced,
195, a 20. Of Westons prophe-
sie, 195, a 10. Of Cambridge
higher than that of Oxford,
148, b 60.
Castels and holds in England,
194, a 40. Whane & by whom
sometimes builded, 194, b 10.
What and where maintained,
194, b 40. The ruine of many
cities, 194, a 50. The cause of
their ruine & decay, 194, b 30.
At Cambridge and Oxford
by whom builded, 149, a 10.
Cathesse how far distant from
England, 113, b 30.
Cattell kept for profit, 219, a 40.
Sometimes fedd vpon saffron,
232, b 10. In England of di-
uerse sorts, 110, b 20.
Caues wherein are hals, cham-
bers, & all offices of houshold
cut out of hard rocke, 130, a 30.
Cawood castell belonging to the
archbishop of yorke, 95, a 50.
Celts properlie called Galles,
12, b 50. Britaine vnder them
thre hundred fortie and one
yeares, 3, b 10. Whether they
spoke Greke or no, 12, b 50.
They & the Britons indiffe-
rentlie called Cimbri, 13, a 10.
Chalke in some places sold by
the pound, 187, a 60.
Cham notwithstanding his
lewdnes made a god, 21, b 40.
The doctrine of him and his
disciples, 21, b 30. What reli-
gion his posteritie brought o-
uer into Britaine, 21, b 50,
60, 22, a all.
Chamberleine. ¶ See Junes.
Chancelloz lord of England his
dignitie, 164, b 40.
Chanons of old Sarum tog-
ther by the eares, note, 57, a 10.
Chapel of the kings college of
what stone it is builded, 234,
b 60.
Chapmen. ¶ See Junes.
J. g.

Charles the fourth emperor
glad church windows with
great stone, 239, b 40.
Chafe and parke how they dis-
fer, 206, a 10.
Chafes & what beasts to them
properlie belonged, 206, a 20.
Chedderhole or Chedder rocke
in Summerisshire an Eng-
lish wonder, 129, b 20.
Chelmsford or Chelmerford so
named of the riuer Chelmer,
107, a 50.
Cherwort. ¶ See Bère.
Chesil riuer described, being
like a narrow banke: note, 58,
b 10.
Chester how called in the Ro-
mans time and when it was
an vniuersitie, 190, b 20. How
seated, why called Caericon
or Ciuitas legionum, and how
statelie in old time, 73, b 50.
Raced to the ground and not
since reedified, 35, b 40. Bis-
shopps creation, circuit,
and valuation, 145, b 30.
Chestershire & Lancashire
divided by the riuer Tame,
84, a 20.
Chenot hills twentie miles in
length, 109, a 60.
Chichester how called in the
Romans time, 190, b 60. Bis-
shoppe when first began, &
the circuit thereof, &c. 141, a 50.
Chimnies now wantie, in times
past few, 188, b 30.
Chipping walden, why so na-
med, 206, b 20.
Christians spared from the fu-
rie of the swozd, 121, b 10.
Chronicles of Barnwell, 113, a
40. Of Burton, 23, b 10. Of
Coughall, 12, a 60.
Chrysocola, 236, b 20.
Chrystall stone, 239, b 20.
Church of England moze bene-
ficiall to the princes coffers
than the state of the laitie, 137,
b 10. The ancient & present
estate thereof, 131, a 30. It is
become the asse whereon eu-
rie market man is to ride and
cast his wallet, 137, a 60.
Lands of it and college pos-
sessions pried after by dungs-
thrifts, 152, b 20. Whether
that which Lucius builded
at London stood at Westmina-
ster or in Cornehill, 24, a 60.
That of S. Martins turned
into a barne, 56, b 60. ¶ See
Universities.
Churches in England scowped
and cleaned from all reliques
of idolatrie, and how beauti-
full, 138, b 30. Privileges
granted to them and church-
yards, 197, b 50. Stone in
times past was used and de-
dicated to the building of the,
234, b 30. The old estate of
cathedral churches, 139, b 40.
Exercises kept in them, 135,
a 50. Why so called, 135, a 10.
In part conuerted into mar-
kets & shops, & why, 135, a 50.
Churches collegiat diuers in
England, 151, b 20. Parish
churches wherupon they be-
gan & were erected, 135, a 40.
Exercises used ordinarie in
them, 138, a 10. Decayed in
Iceland time, 193, b 60. In
Lincolne fiftie two in times
past, 193, b 40. In France
how many, 139, b 10. ¶ See
Clergie and Parishes.
Cicester how called in the Ro-
mans time, 190, b 40.
Cidmouth hauen wherof so na-
med, 59, a 40.
Cinna-

The first table for the description

Cinnabarum, 236, b 20
Cities that stood in this land in
the Romans time, 190, a 50
when first builded and multi-
plied, 190, a 20. Greater in
times past when husbandrie
were also citizens, 190, a 30.
That send knights, citizens,
burgesses, and barons to the
parlement, 174, b 40. Souther-
lie builded were ancient, faire
& great, 183, b 40. That stood
in this land in the Romans
time, 190, a 50. Ancient to be
caied as that their ruines are
no where to be seene, 191, a 30.
The names of them in Eng-
land, 192, b 10. ¶ See Towns
Citizens & burgesses, 162, b 50
Claie of diuerse sorts occupied
in building, 187, a 50
Clarens duchie wherof it had
the denomination, 105, b 20
Claudia Rufina a British la-
die, 23, a 60
Cle hils in Shropshire, 109, a 60
Cle riuer rising in the berie
confines of Buckingham &
Bedfordshire, 102, b 20
Clergie of England reuerentlie
thought of in foreyn regions,
118, a 40. fauourable in pu-
nishing whoredome, 185, b 10
Clergie men bled kings as they
lived, 133, 134. Had the best
wine in old time, 167, b 30.
Immunitie of them greater
vnder idolatrie than vnder
the gospell, 20, b 40. ¶ See
Prests.
Clocks, 241, a 60
Cloten inheritor to the whole
empire, and why he diuided
it, 117, a 60
Cloth carried out to be thorne,
ec. 236, a 60
Clothworkers starue and beg,
236, b 10
Cobham lord John begun to
build Rochester brydge, 12, b 60
Cobham Thomas bishop of
worcestre: note, 142, a 60
Cock traitorouslie slaine in his
bed, 117, b 60
Coines foreyn both of gold and
silver, 219, a 10. Of England
in times past & now present,
218, a 50. ¶ See Monie and
Romans.
Colchester in old time called
Camalodunum, 106, a 10. wauy
by the Romans, 107, b 10. whe-
ther so named of the riuer
Colne or Colonia Romano-
rum, 106, a 30. How called in
the Romans time, 190, b 10.
Named a long time Colonia,
217, b 60
Colemines, 236, b 40
Colewort medicinable, 209, b 50
Colonic what it is, 191, b 40
College. ¶ See Vniuersitie.
Collet John deane of Pauls
founder of Pauls schole,
147, b 40
Combat betwene Cozineus &
Gomagot, 8, b 50. ¶ See Con-
flict.
Comes. ¶ See Earle.
Commons in England to what
use they serued, and how their
use is peruerced, 112, a 10.
Incroched vpon by the erec-
ting of timentes, 112, b 40.
Complaint first rendered out of
England to Rome, 7, a 60
Complexions of people accor-
ding to the climat where they
dwell, 114, b 30
Comes sofat, that the greafe of
one weied six oz seven ounce,
110, b 40
Conflict betwixt churchme cal-

led The holie conflict, 57, a 10
Hot & bloudie betwixt Athel-
stane and certeine aliens at
Seton in Deuonshire, 59, a 20
Conquest of England attempt-
ed in theistans times, but
withstand, 59, a 20. A seventh
of England out of the north
propheied, 8, a 30. Diuerse
since duke Williams time,
that prospered not, 8, a 10, 20
Consigne queene of Bithunia
tozme in peeces of a mallice,
231, a 40
Constables high and petie their
offices, 155, b 10
Contention greuous betwene
the king of England & Lild
bishop of Elie: note, 143, b 10
Coppers, 236, b 20
Copholders oppressed, 189, a 40
Copper, 238, b 20
Corbridge sometimes inhabited
by the Romans, 91, a 10
Cozineus twelue cubits high,
that is, eightene faw, 8, b 50
Cozmopants about the Ile of
Elie, 227, b 50
Cozne in England and other
kinds of graine, 110, a 60.
What obseruations are kept
in the countrey for the price
thereof the yeare following,
203, a 30. what great abuse is
suffered therein both for price,
ec. 202, b 10, 203, a 10
Cownall called the pzmonto-
rie of Helenus, and why, 34, b
30. The Britons call it Cere-
niu, 14, a 50. The bzyeth of
it & Deuonshire, 66, a 30
Cownall white, 239, b 30.
Counties. ¶ See Shires.
Court of England alwaies kept
where the prince lieth, 196, a
50. Punishment of such as
smite within the bounds of it
forbidden, 197, a 60
Court kept at Kings hill in
Rochford after midnight:
note, 156, b 10
Courts of some princes beyond
sea compared vnto hell, 196, b
60, 197, a 10
Courts of chancerie at York &
Ludlow, 181, a 40
Courtiers of England the best
learned and worst liuers, 196,
a 60
Cranmer archbishop of Can-
turburie supposed to be an
offler: note, 152, a 20
Creekes noted by seafaring men
for their benefite vpon f coasts
of England, 108, a 10. ¶ See
Hauens and Riuers.
Crocus (in English Saxton)
with the occasion of the name,
232, b 30
Crokers, or saxton mens ob-
seruation, 233, b 40
Crosses of wood found about Ha-
lidon, & how they came there,
130, b 60
Crowdon hils reaching to the
borders of Scotlād, 109, a 50
Crows carrē, 227, b 30. white,
223, b 20. Came crows of a
tinminer & a hammer with
strange tales of them, 238, a
20
Crowne of gold the first that
was euer wozyne in this na-
tion, 117, b 10
Cubit geometrical, 9, a 40
Cumberland and westmerland
by what riuer bound, 86, b 20
Cusome of Walise, 185, b 20.
¶ See Law.
Curren. ¶ See Dogs.
Cymbal of likelihood came out
of Britaine, 133, a 30
Cyniks yeare: note, 244, a 20

D.

The naturall when it begin-
neth, 241, a 60. Longest in
some parts of Britaine, 2, b
40. Of how manie houres it
consisteth: note, 241, a 40. Di-
uerse accounted by hour: s,
241, b 10. Artificiall, 241, b 30
Daies of the weeke named after
the English, Saxons, and
Scotish manner, 244, b 20. Cal-
led Atri among the Romans,
whyy, 243, a 20. Diuerse ac-
counted and named of diuerse
people, 242, a 60
Daies three whereof men doubt-
ed whether theiues or true
men dw most abound in them,
91, a 20
Danes how they came first into
Britaine, 6, b 30. Prospered
not in their purpose establish-
ing of themselves in Bri-
taine, and why, 6, b 40. True
in Scotland & kill king Con-
stan:ine, 121, a 60. Some-
times lord of Domonia
Ile in Scotland, 42, b 60
Daneield and why so named,
93, b 10
Dasters, a kind of dogs, 231, b 60
Darbie towne so named of the
riuer Darwent, 96, a 10
Dartford by whome builded,
now a palace roiall, 196, a 30
Darwē riuer described, 92, b 50
David king of Scots earle of
Huntington, 123, b 10
Deacons in the church of Eng-
land but no subdeacons, 136,
a 40
Deanes of cathedrall churches
not knowne before the con-
quest, 135, a 10. Of Pauls in
their succession to the last na-
med Alexander Howell, 147,
b 20
Decret in saxton, and how to be
perceined, 233, b 60
Deoz Dena a noble riuer rising
in Northamptonshire, 82, a 50. A
troublesome streame when f
wind is at southwēst: note,
83, a 10
Dele an old Saxon word signi-
fying a bottome of vale, 206,
b 20
Demetrius his vaine tales told
in his treatises, 118, b 50
Dennie Island in the middest of
the Seuerne, 37, b 40
Demetrius king of the Swel-
lands held Britaine in sub-
iection, 5, b 20
Deuonshire parted from Corn-
wall by the intercoure of the
riuer Tamara, 61, a 10. The
bzyeth of it and Cornwall,
66, a 30
Diale, 241, a 60
Diamond stones, 239, b 20
Diamond found in a marie qua-
rie at Haples, 235, b 60
Diet of the English, 165, b 30.
Of the nobilitie, 166, a 60. Of
merchants, 167, a 40. Of arti-
sicers, ec. 167, b 50. Of the an-
cient Gentiles, 170, b 50,
171, a 10
Dinas Bzen a castell: note,
227, b 20
Dis one of the sons of Iaphet
originall beginner of Bri-
taine, 3, a 60
Discipline sent for to Cleuth-
rius from Lucius, 24, b 40.
Nerie necessarie in f church,
24, b 40. Wilhed, 213, b 50
Doctrines that Cham & his dis-
ciples taught, 21, b 30. That
Dionys preached to his hear-
ers in Bithia, 19, b 30, 20, a 10

Doctor a word of large signifi-
cation, 150, b 10
Dodon riuer f bound to Cam-
berlād & westmerlād, 86, b 20
Dogs of England & their qua-
lities, 229, b 40. That serue f
falcon of two sorts called spa-
niels, 230, a 60. What sort of
all most cruell & tugging, 232,
a 10. Of a homelie kind, 230, b
40. Diuided into licrall
kinds, 230, a 10
Dolphin of France the title of
the French kings eldest son,
157, a 10
Domitians follie noted plaing
with fier, 226, a 40
Done a swift riuer and for his
nobenesse notable, 98, b 50
Douer castell wherof of libel-
ty had it toke the name, 53, a 60
Drake sir Francis knight his
volage, 1582. 237, b 10
Draisd sometimes a goodlie
towne now a small village,
93, a 60, b 10
Drynke bled in England, 169, a
20. ¶ See Ware.
Drinkers great & yet no drun-
kards, 42, a 60
Dropping well and the wonder-
full nature thereof, 129, b 60
Drys. ¶ See Simples.
Dyudes or Dyuith prests and
their estimation, 20, b 30. Why
so called, 19, b 10
Dyuis and what pointes of
doctrine he preached & taught
in Albion, 19, b 30, 20, a 10
Duchesse of Lancaster the ladie
wake, 143, b 40
Duke in Latine Dux, a ducen-
do, a name now of honor, 157,
a 10. Created of the prince,
158, a 60. In England none,
164, b 60
Duke Humfreie of Gloucester
builded Greenwich, 196, a 20
Duke of Summersets in king
Edward the sixts time, wile
answer to tutors for college &
church lands, 158, b 20
Duke William of Normandie,
ec. arrived in Britam to visit
Edward the confessor, 7, a 10.
His dead carcase twelue in-
ches longer than any mans
dwelling in f countrey, 10, b 30
¶ See William.
Dunwallon king of Britaine
caused foure principall waies
to be made in his kingdome,
and why, 112, a 10. His laws,
priviledges, & other acts, 117, b
10. He is praised, 177, a 10
Durham what hauens it hath,
108, a 30. The bishopps ece-
reaction, circuit, and balastio,
145, b 40
Durham place conuerted into a
palace roiall, 195, b 40

E.

Edmerus abbat of S. Al-
bons, 191, b 60
Ebranke the lineal heire from
the bodie of Eortine, 117, a 30
Ebranke now called York, 117,
b 40
Echerts edict to call Britaine
Angles land, 5, a 20
Edeborough castell why so cal-
led, and by whome builded,
117, a 40
Edgar king of Britaine sitting
in a barge is rowed vpon the
water by six oz seven kings,
122, a 60. His maie of one
thousand six hundred, aliās
three thousand six hundred
saile, 201, b 50
Editha (wife to Robert d'Wille)
superstie

superstitious & credulous: note, 129, a 10
Edward the first did first coine the pence & small pences round, 218, b 60
Edward the second held a parliament at Salisbury, 57, a 50
Edward the confessor of whose descended, & his laws, 122, b 50.
Son in law to earle Godwine, 7, a 30.
Surnamed the saint, 7, b 60.
He ferreth the Normans to the greatest offices in the realme, 7, a 10.
Assisted by duke William of Normandis, 7, a 10.
He had no issue, 123, a 10
Edward the third denier of the order of the garter, 141, b 10.
Got the Ile of Wight whole into his hands, 31, b 60.
First planted saffron in Walden, 232, b 50
Edward the fourth granted licence to transport rams & ewes into Spaine, 221, a 10
Eles denouering fishes, 224, a 10.
How to haue breed of them, 224, a 50.
See Fishes.
Eles both of land and water, 228, b 30
Eles great store laid by diuerse kinds of foules in the Ile of Ferne, 44, a 60
Egbert the first that began to know the necessitie of a naue, 201, b 40
Egbricht king of Northumbers and his palace where seated, 93, b 10
Egles in England: note, 227, b 10
Elphed abbat of saint Albons, 191, b 50
Eleutherius sendeth preachers oner into Britaine, 24, a 20.
Being dealt therein by king Lucius, 123, 24, 25
Elie a famous Ile seven miles euerie waie, and not accessible but by three causes, 112, a 10.
In the Normans time called the Ile of Swines, 111, a 20.
His shopikes erection, circuit, and valuation, 143, a 50
Elizabeth queene furnisheth England with munition, & souldiers, 198, a 20
Ella the Saxo first held the kingdom of Sussex, 16, b 10
Elmes great store in England, 213, a 30.
On the southside of Dover court notable, 213, a 40
Eltham by whose builded, 196, a 30
Emelius opinion of the generation of gold and silver, 237, a 30
England called Hoegres, 116, a 50.
Why called Britaine the great, 118, b 40.
Angelland, or Angles land, 5, a 20.
The centre, nauill, or middelt of it whereabouts, 48, b 30.
How manie cities and townes it hath, 189, b 50.
Lesse need of other nations than other nations of it, 235, a 10.
Governed by three sorts of persons, 164, a 60.
Little England or low England, 44, b 30.
Miles betwixt the greatest townes for trauell, how manie, 247, a 40.
Degrees of people there, 136, b 50.
Howe people in it of three sorts, 182, b 50.
Laws since the first inhabitation thereof, 176, b 50.
It and Scotland by what rivers diuided on the east and the west, 107, b 20.
Of the ancient and present estate of the church thereof, 131, a 30.
Three things growne to be herie greuous in it, 189, a 30.
It will as well yeild wine, as keepe it long, 110, b 60, 111, a 10.

when there is like to be plentie and when scaritie there, 111, b 40.
Of the aire, soile, wind, hills, pastures, cozne, ground, &c. 108, b 40.
Not unfurnished of hot baths and wells, 214, b 20.
How the souereigntie of it remaineth to the princes of the same, 116, b 50.
The tax of the whole realme, 137, a 50.
Gouernement thereof vpon what three kinds of lawes it dependeth, 179, b 50.
Building and furniture of houses in it, 187, a 10.
The partition wall betwene the Scots and Scots, 127, b 10.
These things greatlie amended therein, 188, b 30.
The partition of it into shires and counties, 153, a 10.
The account of time and his parts there, 241, a 40.
Of the maners thereof, 128, b 20.
Punishments therein for malefactors, 184, b 60.
Of castles and holds in it, 194, a 40.
It and Wales in times past full of woods, 211, b 60.
Of parkes and warrens therein, 204, a 50.
Lesse people in it neuer than now, 205, b 10.
Foure things wished to be reformed therein, 213, b 50.
Of the princes court and the courtiers of England, 196, a 50.
Palaces for the prince in England, 195, a 60.
How manie parishes and market towns it containeth, 194, a 10.
Wise men that it can make out against the enemy, 198, a 60.
Of armour and munition in it, 198, a 10.
Well furnished with guns and artilerie, 198, b 40.
Coines thereof in times past and now present, 218, a 50.
Of cattell kept for profit therein, 219, a 40.
It and Scotland diuided by the river Tweed, 88, b 60.
Much euill transported into it out of France, 20, b 10.
The number of religious houses therein at their dissolution, 26, b 10.
In the south parts of it are three feuerall townes blessed, 14, b 10.
Six times subiect to reproch of conquest, 8, a 10.
The cause of the conquest thereof by the Normans, 7, a 10.
See Albion, Britaine, Conquest, Danes, Normans, Saxons, &c.
Englishmen noisome to their owne countrie, 153, b 10.
Their food and diet, 165, b 30.
Best on foot, 163, b 40.
Disguised in cuts, tags, &c. 172, a 20.
Their miserie vnder the French and Normans, 7, b 30.
Their apparell, 171, b 60.
Brought in lone with outlandish toles, 235, b 10.
236, a 40
Emerita nere vnto Lucius, 24, b 30.
Married in Rhetia, 25, b 60
Emma the mother of duke William of Normandis, 7, a 10
Epaminondas neat sailing touching the age of thirtie, and three score, &c. 115, b 20
Epistle of Eleutherus to Lucius, 25, a 10
Equinoctiall. See Calendar and Yeare. 158, b 60
Equites. 158, b 60
Erasmus Roterdamus was in the vniuersities of England, his report of both, 149, b 20
Erkenwin king of Essex, 16, b 20
Erle and aldermen by whom first appointed, 153, b 30.
Baldwin de Betouan first earle of the Ile of Wight, 31, b 50.
Of Bullen married king of Scots haughter, 205, b 50.
Secretre of Essex

constable of the towne, 111, a 20.
Godwine defaced by the Normans writers, 132, a 40.
John of Hamerslet, 127, a 50.
Hugh of Chester in William Conquerors time, 36, b 10.
Hugh of Shrewsburie in William Conquerors time, 36, b 10.
Of Kent Godwins father in law to Edward the confessor, 7, b 60.
Of Kent Herald sonne to Godwin, 7, b 60.
Leofric of Chester, 132, b 30.
Richard of Warwick, 31, b 60.
Of Harum lord William Montacute, 37, b 50.
Sheward of Northumberland sirnamed Foztis, 132, b 30.
Thomas of Lancaster, 126, a 20.
Wolbodus of Huntington & Northumberland, 123, b 10.
A name of office among the Romans, in Latine Comes: note, 157, a 30.
Created of the prince, 158, a 60
Erles in England how manie, 164, b 60.
How farmers and graiers, 204, b 60.
Eight laine in a consist of Thelstane against certein aliens, 59, a 30.
Of Darbie commonlie said to be kings of the Ile of Man, 37, b 50
Erne and eagle taken to be all one, 227, b 20
Erne stone, 239, b 20
Erning street one of the foure highwaies principall of Britaine and how it is extended, 113, b 30
Erth diuided into three parts, 1, b 30.
Into what portis thereof of Britaine is referred, 2, a 30.
Variance among writers about the diuision of it, 1, b 10.
The diuision of it not yet perscalle knowne, 1, a 30.
Diuided into three parts, 1, a 10
Erth worth fine shilling a lode thirtie yeares ago, 236, b 60
Erths sundrie kinds in Britaine, and which kind most common and best, 111, b 30
Esquire a French word, and who be such, 162, a 40
Essex a kingdom begun vnder Erkenwin, 16, b 20.
In time past hath whole bene forrest ground, 206, a 60.
What hauners it hath, 108, a 60.
It and Suffolke parted by the river Sture, 105, a 40
Estrildis drowned by Cuen= boline, 68, b 30
Eueham monastrie sell downe by it selfe, 67, b 10
Excester bishoprike when it first began, the circuit of the same, &c. 141, b 60
Exchequer when it openeth, 182, a 10
Excommunicate persons how disabled, 197, b 60
F.
Faculties a great cause of the ruine of the commonwealth, 205, a 60.
Commodious to the prince and yet exclaimd against, 136, a 60
Faires and markets in England, 202, a 10.
When and where kept thorough out the yeare, 245, all.
Walter fairs and their abuses, 244, b 60.
One of two euerie yeare in the great market townes of England, 204, a 30
Fallow deere by whose first brought into this land, 204, b 20
F.

Fantise at hand is first scene in the hozstinger, 168, b 20
Farmers when hardlie pale could their rents, 188, b 60, 189, a 10
Fastidius archbishop of London, 27, b 40
Fawle townes in what kings daies it grew first famous, 62, a 20
Fellon a word deriued from the Saxon tong, 184, b 60
Fellons that speake not at their arraignment how punished, 185, b 60
Fellonie how punished, 186, b 50.
In what cases the gailor doth commit it, &c. 184, b 20.
Compillexie manie greuous crimes: note, 185, a 10
Fennes in England and with what things indued, 111, b 60
See Warlike.
Fergus who made king of the Scythians that arriued in Albanie, 117, b 60
Ferrer and Dorex miserabilis laine, 117, a 60
Festiuall daies. See Holidais
Fire kindred by aume, 236, b 10
Fire growing in Englab, 213, a 60.
In times past in Lancashire, 214, a 40
First fruits. See Cens.
Firth streame of some called the Diath and Scotch sea, 88, b 40.
And what river of streames it receiueth, 88, b 50
Fishes of sundrie sorts great store in the Thames, 46, b 10.
These kinds in a lake, which fishes haue but one eye, ap= peere, 129, b 50.
Five sorts, 224, b 40.
Herd to come with in the wind of Spate oile, 227, b 50.
What fishes vntualie taken vpon the English coasts, 223, b 60.
Of the sea how they come in season, 224, b 20.
What kind preferred by prouiso of sharpe lawes, 224, a 10.
Without kind in Almond lake, 88, a 60
Fitzherberts original and ad= uancement, 15, b 60
Fitzwaters necke broken as he was taking hozdebache, 106, b 20
Flamines and archflamines in Britaine, 22, b 40.
Eight and twentie, 189, b 20
Flax ought to be sowne by law in England, 111, a 60
Flicks of a noisome kind, 228, b 30.
229, a 40
Folkmote ordeined by king Athur, 155, b 20
Fornication vniuocallie punis= shed, 185, a 50
Forrestes in England & Wales diuerse, 206, a 50
Foztis how they came to be erls of Dumarle, Wight, and De= nonshire, 31, b 60
Fosse dike clenfed by bishop De= water, 100, b 40
Fosse one of the highwaies of Britaine, and how it is ex= tended, 112, b 60
Fosse streame able to beare a good beffel, 94, b 10
Fonks de warren & red knight, 15, b 40
Fowles wild & tame in Eng= land, 222, b 10.
Come of di= uerse kinds, 223, a 10.
From beyond sea, 223, a 10.
Hanc= nous to be destroyed by law, 223, b 10, 227, b 10.
Ancleane, 223, b 10
Founteins abbey famous, how seated, 94, b 60
Fox bishop builder of Corpus Christi

The first table for the description

Christi college in Oxford, his opinion, 150, b 40
 Foxes in England, 225, b 30
 Fraie betwene the dachesse of Lancasters men and the bishop of Ely, 143, b 60. ¶ She Quarell.
 France how manie archbishops, bishops, & churches it hath, 139, b 10. Much euill transported from thence into England, 20, b 10
 Franke chafe, 206, a 10. ¶ She Parke.
 French best on horsebacke, 163, b 40. Expiled out of England, 7, a 50. The first footing of them in Britaine since the time of Ethelbert and Sigebert, 7, a 10. The miserie of the English vnder them, 1, b 20. In repositing their owne affaires not to be trusted, 115, a 60. They deride our new archerie, 198, a 60
 Friendship betwene fishes by nature, 224, a 20
 Fridaie why called the king of the woolling, 242, a 40
 Frith an arme of the sea diuiding Pentland from Fife, 118, b 40
 Frofishers boiage for gold, in the peare of our Lord, 1577, 237, b 10
 Frogs commonlie found where adders be, 228, a 60
 Furniture. ¶ She Houses and Building.

G.

Gates, 239, a 10, 40
 Gaile deliuerie of great affliques, 155, b 30
 Gailers in what case guiltie of felonie, 184, b 30
 Galatea married to Hercules, 4, b 30
 Galles receiued their religion from the Britons, 20, a 60. What sort of them aduentured into Britaine, 5, b 20
 Gallies belonging to the queens maiestie and his seruice, 201, a 30. In old time of sundrie sorts and seruice, 200, a 60
 Gardens and orchards in England, 208, a 60. Of our time pereglesse, 210, b 10. Joining to houses how beautified and furnished with flowers, herbs, &c. 209, a 10
 Gardens of the Hesperides, 210, b 10
 Garget a disease in cattell, 110, a 40
 Garnish of pewter besell how much, 237, b 40
 Gauell kind deuised first by the Romans, and why, 180, a 60
 Great stone, 239, a 10. Of fine kinds, 239, a 50
 Gelousie of malices, 231, a 40
 Gentlemen in England of thre sorts, 156, b 60. Gentlemen gouernours of two sorts, 164, b 10. Gentlemen of blood, 161, a 40. Gentlemen, who to be counted, 162, a 50. Gentlemen Jtationers, 162, b 30. Gentlemen of the second degree, 158, b 20. Gentlemen of the greater sort, 156, b 60. Gentlemen rauenmiers of commodities, 240, a 60. Gentlemen shifters, robbers, 186, a 40. Gentlemen dinghiffs theauith praactises, 199, b 50
 Gentlemens manours, 188, a 40
 Gentlemens diet. ¶ She Diet.
 Germander, 209, a 60

Giant thre of whole tenth weid an hundred ounces, &c. 9, b 30
 Bones of one seuentene or eightene cubits long, 9, b 60. The bodie of one found in a coffin of stone in Aldernie, 32, b 60. Ones mouth of sixteene fot widenesse, 11, b 60. The bones of one whole carcasse was two and twentie fot long, 10, b 50. One of Spaine that died by a fall upon the Alpes, 8, a 60. One found dead sitting with a staffe in his had like the mast of a tall ship, 9, b 50
 Giants whether anie were or inhabited Britaine, 8, a 40. Sundrie exaples of pwofe to confirme the opinion of them, 10, a 10. The last of the race left in the land of promise, 9, a 30. Pwoned by scripture to haue bene in former times, 9, a 10. To what purpose God created such men of mightie stature, 12, a 60
 Gigas of Rephelim signifieng a giant, 8, a 10. ¶ She Giants.
 Gilpins preaching effectull in Kiddale, Ciurdale, and Lindesdale, 91, a 20
 Gir in the old Saxon spech, signifieth deepe fens and marishes, 101, a 60
 Glasing by whome first brought into this land, 187, b 40
 Glasse how first found, 187, b 60. Of diuerse sorts, 188, a 20. How it might be made tougher, 238, b 10. Hath bene made in England before the Romans time, 111, b 10
 Glasses to drinke in greatie used, 167, a 10. Of the best sort from whense, 167, a 10
 Glasses to luke in made of tin, 237, b 60. Of silver common to euerie bishop, 238, a 10
 Gloucester how called in the Romans time, 191, a 10. It and Summerfeture by what river parted asunder, 68, a 30. Bishoprike berie ancient, 146, b 30. Creation, circuit, & valuation of it, 142, b 30
 Gluttonie of England in Cennatus time, 170, b 40
 Godmanchester in old time called Gumicester, whilome a towne of great countenance and berie ancient, 102, b 60
 Gods inferiour how hatched at the first, 21, b 50, 60, 22, a 10. Men made such and so honozed, 22, b 10. Who was pwpertie said in old time to haue a seat among them, 21, b 50
 Gogmagogs hill, a strong place of incamping, 195, a 40
 Gold how ingendered in the earth, 237, a 30. Not wanting in England, 237, a 50. From the west Indies, 237, a 60. Graines thereof inclosed in stones, 235, b 60. Dpofle in triall: note, 237, b 10
 Goldwell bishop of Oxford a Jesuit, 143, a 30
 Godwine of Kent earle father in law to Edward the confessor, 7, a 30. Accused of high treason berie slanderouslie, 7, b 10. Defaced by the pwpman writers, 132, a 40
 Gole doing beneficall, 223, a 60
 Goseheard how he leadeth his gese to the feild, 223, a 50
 Goropius trifling about the names of places noted, 3, b 10
 Gospell pwerched how effectual

to conuert and amend mens manners, 91, a 20. The successe thereof after the death of Christ, 22, b 60. Had neuer free passage in Britaine till Lucius time, 23, b 30. The propagation thereof in Britaine, 23, b 24, a 25
 Gotes great stoze in England & Wales, 221, b 30. Their milke medicinable, 221, b 40
 Gots deuise for the destruction of their white crows, 223, b 20. They & Vandals made lawes against learning, 153, a 10
 Gothlanders bse wooden ancozes, 3, b 60
 Grafton Richards tale of the bones of a giant, 10, a 60
 Grantings. ¶ She Timbers.
 Granta a noble and excellent streame described, 103, a 20
 Grantabillshire so called of the river Granta, 103, a 20
 Grasshoppers powdered in barrels and eaten, 229, b 20
 Gralliers growne berie cunning, 220, b 20
 Grasling superfluous how restrained by the Romans, 213, b 60
 Grade berie fine on Doue banke growne in a pwoerbe, 98, b 60
 Graikes manie trauelled into Britaine in the time of Gurguntius, 20, b 10. They knew Britaine by none other name a long time than Tibion, 5, a 10
 Greenwich by whome builded & enlarged, 196, a 20
 Great outlandish, 234, b 60. ¶ She whetstones.
 Grethounds, 208, a 20. ¶ She Dogs.
 Gretham sir Thomas knight his pausing stones for the burle, 235, b 30
 Grindstones, 235, b 10
 Groues. ¶ She Woods.
 Gun belonging to the Turke drawne with leuentie yoke of open, and two thousand men, 199, a 20
 Guns god stoze and of sundrie sorts in England, their names, weight, widnesse at the mouth, and what powder will serue for shot, 198, b 40, 199, a 10
 Guendolena the wife of Locrianus governed the kingdome of Britaine, hir crueltie, 68, b 30
 Gurguntius builder of Cabridge castle, 149, a 10
 Gwinbach towne, and why it was so named, 106, a 40. It and Radwinter, the lords whereof were at variance: note, 106, a 60

H.

Haben of Hafren bafe daughter to Locrinus, 68, b 20
 Drowned by Guendolena, 68, b 30
 Hadrian the emperour first beginner of the Dits wall, 127, b 30
 Halston hill how it is seated and stondeit, 88, b 50
 Halifax law, 185, b 20
 Halliwell bath, 214, b 30
 Hampton beareth the name of Aunon of Rene a river, 101, b 60
 Hampton court by whome builded, 195, b 60
 Hanecha a citie builded sometime by Cham, 9, a 10
 Haraid earle of Oxford sonne to Godwine earle of Kent and after king of Englad, &c. 7, b 60
 Haraid a greuous mail to the Britons in the time of S. Edward, 78, a 40
 Haraldisson so named of Haraid

successor to S. Edward, 78, a 60
 Hartland called Promontorium Herculis, 4, b 40
 Hartlepool towne lieng ouer into the sea in maner of a byland, 91, b 20
 Hauen of Southhampton called by Ptolomie Magnus portus descriptus, 53, a 30
 Hauen with little colt might be made of Wyde rivers mouth placed betwixt two hills, 58, b 40
 Hauens in Britaine that the Romans bled for their passage to and fro, 3, a 30. ¶ She Ports.
 Hawkes their severall names and kinds, 227, a 10
 Hebrides in old time subiect to Ireland, their number and situation, 29, b 60
 Hecatompolis decaied, 193, a 30
 Hed or heued in old English signifieth cheefe, 105, b 60
 Hedningham or Huedingham why so called, 105, b 60
 Hell kettles of the diuels kettle, thre litte poles so named, 150, b 40
 Hematite stone, 239, b 20
 Hengist and his Saxons arrive in Britaine & purpose a vniuersall conquest, 6, b 20. Began the first kingdome of the seuen in Kent, 16, a 50. Chirking for the whole kingdome of south he was banished, &c. 120, a 30
 Henrie first what kind of beastes he cherished to fight withall & to hunt, 226, b 10
 Henrie the second defaced castles & holds in England, 194, b 20
 Henrie the first swift of foot, 226, b 40. Hunted fallow were on foot: note, 226, b 40
 Henrie the first crowned Henrie Beauchampe king of Wight & Jardsle, 31, b 60
 Henrie the seventh what kind of dogs he commanded to be hanged, 231, a 10. His thre notable piles pereglesse within Europe, 149, a 60
 Henrie the eight the most proud prince that euer reigned in England: note, 194, b 50. His seuerie executing of idle persons by thousand at once, 186, b 20. In building not inferior to Adrian of Iulianum, 195, b 10. His answer to certaine futozes for college lands, 152, b 10
 Herbs, fruits, &c. ¶ She Gardes.
 Hertoch what kind of ppeident, 157, a 40
 Hercules passage out of Spaine by the Celts to goouer into Italic, 4, a 10. He marrieth the daughter of king Lucius, 4, a 30. Whether he came into Britaine after the death of Tibion, 4, b 40. He killeth Albion & his brother Bergion, 4, a 10. Sundrie monuments in memorie of him, 4, b 50
 Hereford bishoprikes creation, circuit, and valuation, 142, b 40
 Hereford and Monmouthshires betwene which Monbecke river is the march, 73, a 60
 Heremits and monks onellie allowed of in Britaine, 26, a 50, 60
 Heresie & monastical life brought into Britaine at one time by Pelagius, 26, a 10
 Heretikes how punished, 185, a 40
 Hide of Wideland somewhere bled in England & somewhere not, 30, b 20. What it is, 205, b 40
 Highwaies foure made sometimes in Britaine by princes there of, 112, a 40
 Highwaies incroched upon by the erecting

erecing of tenements, 112, b 40
 That are common til leue unto,
 113, b 60. Greate increched by
 within these twentie years, 114,
 a 40. ¶ See Waics, Thorowlares
 and Townes.
 121. In England great store, 109, a
 50. Westward whereon in faire
 weather one may see the clouds
 gather together in a certeine
 thicknesse, 129, b 20. Alps of
 snowdome hills famous as the
 Alps beyond sea, 80, b 10
 Hindes haue beine milked, 226, b 60
 Hines. ¶ See Hone.
 Holds. ¶ See Castels.
 Holdaics verie manie vnder f pope
 reduced now to seuen & twentie
 in England, 138, b 60. Necessary
 to be removed quite and cleane
 from the church, 138, b 60
 Home of England reputed the best,
 229, a 10. The nearer the bottom
 the better, 229, a 30
 Hone *sic qui mal y pense*, 162, a 20
 Hops planting growne to be a great
 trade in England, 108, b 10. In
 times past plentiful in this land,
 208, b 60
 Hora among the Grecians what it
 signifieth, 242, b 30
 Hoptes and waspes how ingen-
 dered, 228, b 30
 Hoptes moze infortunat than ten of
 Christians colts, 78, b 50
 Hoptes in Englad of sandie foys,
 220, b 60. Dutlandish, 220, b 50.
 ¶ See Innes.
 Hoptecourters. ¶ See Willers.
 Hoptemarkets, 220, b 40
 Hoptescalers, 186, a 60
 Hoptualitie of the clergie bountiful-
 lic and thyrstie kept, 139, a 10
 Hounds of eight foys & their names
 and games, 230, a 10. ¶ See
 Dogs.
 Houre, & the originall of the word,
 242, a 30. What poztion of time,
 241, a 60
 Houres vnequall of tempozall, 241,
 b 10. ¶ See Time.
 Houses. ¶ See Bndding & wmd.
 Hugh earle of Chelster in the Con-
 queroz time, 36, b 10
 Hugh earle of Shrewesburie in the
 Conqueroz time, 36, b 10
 Hull water a riuer, 92, b 10. Aboun-
 ding with burgeon and lampreys,
 described, 93, a 60
 Humber described & what streames
 run therinto, 92, b 20. where-
 vpon it was so named, 92, b 40
 Humber & of Scythia ouerthrowne
 in Britaine, 68, b 20. Seeking to
 be monarch of Britaine is drow-
 ned in Humber, 92, b 40
 Hundred & wapentak all on, 154, a 10
 Hundreds in England wpp so cal-
 led, 153, b 30
 Hunting & which be the best games,
 226, a 50. Pastime for ladies and
 gentilewomen rather than gen-
 tlemen, 226, a 60. What kind be-
 sed in old times, 226, a 60. That
 the princes of Scotland bled it,
 226, b 10
 Husbandmen, 163, b 50. Their gwd
 lucke, 217, b 20. Sometimes citi-
 zens, 190, a 30. Their diet, 167, b
 60. ¶ See Farmers.
 Husbandrie in England well amen-
 ded, 109, b 20
 Huntington earldome giuen to Da-
 uid king of Scots, 123, b 10. For-
 soited and neuer after restored to
 the crowne of Scotland, ibidem
 b 40, 124, a 10
 Hydromel, 170, b 30

I.

I was the fourth king of Scots
 married the king of Denmarke

daughter, 43, b 60
 Ianigens were the posterite of
 Noah in Itale, 4, a 10
 Iardseie an Island of thirtie miles
 compasse, 32, a 50
 Icenies ill placed by Leland in 1202,
 folke and Suffolke, 113, b 50
 Ida, king of Northumberland, 16,
 b 60
 Idleness auoided in the court, specie-
 allic of the ladies, 196, b 20
 Idolis monstrous proportions, 22,
 b 50
 Idolatrie how hatched at the first,
 21, b 50, 60
 Ides whp so called, 243, b 10. ¶ See
 Moneth.
 Iesuit Goldwell bishop of Oxford:
 note, 143, a 30
 Jewell John bishop of Salisbury
 commended, 141, b 40
 Jewes whē they begin their worke,
 242, a 50. They and other nati-
 ons reckon their moneths by the
 moone, 242, b 30. Did eat hawne,
 222, a 10
 Ikenild street one of the foure prin-
 cipall highwaies of Britaine and
 how extended, 113, b 50
 Illices aliquando in Britannia nisi in-
 telligatur de quercu, 208, a 20
 Ile of man described, 37, a 50. Ile of
 Digmis in Scotland, 41, a 60.
 Ile of rats, and whp so called, 32,
 b 20. Ile of S. Clement, and whp
 so called, 33, b 20. Ile of Shyrews,
 40, a 40
 Iles eastward to the point of Hamf-
 head, 38, b 60. Iles mooring and
 removing by force of the water,
 88, a 60. Iles in Scotland, 39,
 a 10
 Island called a continent, 42, b 60.
 Island holie otherwise called Lin-
 desfarne, 44, a 40. Island carried
 to and fro as the wind bloweth,
 129, b 50
 Islands such as are to be seene vpon
 the coasts of Britaine, 29, b 30.
 Such as lie in the mouth of the
 Thames, 30, a 50. Such as lie
 vpon the west and north shope,
 34, b 30. Such as lie betwene
 the wight and the maine land, 31,
 a 20. They mounred with salt
 streames in Maldon water, 44, b
 60. Islands inuironed with the
 ocean waues, 29, b 40
 Ingratitude. ¶ See Unthankful-
 nesse.
 Innes and thorowlares with the
 maner of blage, 246, b 10. Stone
 worlle than in London, 247, a 10.
 Of great capacite and well fur-
 nished, 247, b 10
 Inkeepers what knaues & theues
 they haue to their chamberlens,
 ostlers, tapsters, &c: 246, b 40
 Inqueets at assises, 155, b 40
 Insecta animalcula, 228, b 30
 Intercession. ¶ See Calendar and
 Yeare.
 John king of England restrineth
 all taking of wildfoule, and whp,
 222, b 40. He ouerthzew and spoil-
 ed manie parkes and warrens,
 205, b 50. Benefactor to Rich-
 field bishoprike, 143, a 20. Abused
 euen by the berie rakehels of the
 popish clergie, 134, b 20
 John of Ludlow alijs Watson a foze
 promoter: note, 181, a 60
 Ioseph preached in England &
 at what time he came ouer, 23,
 a 10
 Ireland in times past called Scot-
 land, 14, b 30
 Irish sometime inhabited a parcell
 of Britaine, 6, a 10. A kind of
 Scots noted by Jerom, 6, a 10.
 Yield to subscribe to receive no
 Scots into their dominion, 6, b
 10

Irish Scots speake the Irish tong
 14, b 20
 Iron, 238, a 60
 Irls described and what streames
 run therinto, 92, b 20
 Isurium whense it taketh denomi-
 nation, 93, a 30
 Italie called the paradise of the
 world, 110, a 10
 Italians fine successiue bishops
 of worceller, 142, b 20
 Iute cap whether it will hold wine
 or no, 239, b 50
 Iulius Cesar subdued all Bri-
 taine, 118, b 30. Coprated the ca-
 lendar, 242, b 60
 Jupiter whp feigned to thow
 downe stones vpon Abion and
 Bergion, 4, a 60
 Iustices of peace and copam, other-
 wise oier and determiner, 156, a 30

K.

Keper lord priuie scale his dig-
 nitie, 164, b 40
 Kempe Thomas a poze mans son
 his fortunat preferments, 140, b 40
 Kenlands a foxked arme of the sea
 receiuing diuerse riuers, 86, a 30
 Kent what haueus it hath, 108, b 10
 A kingdom called Gantwara-
 land and the limits therof, 16, a 50
 Kine keeping profitable, 219, b 60,
 220, a 10
 Kings college at Cambridge of what
 stone it is builded, 234, b 60
 Kings hill in Rochford & of a court
 kept there after midnight, 156, b 10
 Kings Newnam baths, 214, b 60
 Kingstone vpon Thames in times
 past verie famous, 219, b 10
 Kille dangerous & deadlie, 231, a 50
 Kinner sir Edmund knight for stri-
 king in the princes court should
 haue lost his hand, 197, b 40
 Knight none bozne but created, and
 how, 158, b 60
 Knight of the garter how disgra-
 ded, 161, b 50. His maner of bur-
 all, 161, b 40
 Knight red, fowkes de Warren, &
 whp so called, 15, b 40
 Knights of the Bath, 159, a 40
 Knights of the garter: note, 159, a
 60, 106, b 40
 Knights of the round table, 159, b
 10
 Knols knight Robert bega to build
 Rochester brdge, 52, b 60

L.

Laborers by the date, &c: the
 fourth degree of people in En-
 gland, 163, b 50
 Ladies of the court enemies to idle-
 nesse, 196, b 20
 Ladies that made great gaine by
 selling venison and butter, 204,
 b 50
 Lake. ¶ See waters.
 Lancashire in times past hath had
 foze of fire, 214, a 40
 Lancaster whense it toke the name,
 85, b 20. Whereof ladie wake was
 bucheffe, 143, b 40. It hath bene
 whole forrest heretofore, 206, b
 30
 Landaffe bishoprikes erection, cir-
 cuit, and valuation, 145, a 10
 Langton bishop of Lichfield benefi-
 ciall to his clergie, 143, a 20
 Language British with the Græke
 hath great affinitie, 12, b 60. Eng-
 lishmen apt to learne anie forren,
 14, a 30. ¶ See Tong.
 Languages spoken in this Ile of
 Britaine, 12, b 40
 Lapidaries outlandish their subtil-
 tie, 239, b 30
 Lath, whereof named and what it
 is, 153, b 30

Law Agraria kicked against, 183,
 a 60
 Law ciuill and canon and their bte
 179, b 30
 Law common and customarie, 180,
 a 40
 Law of parliament, 179, b 60
 Law of Malialar, 185, b 20
 Law Medialian described, 177,
 b 40, 178, a 20
 Law bndomth men: note, 181, a 60
 Law for lawfull age and wardshipp
 of heires, 122, a 50
 Lawes of England for a long time
 written in French, 13, b 50. Of
 three sorts, wherupon dependeth
 the English gouernement, 179,
 b 50. How passed in parliament,
 173, 174. Their great numbers
 bred a generall contempt of all
 god order, 11, a 60. In ble be-
 fore the conquest, 176, b 50, 177,
 178, 179, b 10. Altered and abro-
 gated, 177, b 40. Given in sun-
 drie places of the land and whp,
 177, b 40. Since the coming of
 the Normans, 179, b 10. Since
 the first inhabitation thereof, 176,
 b 50. Manie made, none kept,
 213, b 30
 Lawes of Canutus made for his
 forrest, 206, b 50, 207, a 10. Of
 Edward the confessor, 122, b 50.
 Of Hyalmutus in bte to this
 daie, 177, b 10
 Lawes made against learning, 153,
 a 10
 Lawes prenal, 180, a 30
 Lawdaies, 155, b 10. Accustomable
 vied in the arches, 182, a 10
 Lawiers of England not alwaies
 constant in iudgement, 179, b 40.
 haue all the wealth of the land:
 note, 180, b 50. Manie sloped not
 at small fees, 181, a 20. ¶ See At-
 turnies, 156, a 10
 Led, 237, b 20. Blacke and white,
 236, b 10
 Ledmines in Wales, 238, a 10
 Lets of our time wherof they beare
 a shadow, 154, a 10
 Legion what it conteyned, 190, a 60
 Leicester how called in the Romans
 time, 191, a 20
 Lelands notes intricate of let pur-
 pose (as may be suspected) 63, b
 40
 Lep yeare. ¶ See Calendar and
 Yeare.
 Learning how effectual, 152, b 30.
 Lawes made against it and what
 followed, 153, a 10. Choked by the
 Vandals and Goths: note, 186,
 a 10
 Lethargo weakened by the slaugh-
 ter of his brethren, 4, a 60. He
 and his issue plate the tyrants, 4,
 a 10
 Lether for shoes ill wrought, 212,
 b 50, 213, a 10
 Leucotion like saltron, 232, b 60
 Lhogegres now called England:
 116, a 50. And how enlarged, 92,
 b 60
 Licences for priuat profit wished to
 be lesse granted, 111, b 10
 Lichfield called Mortuorum campus,
 note, 142, a 30. It and Couen-
 trie counted but one citie, 189,
 b 30. The bishoprikes erection,
 circuit, and valuation, 142, b 60
 Liddesdale without the marches of
 England, 91, a 20
 Lieutenants appointed in shires
 when and whp, 155, a 30
 Lild Thomas bishop of Elic at con-
 tention with the king of Eng-
 land, 143, b 10
 Lidingwan lake in Wales of strong
 nature, 211, a 60
 Limendune what it signifieth, 56, a
 10
 Lincoln how called in the Romans
 time,

The first table for the description

time, 190, b 10. Sometime builded by Lud brother to Cassibelan, 214, a 60. Written Nichol by the Romas, 100, b 30. In times past had two & fiftie parish churches, 193, b 40. Bishoppekes erected, circuit, and valuation, 144, b 60. Lincolnshire what haueus it hath, 108, a 40. Lincolnshire men in times past called Coritani, 100, b 10. Indefens so named of f river Alindus, 100, b 50. Indos of Lindoz the head cite in Lincolnshire and why so named, 100, b 10. Lion overthpowne and killed of Alexander, 226, b 10. Lions in England in times past manie in the north parts, 225, b 10. Locrine the eldest sonne of Wute, & what part of Britaine was gotten him, 116, a 50. King of Scotland, 116, b 30. He seized upon Albanias as exchequed unto himselfe, 117, a 20. Locust and the grasshopper whether all one or no, 229, b 10. Lode stone, 239, b 30. Lodging hard in England sometimes, now amended, 188, b 40. Logike and Whetolike out of Galia into Britaine, 20, b 10. Lomond lake sweeteth outrageous in calme and windie weather, 88, a 60. London called Trenouant created by Wute, 116, a 10. Sometimes called Angula and why, 217, b 10. How called in the Romans time, 190, a 60. Old and ruinous inhabited onlie by Britons, 191, a 60. Moines worse than thore, 247, a 10. Bishoppeke by whome erected, and the circuit of the same, 140, b 60. Lopus a river why so named, 63, b 60. Full of trout and eels, 64, a 10. Lops a title vnted to some offices, 157, b 30. A title granded at as not fit for bishops, 157, b 40. Lops by office publike and priuat, in their dignities: note, 164, b 40. In England how manie, 165, a 10. Loue in malices, 231, a 40. Lucius k. of Britaine byings true religion to a kind of god soyme, 23, b 40, 50. Sendeth for a forme of discipline to Rome, 24, b 40. The first christian king of this nation counted, 119, b 50. Whether the church that he builded at London stood at Westminster or in Coznehill, 24, a 60. The errors of them notd which saie that he renounced his kingdome and became a pope, 25, b 10. Lucius king of Celts, 4, a 40. Delivered from an blurper, 4, a 60. Lume river (giving the name to Lancaster) described, 85, b 20. Lunatic an hearbe, and the strange effects thereof, 131, a 10. Lycisca a kind of dog, 232, a 10. Lydius lapis, 235, a 60.

M.

Madder a commoditie sometime in England, 111, a 40. Magi and why so called, 19, b 10. Magus the sonne of Amothas & what learning he taught in Babylon, 19, a 20. Maine land fixtine miles in length, &c. described, 43, a 60. Maldon a towne erected out of the ruines of Ithancester, 106, a 10. Malefactorz, 184, b 10. & the Punishments. Malice of mankind what mischeffe and reuenge it seeketh, 106, a 10. Malt & the making thereof, 169, a 40. The best how tried, 169, b 10.

Malton and of a prouerbe there be, 94, a 60. Man Ile, kings, and petle kings thereof, 38, b 30. & the Ile and Mona. Manifold river and why so named, 97, a 30. Manslaughter how in times past and how now punished, 185, b 10. Marble mines, 235, a 10. White, store in England, 235, a 20. & the Metals and Minerals. Marbodens commendation of the English geat stone and pearle, 239, a 30, b 10. Marchasites called of the Grecians pyrites: note, 215, b 60. Marketa & faires in England, 202, a 10. On the sundae to be redressed, 213, b 50. Abused, 203, b 10. How they would be better serued than they are, 204, a 10. Of horse, 220, b 40. & the Faures. Marishes in England, 211, b 60. And fenie bogs, 214, a 30. & the Fens. Marke, 236, b 60. White (excellent good copelling of ground) in England, 109, a 30. Marquesse a name of honor next the duke, 157, a 30. Created of the prince, 158, a 60. In England but one, 164, b 60. Marterne a beast of chase, 226, a 10. Martia Proba hir lawes in use to this daie, 177, b 20. Martys that suffered for the gospel in Britaine, 25, a 60. Masse hindered by the coming in of waters into the munster of Ashburie, 57, a 50. Massinissa confidence in dogs, 231, a 60. Mast of oke, hogs meat and hens meat, 212, b 50. Mastife whereof named, 231, a 10. & the Dogs. Maximus the first that drave the Scots out of Britaine, 6, a 60. Mead a kind of drinke made in Celler, 170, b 20. Meadows in England great store and why, 110, a 10. Medwaie water in Kent described, 52, a 30. Melius inquirendu: a soyt, 137, a 60. Merchants & their dealings, 163, a 10. Their attire least altered in England, 172, b 60. Their courteous dealing to be redressed, 213, b 50. Their diet: note, 167, a 40. Their follic in carrying ouer sea English rams & ewes, 221, a 10. Merlin Syluestris where buried, 35, b 40. Merse river of no lesse fame than most in our land, 84, a 10, b 40. Meriton walter bishop of Rochester and lord chancellor of England, 141, a 60. Mesures diuerse in the markets of England, 203, b 30. & the Markets. Metals, 237, a 10. Metheglin the welshmens drink, 170, b 10. Milke of what beast best, 221, b 30. Milkes, 158, b 60. Mistones, 235, b 10. Minerals, 236, a 30. Minerall stone, 236, b 20. Minister not to be stricken, and how punishable, 197, b 60. Minsters keepe hospitalitie, 139, a 10. How weaponed when they trauell, 199, b 20. Minstire church how provided of able ones, 139, b 60, 140, a 10. They & decons in the church of England, 136, a 40. Unlearned how & by whom they swarmed, 158, a 50. Why not so manie learned as otherwise would be, 140, a 10. Greuouslie charged with diuers impositions, 137, a b. They haue no such means

to ease themselves of taxations as laicemen, 137, a 30. Shamefullie abused, 137, b 20. In the bare gownes: note a practise, 139, a 50. Learned not mainteineable by diuerse livings in England, 136, b 10. Minis diuerse in England in old time and where kept, 219, a 20. Minute what part of time, 241, a 60. Miracle of Done river rising excedinglie without apparant cause, 98, b 50. Miracles wrought by prayers and other meanes of certeine saints, 68, a 30. Mochoacan, 209, a 60. Mona greater than Anglesey by a third, 37, a 60. Townes, rivers, hills, hauens, & maner of gouernement there, 38, a 10. Wonne from the Scots by the princes of England, 37, b 50. It had a king in Henrie the second times, 38, b 30. Once spoiled by the Scots, by whom, and when, 37, b 30. Described by the name of Mona Caxaris, 37, a 50. Mona bishoppeke named Episcopus Soderensis, in the Ile of Man, 146, a 60. Monbricke river march betwene Hereford and Monmouthshires, 73, a 60. Moneth diuided into caends, ides, and nones, 243, a 10. Moneths whereof they consist and how reckoned, 241, b 30. Monie purchaseth all things: note, 139, b 20. Of copper currant in Britaine before the Romans coming hither, 217, a 40. & the Coines. Monie in what time he maketh hir full revolution, 242, b 50. Latie of moisture and ripener of wines, 111, a 30. Monkes commended and discommended, 193, b 60. They and hermits onlie allowed of in Britaine, 26, a 50, 60. Shaine 2100 in the quarrell of Augustine, 35, b 40. More than 2100 in the college of abbey of Bangor, 26, b 40. Benedictine in the abbey at Woblesse end, 103, a 60. What apparill they wore, 83, a 40. Of Cantuarburie plagued, 27, a 50. Of Feuerham confounding of a gentleman of his lands, 106, b 40. Of Fontaines abbey luttie, 94, b 60. Monmouth & Glamorganshires, & what river is march betwene them, 75, a 20. Monuments found at the digging of the ruines of Uerolantam, 191, b 50, 192, a 10. & the Antiquities. Moxtime Roger, 159, b 30. Moxelagh a hard word, 155, b 10. Mount Iland (hauing no inhabitants) described, 33, a 50. Mount of saint Michael described by Leland, 33, b 10. Mountacute lord William earle of Sarum selleth the Ile of Man & the crowne thereof, 37, b 50. Mounttop lord egreuouslie abused about his minerals, 236, b 10. Municipium what it is, 191, b 30. Munition. & the Armour. Murana a towne nere to Venice situate on the Adriatique sea, 167, a 20. Murther willfull how punished, 184, b 60. Murtherers of able men for warre taken, An. 1574, & 1575. pag. 198, b 20.

N.

Nate of Edgar of 1600 aliis 3600 sailes, 201, b 50. Naute of England of thre sortz, 200, b 30. & the Shippz.

Nauigation maintained by the Romas, 214, a 10. Either neglected or not knowne how hurtfull, 201, b 10. Naui how to be vnderstood, 200, a 50. Neomagus a cite in England, 189, b 60. Nephtilin. & the Giant. Nepiune god of the sea, and how he obtained to be so reputed, 3, b 40. His thre & thirtie sonnes, 4, a 10. Nello a river neuer frozen and will stayd with lammon, 88, b 20. Newpopt a towne of the east Shetons, 103, a 50. Newscirieth oppolit fro Austria, that is, the east region, 6, b 60. Newton bathz of swels medicinal, 215, a 50. Newtons the surnames of the ladie Cobhams ancestrie, 69, a 20. Nichouneles king of Bithinia, 231, a 50. Nidde river called Nidoz in f house of statutes, 95, a 10. Niddesdale is so named of the river Nide, 88, a 50. Night & the parts thereof, 242, a 10. Nis prius whereupon growne to be so manie & so common, 156, a 10. Noah first diuided the earth among his sonnes, 1, b 10. His posteritie in Italie, 4, a 10. Noblemes diet in England, 166, a 60. Nones soure of sir in currie moneth & why so named, 243, a 60. Normans first coming into Britaine, whens they came, and of what people they consisted, 6, b 60. Builded manie towne & villages in England, 192, b 60. Why decaie entmics to f English Shetons, 7, a 10. Preferred to the best places of authoritie in England, 132, a 40. All (saue thre of foure) banished out of the land by the king for thir bile dealing, 133, a 50. Outatonsous, 170, b 60. Northampton said to be the middest of England, 48, b 40. Northfolke what haueus it hath, 108, a 50. Northumberland a kingdome otherwise called Bernicia vnder Bede, 16, b 60. In manner inclosed betwene the Tweed and the Tyne, 88, b 60. What haueus it hath, 108, a 30. Northumbers kingdome how farre sometimes extended, 88, b 40. Norwich sometimes called Venta Icenorum, 104, a 60. The bishopricks erection, circuit, and valuation, 144, a 50. Nouiomagus a cite in England, 189, b 50. Numbers fatal to women & men, 28, b 10. Nundina dea, 243, a 60.

O.

O non a cite builded sometime by Cham, 9, a 10. Offices peculiar to the kings house, 164, b 30. Concerning the whole realme, 164, b 30. In the prince of Englands court furnished with books, 197, a 30. Oile in vessels that nearest the top is best, 229, a 20. Odoiferous found in a stone, 236, a 10. Oile Robert builder of Oxford castle, 149, a 10. Oile where continuall eaten, 225, a 20. Oke for what vse it is to be redressed, 212, b 40. Monozed wherecon mistle did grow, &c. 20, a 50. Growing in England what sort is the softest, 213, a 10. To what vse it was put in times past, 212, a 40. As fine as wainescor, 213, a 20. Oke berke bought by the fadom to can letther withall, 212, b 50. Oken

Pikes whose rones are verie hard stone, 130, a 20
Piban the Dane a god engineer, maker of f Turkes guns, 199, a 20
Pichades which inhabited f which nor, 42, b 60. The description of them that belong to the crowne of Scotland, 42, a 40. They f other Islands when perfectlie united to the crowne of Scotland, 43, b 60. Their number and situation, 30, a 10. First inhabited by the Scythians, 42, a 40
Pichards and gardens in Englad, 208, a 60. Furnished w all kinds of fruits, 210, a 30. f See Gardes.
Pidalian law brought in by the Saxons, 177, b 60, 178
Pider of the garter by whome first devised, 141, b 10. The institution and ceremonies thereof: note, 159, a 60, b 40, 160. Degrees of reproch inhibiting from the same, 161, a 50. f See Knight.
Pider of the golden flese and saint Michael, 162, a 10
Pider of the round table, 159, b 10. f See Knights.
Piders that are god f provided by law why so easilie broke, 111, a 60
Pidance. f See Guns.
Pidment red and yellow, 236, b 10
Pidwell haueu alias Wrewell why so called, 105, a 40
Pidwert of Barnewell runneth at tilt with a spirit, 129, a 20
Pidne. f See Bible.
Pidpates where they bread, 227, b 30
Pidlers knauerie, 220, b 30. f See Finnes.
Pidpiz the grandfather of Alistrigo, 4, a 10. Slaine by the sonnes of Nepeme and why, 4, a 20
Pid of king Edward the confessor, 132, b 40
Pidze river described, 92, b 60. Called the third Jhis and his fall into the sea, 102, a 60
Pidren of England not to be matched in all Europe, 220, a 10
Pidroz how to be thought and esteemed the elder vniuersitie, 152, a 20
Pidrie nules from London, 148, b 10. The longitudo and latitude thereof, 148, b 40. Erection of colleges therein the ouerthrow of halles, 152, a 30. Colleges there with their founders names, 152. The bishopps erection, circuit, and valuation, 143, a 30. f See Castell, and Vniuersities.

P.

Pidstow, a corrupted word for Adistow, 64, b 60
Pidace of the prince, and of striking within it how punished, 197, b 10
Pidaces belonging to the prince of this land, 195, a 60
Pidalladius accounted the apostle of the Scots, 27, b 50
Pidant and what spring meeteth of Ioueth with it, 107, a 10. f See water that sometimes hath boine botes: note, 106, a 60
Pidapit did eat: bawne in Lent, 222, a 10
Pidapits dedicated their citie gates f ports to Wornthp f Giles, 22, b 10
Pidardes how manie in euerie shire of England, 194, a 10
Pidarkes and warrens in England, 204, a 50. How commonlie inclosed, 204, b 10. Hope in England tha in all Europe, 205, b 60. None left in England at the coming of the Normans, 205, b 30. Tillage and mankind diminished by them, 205, a 10
Pidarkespers ordinare fee, 204, b 40
Pidament held at Weruoke, 125, b 20. f See Chester, 73, b 50. f See Shaf-

burie by Edward f secdb, 17, a 50
Pidamber of the congregats there- in, 180, a 20
Pidament court, the orders, officers, and authoritie of the same, 173, a 10
Pidament law, 179, b 60
Pidalspine in Scotland and why so named, 121, a 30
Pidalture best in what part of England and wales, 109, b 50. It differeth according to the soile, 109, b 50
Pidatrons directed well to bestow benefices in the vacancie, 151, a 10
Pid See Benefices and Ministers.
Pidales presence in Britaine, 23, a 10
Pidace maintained within the pynce of Englands court: note, 197, a 60
Piddegres wherein the Britons are diligent and ready, 13, a 60, b 10
Pideters French whereof compact, 183, b 50. f See Beggars and Roges.
Pidclagus brought herelie and monastical life into Britaine at one time, 26, a 10. Attempted to be suppressed, 27, b 30
Pidence f small coines when square, and by whome made round, 218, b 60. f See Coines and Monie.
Pidpeople in England of foure sorts, 156, b 60. Lesse neuer than now, 205, b 10. Their decay by diuerse causes, 205, a 10. Their decay the destruction of a kingdom, 205, a 30
Piderie made of pears, 170, b 10
Piderrurie how punished, 185, a 40
Piderte mother in an Isle of Scotland, 39, b 60
Pidertes in England, 229, a 60. Distraill, 236, b 20. Why called Distraill, 240, a 10. Whether they be god tha are found in muskels of no, 240, a 10
Pideterpence first granted in England, and by whom, 121, b 10
Pidettfoggers. f See Lawyers and Promoters.
Pideterbazow bishopps erection, circuit and valuation, 144, b 10
Pidetriolium, 236, b 20
Pidewet how mixed, compounded, f made, 237, b 50. The garnish, 237, b 40
Pidewterers verie cunning, 237, b 30
Pideyond sea not so cunning as here, 237, b 60
Pidypsicke litle bled among the Pichades, 42, b 20, 50
Pidysicians partition of the day and night, 241, b 40. Of our time thankworthe, 210, a 10
Pidigmies Ile in Scotland, 41, a 60
Pidias longer planted in Britaine than the Scots, and why so called, 5, b 60. Called Redhanks f Pitions, and when they were fetler in Britaine, 6, a 30. Whether they be they of whom Cesar spaketh to staine their faces, ac, 6, a 50 when they came out of Sarmatia and arrived in Britaine, 6, a 40. From whence they came and arrived in Britaine, 6, a 30. Their crueltie in slateng the English, 17, a 10. The first beginner and finisher of their wall, 117, b 30. They sweare to the king of Britaine neuer to erect any peculiar king of their owne natio, 118, a 60
Pidike a deuouring fish, 224, a 20. As he ageth so he receiuet diuerse names, 224, b 30
Pidirats how punished, 186, a 20
Pidennie and scaritie when there is like to be in England, 111, b 40
Pidentie recompensed with penurie, 233, b 10
Pidimmonth standeth betwene two rocks, 61, a 10
Pidplumbum cinereum, 238, b 40

Pidsoning how punished, 185, a 30
Pidolice of throwing of stones in warres at the enimie, 4, a 50
Pidolymnesos Milesius a swift runner, 226, b 40
Pidomona an Island called a continent, 42, b 60
Pidontium the name of Reading in times past, 45, b 60
Pidope peoples increase in England how it is procured, 193, a 50. Pidonition for them, 183, a 10. Of their sorts, 182, b 50. f See Briggers.
Pidope writeth verie vehementlie to the king of England, 144, a 30. His gaine out of England in time of blindness, 146, a 30. His generall correction of the calender, 244, a 50
Pidoplar growing in England and serue Turners to make dishes, 213, b 10
Pidopasse neuer but once heard to be found in Buon, 67, b 10
Pidoppyrie stone, 239, b 20
Pidops noted by seafaring men, for their benefit vpon the coasts of England, 108, a 10
Pidortchester how called in the Romans time, 191, a 10
Pidortlands commended to be god fingers of stones, 32, a 10
Pidortafort vndercons, 167, a 60
Pidortie preferred, 140, b 40
Pidorters of St. Cam effect uall to worke miracles, 68, a 30
Pidortches superfluous additaments to former exesse, 140, a 30
Pidortcription a law, 179, b 50. What it is, 180, b 30
Pidortident lord of the counsell his dignitie, 164, b 40
Pidorties of old in Britaine as archbishops are now, 22, b 40
Pidortests of the Duides in what estimation, 20, b 40
Pidortests popish behold to their god frends the Gothes, 223, b 30. What honour was done to them of old time in Rome, 21, a 10. Appareled in colours like peacocks with spreaded tales, 139, a 10
Pidortetious stones, 239, a 10. How to be tried, 239, b 40
Pidortriapus and of the honor that the Saxonish women did him, 27, a 10
Pidortices of things why become expensive, 203, b 20. f See Markets.
Pidortime. f See Calendar f Years.
Pidortince a title propriete belonging to the kings eldest sonne, 157, a 10
Pidortinces palaces, 195, a 60
Pidortinleges dw harne sometimes, 240, b 40. A great cause of f ruine of the commonweith, 205, a 60
Pidortinleges of princes palaces, churches and churchyards, 197, a 60
Pidortontoxie of Helennus otherwise called Coznwell, 34, b 30. Of Hercules in the west countrie, 4, b 40
Pidort the byland called Holie head, 36, b 20
Pidortontoxies of Britaine, 3, a 10
Pidortometers take matters to let lawiers on worke, 181, a 60. f See Lawyers.
Pidortonines onlie two now in England, 131, a 30
Pidortophesie of West castell, 195, a 10
Pidortophesie of conference bled in churches of England, 135, b 50. Suppressed, 126, a 20
Pidortophesies to be doubted fro what spirit they proceed, 8, a 30
Pidortouerbe. A bushell of ric and another of malt worth six pence, 94, a 60. Ne mulca quidem, 229, a 60. No better seed on Doue banks, 98, b 60. Of plentie and scaritie like to be in England, when the land, ac, 111, b 40. Young ferning-

men old beggers, 164, a 10
Pidolater by whome distributed into plalmes and appointed to be read amongst the pibendaries, 147, a 20
Pidontins a kind of foules described, 44, b 10
Pidulpit in St. Pauls churchyard. f See Sermon.
Pidunishments in England for malefactors, 184, b 10. For such as smite within the limits of the princes court prohibited, 197, a 60. In England what greatest, 184, b 30
Pidurietours pesser most places of England: note, 203, a 10
Pidpyramides of stone of the Romans placing, ac, 113, b 10
Pidpyrites found in euerie veine of metall in great plentie: note, 215, b 60

Q.

Qualities of the mind according to the qualities of the bodie, 115, a 40
Quarell in the dates of Edward the confessor, and what mischeefe grew ther vpon, 7, a 10. Of monks Augustine coll 2100 monks liues, 35, b 40
Quaries what they be and their sundrie sorts, 234, b 30. Of stone enow in England: note, 232, b 60, 233, a 10. In Scotland of sundrie kinds, 109, b 10
Quickefiluer, 236, b 10. It and fulphur father and mother to all metatals, 237, a 10

R.

Rdegund a maid droue crowses to the pound which hurt hir cozne whyles she went to masse, 68, a 40
Radwinter, the lord whereof at variance with the lord of Gwinbach: note, 106, a 60
Ramhounds, 208, a 30
Rapae to Rapiendo, 154, a 60
Rape oile made sometimes within England, 111, a 40
Rat Island and why so named, 34, a 40
Rauen a fulture of some thought to be all one, 227, b 10
Rebellion cannot propriete be but of subiects, 118, a 60
Read william bishop of Chichester a famous man, 141, a 60
Readling named of p, that is, to ouerflow, 46, a 10. In times past called Pontium and why, 45, b 60
Redshanks the wild of rough footed Scots, 14, b 20
Religio that the posteritie of Cham brought ouer into Britaine, 21, b 50, 60, 22, a 61. Ancient bled in Tibion, 9, a 10. When it fell in decay after it was first established in Tibion, 21, b 10. From whence Britue did learne his, 22, a 60. Of the Duides and their cheefe schoule held in Britaine, 20, a 60. Houses thereof in England, their reuenues f number at their dissolution, 26, a 50, 60, b 10. Corruption of it, 19, b 10
Rents inhanded, 189, a 30
Rether king of Scots slaine, 118, a 60
Rhee of Ree a Saxon word for a water course, 45, b 60. A word in use in Essex for a river, 46, a 10. A common name of all waters that run from their head, 96, b 40
Rhene river swalloweth bastards f castles by f right begotie, 46, b 10
Richard de la wich bishop of Chichester: note, 240, b 10
Richard earle of waruoke, 31, b 60
Richmond by whome builded, 195, b 60
Richmond

The first table for the description

Richmondshire and westmerland
in some places bounded by the ri-
uer Swale. 94, b 10
Riddesdale where it lieth, 91, a 20
Right maintained by might, 117,
b 10
Rise in the old Scythian tong
dowh signifie a region of king-
dome, 6, b 60
Ripe signifieth the banke of euerie
hooke, 240, a 50
Riuer what finest for water in all
Scotland, 88, b 30 One by Che-
ster that chancheth his chanelle
uerie moneth, 129, b 50
Riuers in Engleleie and their cour-
ses, 81, b 50 Great plentie in En-
gland, 109, a 50 That fall into the
Chames, 46, a 20 The lesse min-
gle their names with the greater,
93, a 30 That fall into the sea
betwene the Chames & the Sa-
uerne mouth, 53, a 10 In Den-
bighshire and Flintshire, 81, b 10
In Devonshire, 65, a 60 Upon
the coast of Northfolke, 103, b 40
That fall & ioine with the sea be-
twene Humber & the Chames,
100, a 10 That fall into the sea in
copalle of the Iland betwene the
Sauerne Humber, 72, a 10 That
discharge themselves into the
Sauerne, 68, b 10 Lieng byp the
coast of Southwales, 72, a 10 In
Summerlethire, 18, b 60 To be
found vpon the Scottish shore, 88,
a 30 Of strange qualities as au-
thors write, 46, b 10 Two called
the two swordes, 78, a 10 They
called the three sisters, 68, b 60 Of
forren parts indued with strange
properties, 210, b 60
Robert a Porman archbishop of
Canturbarie, 7, a 10 In ambitio-
us piess and contentious, 132,
a 40. ¶ See Archbisshop.
Robin Woods bate, 92, a 50
Robberies done in England oft, by
whom, & in what maner, 186, a 40
Rocheleir called Durobreum, 217,
b 10 How called in the Romans
time, 190, b 60 The bishoprike
when, & by whom erected, and the
circuit of the same, 140, b 20 A
preparative to an higher place,
140, b 40 The bridge by whome
begun and finished, 52, b 60
Roche called the Housle more infor-
tunate than ten of Seians colts,
78, b 50
Rocks called the Checkstones, 60, a
10 Called the cow and calfe berie
cruell, 79, a 30 Dangerous lieng
on a row vpon the west end of
Southwales, called the bishops &
his clerks, 78, b 50 Taken for
Jles, 33, a 40
Roger a bishop builder of Wileca-
stlell, 141, b 60
Roges how punished, 185, a 40 Full
of much mischeffe: note, 196, b 10
Egyptian, 183, b 50. ¶ See Ma-
gabonds.
Rome a Babylon & sinke of mischeff
saith the popes owne factor: note,
136, b 60
Romans colonies in what places
of this land, 217, b 60 What coins
they had, of what metall, & with
what stamps, 217, a 50 Made la-
king glasses of English tin, 237, b
60 Secure authoritie in this land
apparent, 217, a 10 Wore big haire
before they received barbars into
their citie, 102, b 60 Coine found
in Gornamchester, 102, b 60 Co-
temptuoullie call their soles,
bardes, 21, a 50 Diuide all Bri-
taine into five prouinces, 17, b 30
What hauens in Britaine they be-
sed for their passage & repassage to
and fro, 3, a 30 Armie consisted of
many sortes of people, 5, b 40 Sub-

due Britaine to their dominion,
5, b 10 Brought in the Latine
tong into Britaine, 13, b 20 In
what places of Britaine they
planted their legions, 5, b 30
Wofull gheses to Britaine and
whyp, 5, b 40 Their senat fol-
lowed the trade of merchandize,
204, b 60 Decree for the restraint
of superfluous grasing, 213, b 60
Brought fallow bere first into
this land, 204, b 20 Described li-
mits to euerie mans tenure, 193,
b 50 Coine found in the course of
the Ditch wall, 128, a 50 Deut-
sed Gaeuill kind first, & whyp, 180,
a 60 Brought in the gelding of
cocks, 223, a 40 Placed certeine
pyramides of stones, 113, b 10
Sometime inhabited Cabbage,
91, a 10 Sojournd at Chester,
73, b 50 Their ancient calendar,
242, b 60 ¶ See Britaine.
Romeneie a march betwene Mon-
mouth & Glamorganshire, 75, a 20
Romeneie marsh in old time called
Romana or Romanorum insula, 3,
a 30

Notes. ¶ See Gardens.
Rose that bare a triple number of
leaves to thre scoze vpo one bui-
ton, 210, b 30
Rot in shepe and cattell whente it
commeth, 221, b 10
Rother riuer separateth Souther fro
Kent, 53, b 10
Rouers. ¶ See Pirats.
Round Jle, & whyp so called, 39, b 40
Runners on fote berie swift, 226, b
40
Rutters deride our new archerie,
198, a 60

S.

Saint Albans martyrdome found
written in an old booke, 191, b 60
Sibons when most of all it exel-
led, 191, a 60 How called in the
Romans time, 190, b 30 Some-
times Werlamcester, 113, a 20
¶ See Verolamium.
S. Andrews in Scotland standeth
vpon the mouth of the lake Lon-
dons, 88, b 40
S. Blasphs bishoprikes creation,
circuit, and valuation, 145, a 50
S. Cuthberts soles, 44, b 10
S. Davids bishopiks creation, cir-
cuit and valuation, 145, a 20
S. Davids land, 78, b 60, 79, a 10
S. James sometimes a nonnerie by
whom builded, 195, b 60
S. Magnus hole, 42, b 10
S. Marie ouer Rhee, 45, b 60, 46, a 10
S. Pads. ¶ See Newton.
S. Diamond, whyp commended and
ertolled by the papists, 141, b 40
S. Patrikes stalle full of vertue,
68, a 40
S. Vincents bath, 214, b 30
Shabina a wood compounded of A-
ber and Jna, 68, b 20
Sacrifices of mankind to idols and
yet thought most acceptable, 22,
b 10, 20
Shaffron in England described and
the dressing thereof, 232, a 40 Not
commonlie planted here till Ri-
chard the seconds time, 234, a 60
English reckoned among spices,
232, a 40 How commonlie priced,
233, a 10 That more deere is be-
sed in no trade more, and how to
perceine it, 233, b 60 Not in the se-
cond and drie in the first degree,
233, b 60 When great plentie and
whyp scarstie, 233, b 10 The her-
tues thereof, 234, a 10 When the
comoditie in Britaine they be-
sed for their passage & repassage to
and fro, 3, a 30. Armie consisted of
many sortes of people, 5, b 40 Sub-

better decate, 56, b 60, 57, a 10 The
new when begun and hindered by
waters, 57, a 30 The bishoprike
by whom erected, and of the cir-
cuit, and iurisdiction of the same,
141, b 40. ¶ See Sarisburie.
Salla parilla, 209, a 60
Salt artificiall of sundrie sortes:
note, 240, a 40. Waie salt made in
England, 241, a 20
Saltwater, 236, b 60
Salters thre hundred in wich, 240,
a 60
Salt springs thre in the towne of
wich, 240, a 60
Sammons where in season, when
out of season else where, 72, a 40
When to be taken, 224, a 10, Of
the greatest size in what riuers of
Scotland to be found, 88, b 20
Taken in the Chames, 46, b 10
Samothea the name of Britaine a
long while called, 3, a 60
Samothes brought a parcell of the
linage of Japhet into Britaine,
5, a 60 One of the sonnes of Ja-
phet, 3, a 80 The religion that
he published in Albion, 19, a 10
¶ See Dis.
Sarisburie so named of Sharon, 190,
a 10
Sharon the son of Magus and what
teaching he practised in Albion,
19, a 30
Saronides and whereof they were
so called, 19, a 30
Saurne described, & what waters
discharge themselves thereinto,
68, b 10 Whente it toke his name,
68, b 20 wherein comparable to
the Chames and wherein infe-
riour, 68, b 40
Saxons diuided this land into fa-
milies, 153, a 50 Builded manie
townes & villages in England,
192, b 60 What nations came with
them into Britaine, 5, a 30 Left
no idoll vnknowne no not filthie
Idolus, 27, a 10 Conuerted from
paganisme by Augustine & monke
27, a 20 Became first acquainted
with Britaine, 6, b 10 Under
Hegists armie in Britaine, 6, b 20
What name they gaue the weeke
daies, 242, a 60 The Porman
whyp drable enemies to the Eng-
lish Saxons, 7, a 10 Their kings
bled to be crowned at Kings
towne vpon Chames, 219, b 10
Scholes of Grammar a great nu-
ber throughtout England, 150, b
10 Full of abuses and by what
means, 249, b 60
Scholes in the pymitine church
vnter the bishops iurisdiction,
139, b 50
Scythians arrive in Albania, made
thelenses Scots, 117, b 60 First
inhabited the Dyachades, 42, a 40
Scolds how punished, 185, b 60
Scotie Edward builder of the new
crosse in the market place of Chi-
chester, 141, b 10
Scorpion, 228, b 20
Scots whyp so often overcome of the
English, 114, b 20 Alwales desi-
rous to shake off the English sub-
iection, haue often made obdus
attempts so to do, but in vaine,
116, b 50 Enter in league with
Charles king of France, & what
effect followed, 120, b 60, 121, a 10
Fenwle arrive in Albania and
crowne a second Fergus king,
118, b 10 Their king feined him-
selfe a minstrell & harped before
him: note dissimulation, 121, b 50
Glenber shift alledging that their
kings homage to the kings of
England was for the earledome
of Huntingdon, 123, b 10, 124, a 10
Diuin out of all the bounds of
Britaine by Coell, 118, a 60.

Their dreame that a stone (now
at Westminster) was the same
whereon Jacob slept when he led
into Mesopotamia, 125, b 20
Thre scoze thousand slaine at
Fawkes, 125, b 60. Descent of
anie heire to the crowne from A-
lexander their last king, 125, a 10
Thallabius accounted their apo-
stle, 27, b 50. Called Scotie be-
cause they are an obscure nation in the
sight of the world, 6, a 20. Will
called the Redbanks or Rough-
footed Scots, & whyp so called, 14,
b 20. Mixed of the Scythian and
Spanish blood, 5, b 50. When they
arrived in Britaine out of Ire-
land, 5, b 50. They came stealing
into Britaine and are no long
continuers, 5, b 50. Fewer made
conquest in England, 8, a 10. Great
crakers, braggers, and liars in
their hystories, 8, a 10. Properly
the Redbanks and Irish, 6, a 10.
First diuyn out of Britaine by
Macimus, 6, a 60. Dwelt some-
time in the Jle of Man, 37, b 10.
Greate giuen to witchcraft and
vnto sorcerie, 37, b 60. Used to
feed on the buttocks of boies and
womens paps, 6, a 20. ¶ See I-
rish, & Picts.
Scotland had sometimes two king-
domes, besides that of the Dy-
chades, 16, a 30. Stozed with pie-
tie of quarries of sundrie sortes,
109, b 10. Jles in it, 39, a 10 Hun-
ting that their princes bled, 226,
b 10. Not so fruitfull as wales,
109, a 10. The foreigntie of it
all belongeth of right to the kings
of England, 117, a 10. A parcell of
ground besides the new palace
of Westminster whyp so called, 122,
a 40. All the holds thereof taken
by Constantine king of Britaine
into his owne possession, 120, a 10.
How it first toke that denomina-
tion, 117, b 60. Delivered vp of the
king by his letters patents, 117,
a 10. When the Dyachades and
other Jlands were vnder perfe-
lie to the crowne thereof, 43, b 60.
All the land inhabited with Bri-
tons, 118, a 60. Given to gorman-
dising and bellichere, 165, b 60.
Vnder the dominions of the kings
of Britaine, 118, b 60. Conuerted
to the faith of Christ, 27, b 10. The
first attempt of the bishop of
Rome to bring it vnder his obe-
dience, 27, b 30. They several
tonges spoken in it, 14, b 10
Scrope William the kings vice-
chamberlaine bought the Jle of
Man and the crowne thereof, 37,
b 50
Seas tempestuous about the Dy-
chades and whyp, 42, b 50
Seculum. ¶ See Aeuum.
Seimozs descent supposed to be
from Edmulp de Samoz a noble
man of Britaine, 120, a 40
Semiramis ouercrometh Stauron
bates to his losse, 3, b 60
Sermon at Pauls crosse and the
pulpit when first ordeined, and
builded, 140, b 50
Sermons ordinarie in cathedrall
churches, 135, a 62
Seruice in the bulgar tong offen-
sive to the popes, 138, a 60
Seruicemen noted, 164, a 10. Shift-
ters and robbers, 196, a 40
Sessions quarterlie and petie sessi-
ons, 156, a 50
Seton in Denonshire full of aliens
that fought the conquest of Eng-
land, 10, a 20
Senerus by birth a Romane but in
blood a Briton, 118, b 60. First
liher of the Picts wall, 127, b 30
Shafteburie how called in the Ro-
mans

mans t
shepe of
221, a 10
with o
neuer e
our fall
shilling
by wh
ship call
ships f
will pa
fine by
Old of
ours &
Belon
sie an
10. C
not the
b 50. C
In old
witcher
taine, 3
60. wh
in this
witcher
hides,
Shires f
By w
Some
60, 155
153, b
their li
numbe
partith
knights
lement
wales
Shires
Shiriffe
the rea
Their
Shirebu
thre,
Sholts
land,
Shoters
same,
Shrimps
effern
Shirewe
Sicill is
gaunt
brothe
Shider m
Shilcester
mans
Shulan J
ference
Shuler n
237, a 5
gendre
Shimone
Shopitz
Shimpler
den of
saw of
Garde
Shifers
Shifers
in an h
Shitoma
Shile the
land, 4
Shipton
and fin
Shlate of
Shlaues
Shlowon
Shmiffic
nitus
Snake d
Snowdo
Shoda sal
Shoncha
from
Southar
Shpanar
in the
Their

of Britaine and England.

mans time, 190, b 60
 Shepe of England passe all other, 221, a 10. Without hoines, 221, a 40
 wold o't hunted but seldom of neuer eaten, 41, a 40. Is big as our fallow deer, 41, a 20
 Shilling current of silver, when it by whom first coined, 218, b 60
 Ship called great Huncie, 200, b 20
 Ships well builded how far they will passe in a weeke, 201, b 60. Of fine hundred ton, &c: 201, a 50.
 Old of what barthen, and how ours & theirs differ, 200, a 50, b 20
 Belonging to the quernes maste and hir seruice, 200, b 42, 201 a 10. The northerlie regions maie not theirs with iron, and whic, 3, b 50. The manner of dyssing them in old time, 3, b 50. Wrought of swickers sometime vied in Brittain, 3, b 60. Made of canes, 3, b 60. When first made and provided in this Island, 20, b 20. Made of swicker and covered with busle hydes, 201, b 20
 Shires forie in England, 154, a 60. By whom first made out, 153, a 50
 Some heng in od parcels, 154, b 60, 155, a 10. Divided into laches, 153, b 30. In time of need haue their lieutenants, 155, a 30. The number of their market townes & parishes, 194, a 10. Such as send knights and burgeses to the parliament, 174, b 40. Thirtie in Wales, 154, a 60
 Shires and shires all one, 153, a 60
 Shynles euphotic and office, and the reason of the name, 155, a 40. Their turne, 155, b 10
 Shireburne bishopricke divided into thre, 142, a 40
 Shotes a kind of dogs out of Friesland, 231, b 40
 Shouters hill and the length of the same, 109, a 50
 Shymps in Shidwaie as much esteemed as the westerne smelts, 52, b 10
 Shyres Ile in Scotland, 40, a 40
 Sicill king of Britons warreth against f Scots, 118, a 60. He & his brother at ciuill discord, 118, a 60
 Siler made of apples, 170, b 10
 Silchester how called in the Romans time, 190, b 50
 Silian Islands their number & difference in greatnesse, 33, b 40
 Siluer not wanting in England, 237, a 50. How produced and increased, 237, a 30
 Simonie practised to obtaine a bishopricke, 137, b 40
 Simples thre kindred in a litle garden of litle about thre hundred sort of ground, 210, b 40. f See Gardens.
 Sisters thre being thre riuers, 68, b 60
 Sisters seven being seven springs in an hill, 66, a 60
 Sitomagus a citie in England, 189, b 50
 Shie the greatest Ile about Scotland, 40, b 20. f See Ile & Islands.
 Skipton castril by whome founded and finished, 31, b 50
 Slate of landre colozs, 235, b 30
 Slaves none in England, 163, b 50
 Slowaine described, 218, b 10
 Smithfield in the east giuen by Constantus to certain knights, 111, a 10
 Snake described, 228, a 60
 Snowdonie hills berie famous, 80, b 10
 Soda salt, 236, b 60
 Sonchus somewhat like our farsen, 233, b 10
 Southapton haue described, 53, a 30
 Spaniards set whole towns on fire in the West Indies, 212, a 10.
 Their woords at the sight of the

small munition in England, 198, a 10. Their woords at the English plaine building and great fare, 187, a 40
 Spaniels, 230, a 10, 60. f See Dogs
 Sparrowes nature, 227, a 60
 Spectular stones, 239, b 20. f See Stones.
 Spider and the fue, 229, a 40
 Spider of Staples, 228, b 20
 Spirit that ran at tilt in complet armor in a moone thine night, 129, a 20
 Spring weire Shaffron walben of a notable vertue, 211, b 50
 Springs seven in an hill called the seven sisters, 66, a 60. f See Riuers and waters.
 Stafford how called in old time, 191, a 50
 Stag accounted the noblest game to hunt, & so others in degree, 226, a 50
 Statre honoring how hatched at the first, 21, b 50, 60, 22, a 10
 Staues. f See weapons.
 Statutes penall not executed, 212, b 60, 213, a 10. f See Lawes.
 Stauobates his ships of canes wherein he fought against Scimitants, 3, b 60
 Steele, 238, b 40
 Stepples in France how manie, 139, b 10
 Stephan king of England licensed his barons to build castles, but with repentance, 194, b 10. Ill dealt withall of his clergie, 123, b 40, 134, a 10
 Sterbrie a place where an armie hath lien, 218, a 30
 Stockfish is light lodging fane the Hollanders of Bulmen, 235, b 40
 Stone that had berie sweet sauouring oile in it, 236, a 10. Regall of Scotland now in Westminster abbey, and called Jacobs stone, 125, b 20. Hoge at Deuener in Guitherie parish, 130, a 50. Spectular vied before glasse was knowne, 187, b 60. Cierie great, how moueable, & how vnmoueable, 130, b 10. Perious how to be tried, 239, b 40. Used & dedicated in times past to building of churches, 234, b 30. f See Quarries.
 Stones vpon Salisbury plaine to be wondered at, 129, a 60. Found vpon certine hills in Gloucestershire, note, 239, b 60. f See Towne a defense against the enimie, 4, a 50. Found in the heads of certine fishes, 240, a 10. Portious, 239, a 10
 Taken out of oysters, toads, muskells, &c: 239, b 60. with verie strange things found in them, 235, b 50. Including graines of gold, 235, b 60. fashioned like cockles & mightie oysters, 130, a 10. Of sundrie sorts & not of common kinds where daile found, 215, b 60
 Strangers suffered to vie our priuileges & commodities in England, &c: which we may not doe in their countrie, 115, b 10
 Streames that fall into the sea betwene the Thames & the mouth of Sauerne, 53, a 10. f See Riuers.
 Strue riuier whereof Starbridge faire hath his name, 103, a 60.
 Parteth Clee from Suffolk, 105, a 40. By Etolome called Edomania, 105, a 50. with his six heads described, 57, a 60. with what kind of fishes it aboundeth, 57, b 40
 Starbridge faire the most famous mart in England, 103, a 60
 Surgeon great pletic in Shidwaie riuier in times past, 52, b 10. Taken in Rochelie water & giuen to the queene, 67, b 10
 Sturton baronie whense it taketh

the name, 57, b 10. what the lord gureth in his armes, 57, b 10
 Subdies greater imposed vpo the clergie than the laitie, 137, a 20
 Suffolk what haue it hath, 108, a 60
 Sullomaca. f See Barnet.
 Sulphur, 236, b 10. It and quicksilver father and mother to all metals, 237, a 10
 Summerfet place, 195, b 50. f See Duke.
 Summerfethire & Gloucestershire parted asunder by Shwinford riuier, 68, a 30. Cold baths there, 214, b 40
 Sunne lost his light in the tales of Theilane, 59, a 40
 Sundre prophened, 213, b 50. f See paltrie faires, 244, b 60
 Superstition of some foolish countie folks when their cattell die of the garget, 110, a 40
 Suffer separated from Kent by the riuer of Otter, 53, b 10. f Kings dome vnder Ella the Saxon, 16, b 10. What haues it hath, 108, b 20
 Sutherie why so called, 45, b 60
 Swale riuier the bound in some places betwene Richmondsire and Westmerland, 94, b 10
 Swifte a noisome bermin, 228, b 30
 Swine in England, & how diuerslie their flesh is vied, 221, b 50
 Swinesford riuier parted Summerfet and Gloucestershire asunder, 68, a 30
 Swords two being two riuers so named, 78, a 10
 Syria Phenices, 187, b 60
 T.
 Tabaco, 109, a 50
 Taberd made of English pearle, 239, b 60
 Taffe a citie of countenance induced with the se catched all of a bishop, 74, b 20
 Taffe a swift riuier and violent in Glamorganshire described, 74, b 20
 Tagus riuier paydeth clots of gold, 46, b 10
 Tale of a welshman that slept betwixt two woords with a knife at his hart, 78, a 10
 Tame riuier and the course thereof, 96, b 10. Diuideth Chelstershire & Lancastershire, 84, a 20
 Tanners buie oke by the faddam pearle in Waie, 212, b 50
 Tanser his diuision of the daie and the night, 241, b 60
 Tapplers. f See Finnes.
 Tarantula of f Capolitan spider, 228, b 20
 Taw the finest riuier for water that is in all Scotland, 88, b 30
 Tar. f See Benefices, & Tenth.
 Tense a noble riuier, where the beuer is onlie found, 79, a 50
 Tenth is the pikes leach of surgeons note, 224, a 20
 Tenth first deuised by the pope & after taken by by prescription of the king, 137, a 10. Two granted to the king of England towards the reuocuer of Wurdeau, 136, b 40. Yearlie paid to the prince in times past not annuall but voluntarie, 136, b 30. Of the bishopps in England to what summes they pearle amounted, 146, a 30
 Ternes quartre kept thorough out the yeare, 180, b 40. To rule to know the beginning and ending of them with their retournes, 181, b 50. Their times no hinderance vnto iustice, 181, b 20. when they begin at the ciuill law courts, 182, a 20
 Thamar parteth Denonsire from Cornwall, 61, a 10

Thames abeth and floweth twice daie and night, & at what houres, 46, b 50. Whether it came by Sh. Albons or no in times past, 192, a 50. The cause why it overfloweth hir banks nere to London, 47, a 10. whense it hath his head or beginning, 45, b 20. The length of it wit: the commodities of the same, 46, a 60. Such riuers as fall into the same described, 45, a 30. Thoked with sandes and shouers, 46, b 30. The number of botes and watermen kept and maintained vpon it, 47, a 60. with what fishes it aboundeth, 46, b 10. Carps latters lie brought into it, 46, b 20. The course thereof, 47, b 10
 Thebe (and hir thre sonnes) conspire the death of hir husband, 231, b 10
 Thelt how punished, 185, b 20
 Theres how to be apprehended by law, 186, b 30. Shamp by their booke how punished, 185, b 60
 Throdolus chaneth the name of Britaine into Valentia, & whic, 5, a 20
 This knight fir John his statike house, 46, a 30
 Thiffic benet, 209, a 60
 Thorowfares ascribed to Britomus, 249, a 30. And Finnes, 246, b 10. f See Townes.
 Tigers bastard in Scotland, 41, a 50
 Tillage and mankind diminished by parties, 205, a 10. f See Huil bandmen.
 Timber. f See wood.
 Time and hir parts how accounted in England, 241, a 40
 Tin, 237, b 20. And lead to be found in fir of the Orchades, 43, a 10
 Tin looking glasses, 237, b 60
 Time noth notable storied with fannon, &c: described, 90, a 20
 Time south described, 90, b 20
 Tith of wines in Kent, 111, a 10
 Tithes paid with great scrupulositie, 43, b 60
 Tithingman in Latine Decurio, 154, a 20
 Tithings. f See Hundredes.
 Tithwhales in Scotland, 41, a 50
 Tindale where it lieth, 91, a 20
 Tides commonlie found where aduers be, 228, a 60
 Tong British called Cambriae, 13, a 40. Could neuer by any attempts be extinguished, 13, a 60. Corrupted by Latine and Saxons, 13, a 40. Cometh hath some affinity with the Troigian, 14, a 60. Helpers of our English to be reforged and perfected, 14, a 10. when the English began to recover and grow in more climation than before, 14, a 10. The French brought into England & in great practise, 13, b 50. When it ceased to be spoken in England generalitic, 14, a 10. The Latine brought into Britaine by the Romans, 13, b 20. The Saxon brought into England whereof some reliques remaine vnsolished, 13, b 50. In the south parts of England are thre feuerall tongs vied, 14, b 10.
 Tonchstone, 235, a 60
 Townes and cities in England, how manie, 189, b 20. what called thozowfares, 246, b 10. Of greatest trauell, 247, a 40. Hoge in old time than now, 192, b 80. 193, a 10. How manie market townes in euerie shire, 194, a 10. Deuied by changing of one waie, 56, b 60. f See Cities.
 Towze of London, sometimes a kings palace, 195, b 50
 Trauellers. f See Finnes.
 Treas in England of what sorts, 213, a 10
 Treas

The first table for the description, &c.

Trees supposed to have bene in the ground since Noahs flood, 214, a 50. ¶ See Richards.
Trent river described, 96, a 10
Treson in the nobilitie how punished and tried, 184, b 30
Trespases ¶ See Punishments.
Trefuroz lord of England his dignitie, 164, b 40
Tribut to Augustus out of Brittain of what things raised, 111, b 10
Tribute of wolfs skins, 225, a 60
Turkes great gunnes made by one Džban a Dane, 199, a 20. When they begin their smoke, 142, a 50
Turkes or Indish peacocks gelded, 223, a 40
Tunstall bishop of Durham baselike bozne: note, 130, b 50
Turner doctor of physicke his saie eng, 150, b 60. His opinion of the hot baths, 216, a 10
Turne spits a kind of dogs, 231, b 30
Twede river the bound betwene England and Scotland described, 88, b 60
Twelve men in enerte hundred, 154, a 40. ¶ See Inquest.
Twilight, 242, a 10. ¶ See Night.
Tyranie of Aethiopia and the sons of Neptune, 4, a 10. ¶ See Crueltie.

V.

Vagabonds their fenerall disorders and degrees, 183, b 60.
How punishable by law, 184, a 10
Valentia one of the names of Brittain, 5, a 20
Valiafores a name applicable to all degrees of honours, 158, b 40
Vallies in England that are famous, 111, b 50. ¶ See Dales.
Vandals wher incamped at y entering into this land, 129, a 10
Venisson in Englad neither bought nor sold: note, 204, b 50. ¶ See Hunting and Parks.
Vermilion, 236, b 20
Vermine. ¶ See Beasts venemous and flies.
Wierlamcester, 191, b 10
Wierlamtum now S. Albons, 113, a 20. Whether the Thames came by it or no in times past, 192, a 50. ¶ See S. Albons.
Wetter the crowne of the head, and why so called, 10, b 10
Wessell exchanged now in England, 188, b 60
Wigh growing in England, 213, a 60
Wicount a name of dignitie next to the earle, 157, a 50. Is created of the prince, 158, a 60
Wicounts in Englad two, 165, a 10
Wies castle the strongest hold in England in Henrie the first time, 141, b 60
Willes more in England in old time than now, 192, b 60, 193, a 10. The cause of their increase, 190, a 40.
Wincentius Clemens the popes father in England, 136, b 40
Wiper. ¶ See Wader.
Wimber a fish onlie in the river Wye, 72, a 40
Winderhillies office and charge, 155, a 60
Winturistie in Chester verie famous, 73, b 60. In Arthurs time, 190, b 20. In London, 151, a 40
Winturisties in England sometimes manie, 148, a 10. Now in England thre at this date, 148, a 30. Of Cambridge and Oxford by diuerse abuses out of order, 149, b 30. How seated and their prouision, 148, b 10. Their orders, schools, colleges, 149. Exercises, studies, degrees, & dignities, 150.

when builded, incertieine, 147, a 60. Their lands laid wait for and gaped at: note, 152, b 10. Cleuen in France, 139, b 10.
Wintankefines punished, 233, b 10
Wotiger sent for the Saxons into Brittain, 6, b 10. His vale, 81, a 10
Wratisslaus duke of Bohemia durst not erect seruice in the vulgar tong without the popes consent, 138, b 10
Wre mouth, where is a pit whose botrome is not foundable, 104, a 40
Wre river described, 93, a 10
Wres and alkes, 216, b 60
Wurie a trade brought into England by the Jewes: note, 189, a 50
Wulture. ¶ See Raven.

W.

Wad a commoditie sometime in England, 111, a 40
Waggons for warre when used in England, 199, b 60
Waie high & of townes decayed by changing of them, 56, b 60. ¶ See Highways.
Wainescot equailed by some English oke, 213, a 20
Wake, ladie and duchesse of Lancaster against bishop Lild: note, 143, b 40.
Walden in Essex, wherof so named, 206, b 10. Somtimes called Waldenburgh when first planted with saffron, 232, a 50
Waldes in the Celtike tong signifieth forrests, &c. 206, b 10
Wales a word deriued of the Saxons, 116, a 60. Not so fruitful as England, 109, a 10. So called of the German word wall, 68, b 10. Full of fens and bogs, 214, a 30. Diuided into thre kingdomes, 15, a 30
Wally bled of the Saxons as we vse the word strange, 116, a 60
Walles that in times past were limits to England and Scotland, 127, b 10, 128, a 10
Wandleburne hills and why so called, 129, a 10
Wandles in times past called Windles, 195, a 40
Wapentake a word compounded, & how, 154, a 50. ¶ See Hundred.
Warens. ¶ See Parkes, 204, a 50
Warne river runneth almost nine miles from the head within the land, 89, a 60
Warfare in waggons when bled in this land, 191, b 60
Warners of whapels a kind of dogs, 231, b 20
warre ciuill turneth to the enemies aduantage, 118, a 60. How God disappointeth as abhorring it, and louing peace, 98, b 50
warlike how called in the Romas time, and how manie parish churches it had, 190, b 20
Waspes. ¶ See Hornets.
Watches. ¶ See Night.
water what best to beue bere withall, 170, a 40. The greatest fresh in England, 86, a 60
waters in England of what sorts, natures, and qualities, 210, b 50. None hurtfull, 211, a 50. Dispecciall vertues to help the wounded and diseased, 214, b 50, 215, a 10
waters came into y mind of Salisbury at high masse time, 57, a 50
¶ See Rivers.
watling street (rightlie named Cutheline street and why) one of the highways of Brittain, and how it is excided, 113, a 10. By whom builded, 112, a 40. ¶ See Highways.

Wetke & of how many daies it consisteth: note, 242, a 40. Named after the English, Saxons, and Scottish maner, 244, b 20
well in Sheresborew forrest conuerting wood, &c: into hard stone, 129, b 60. That ebbeth and floweth as the sea doth, 131, b 10
wells in sunzie places of diuerse strange qualities, 130, b 10. Two whole water participating of one folle differ in qualitie, 130, b 60. They nere Couentrie of strange and effectuall vertue, 215, a 10
Wells & baths hot, 214, b 20. ¶ See Baths, Rivers, Springs and waters.
Welshmans tale that slept betwene two swordes and a knife at his hart, 78, a 10
Welshmen call Englesie the mother of their countrie, 36, a 10. They ler in the Saxons, and why, 6, b 30. The errours of some noted, which will haue them come from the French, &c. 3, b 30. Contentious to go to law, 181, a 50. what shift they make for plastering, 187, a 60
wepones of what kinds used and wozone in England, 199, a 60. ¶ See Armour.
were river described, whose mouth is eight miles from Durham, 91, b 10
weremonth monks, and why so called, 91, b 10
Westburie vnder the plaine neuer without a theef or twaine, 67, b 60
Westmerland and Richmondshire how bounded, 94, b 10. By certeine stones in y edge of Stanes moze, 113, b 10
whales tithed in Scotland, 41, a 50
wheat of summer, & wheat of winter, 169, b 10
whetstones, 235, b 20. ¶ See Quarries and stones.
white bishop of Lincoln his coming to be bishop of Winchester: note, 137, b 40
Whitehall, when and by whom erected, 195, b 40
whiteherne (in Latine Candida cala) why so called, 146, b 60
Whoredome how punished in Cennatus daies, 185, a 60
wich how it is situated, 240, a 50
wie river described, 97, b 30
wight whole gotten into the hands of Edward the third, 31, b 60. Called in Latine Vectis, 31, a 50. The names of the parsonages and vicarages in the same, 31, b 10. First conuerted to the faith though the last that harkened to the word, 31, b 40
Wiland of welland river described, 101, a 50
Wilsride first conuerted the Ile of Wight to the faith, 31, b 40
Wilton hauing sometime twelue parish churches, how it grew to be but a poze village, 56, b 60
William conqueror so named, not by conquest but by challenge, 123, a 30
Constituted heire testamentarie to Edward confessor, 123, a 20
Winchester how called in the Romas time, 190, b 40. Bishoprike when first erected, by whom, and the circuit thereof, 141, b 10
wind sold to mariners vnder certeine knots of thred, &c: 38, a 10.
Wheement and strong issuing out of the hills called the Deake: a wonder, 129, a 60
Windleburne, 195, a 40
windsof builded by king Arthur of Brittain, &c. 196, a 10
wine wanting in England, and

whereto the fault is to be imputed, 110, b 50. Sometime grew in England, 111, a 10. No where moze spent than in England, 167, b 10. Whether it will be kept in an iune cup or no, 239, b 50. Natural and artificiall, 167, b 10. Sometimes tithed in Kent, 111, a 10.
The best called Theologicum: note, 167, b 30
Winander river maketh the greatest meire of fresh water in England, 86, a 60
Wire a creeke where ships lie oft at rode, 87, a 10
witchcraft and sozcerie much bled in the Ile of Man, 37, b 60. How punished, 185, b 20
witham river and what rivers fall into the same, 101, a 10
Winer river watereth all the west parts of England, 83, b 10
women of England exceffice and baine, 172, b 10
Wood decayed by burning of bricke, 234, b 50. Consumed in Wales by melting of lead, 238, a 10. Exceeding waisted with making of pots, glasses, &c: 238, b 10. Sold in some countries of England by the pound, 214, a 20. Why in some places of England it cannot grow, 212, a 20. What kinds were occupied vsuallie in building in times past, 212, a 40. What will follow of the decay thereof, if not looked vnto, 213, b 10. One acre of ground of foztie, wished for the supplie of it, 213, b 50. Much destroyed by making of salt, 240, b 60
woods euerie where decayed and by what means, 106, a 40. In Englad great store in times past, 211, b 60. Of beech & hazel, 213, a 40. Destroyed in the west Indies & how, 212, a 10
words of a Spaniard that taught queene Elizabeth wot, 198, a 30
woodstocks by whom builded, 195, b 60
wool of English sheepe excellent, & how employed, 221, a 10
woold what it signifieth, 206, b 30
woolues become dogs, and dogs woolues, 232, a 30. Destroyed in England and how, 225, a 60
wonders of maruels of England, 128, b 20. Of dogs, 229, b 60. Of mastiffes, 231, a 40. Found in stones, 235, b 30, 236, a 10
worcestre how called in the Romas time, 190, b 60. In old time called Cair Brangon or Cair Fragon, 70, b 10. The bishoprikes creation, circuit, and valuation, 141, a 60
world diuided into thre parts, 1, a 10. ¶ See Earth.

Y.

YCare counted after the course of the sunne, 243, b 60, 244, a 20
Beginning thereof different among diuerse people, 244, a 10. Cynike: 244, a 10. The beginning thereof not vniforme & certieine, 243, b 60
Yeomen in our law called Homines legales: note, 163, b 10. How intitled and named, 146, b 10
Yozke somtimes called Yairrie, & why, 217, b 10. Placed in Scotland by Aconitius, 190, a 60. Called Yrewic, and why, 93, a 30. The chiefe cite of the kingdomes of Northumberland, 16, b 60. How called in the Romas time, 190, a 60. The archbishoprike curtailed, & why, 145, a 60. Bishoprikes vnder the said six foure, 135, a 10
Yozkehire what hauncs it hath, 108, a 30



The second table Alphabeticall, being a complet extract of names and matters disperfed in the hiftorie of Britaine and England: wherein the reader is aduifedlie to diftinguifh of perfons and actions in perufing euerie difcource, leaft by taking one for another (*diferfe perfons being of one name*) his memorie be confounded, and fome error or doubt arife.

By this table you may obferue how manie archbifhops, bifhops, earles, dukes,

etc. haue bene in this land before the conquest: as alfo matter of difcource and worth the marking, wher-
foeuer you fee this word (Note) which dooth oftentimes come to hand.

Gathered by Abraham Fleming.

A.

Abbie of faint Auguftine at Cantuarburie built, 102, a 60. Of Rippon burnt by R. Edward, 158, a 50

Abbeys built by Doftane, 156, a 40. Founded by Alured, 148, b 50. Building of them thought a full fatisfaction for fins, 163, b 20. What their ftate was in the daies of Iohn of Beuerlie & Beda, 130, b 20

Aboguenes, and the opinion concerning them gainfaid, 4, a 60

Aboundance. *See* Plentie.

Acca bifhop of Wykeham, 129, a 40

Acheinotus archbifhop of Cantuarburie, 182, a 20

Achwald king of Caftangles, 129, a 10

Ada the fon of Ida king of Mercia, 95, b 30

Adeliza the daughter of duke William, whome Harold fhould haue married, 197, a 40

Adeline rebelling againft his king, and perfoned, both good feruice in the field, 131, a 30

Adelftan king of England crowned & coniferated at Kingfton upon Chamez, 154, a 10. Howe tw late for crying his brother, 155, b 10. He goeth out of his home to fe where St. Iohn of Beuerlie was buried, 155, a 40

His victories againft diuerfe kings confpiring againft him, 154, b 60, 155, a 10. His victory againft fix kings, all flain with diuerfe others, 156, a 10. Defcribed, his death, and what prefents were fent him, 156, a 40

Adelftan bifhop of Shireburne commended, 143, a 40. Of R. Egberts council, 140, b 20

Adelme king of Shuller receneth the Tre of wight as a gift from conuotion, 119, a 30. He cauleth the Effemer to peid vnto him, 150, b 60. He is flaine, 151, a 20

Adelwald R. Edwards brother taketh part with the Danes, 150, b 40

Adelwald bifhop of wincheftre buidder of Ethe abbe, 161, b 20

Adelze worfhipped and praied vnto, 44, a 40

Adrian abbat of St. Auguftines at Cantuarburie commended, 120, b 10. He that came from the Theopoz, and died, 129, a 60

Adrian the emperoz walketh into Britaine, 53, a 40. His wall deuiding Britaine and Scotland, 53, a 50

Adrian the pope fendeth legats into England, 134, b 30

Aduancement of a bordman difbaind, 46, a 30

Adalterer maintained by an aduocattell: note, 40, b 40, 60

Adwin bifhop of wincheftre committed to prifon, 187, a 60

Aegiptus and his fifte fonnes, 5, b 20

Aganippus a prince of France married Ceadeilla, 13, a 40

Agathys. *See* Hicis.

Agilbert bifhop of Paris, 115, b 60, 116, a 10

Agnerus and Hubba two Danifh captiues byrthen, 144, a 30

Aidan bifhop, 114, a 60. A Scot cometh into England to preach the gofpell, 113, b 40, 60. His conuerfure touching Alwin fell out true, 115, b 10. He dieth, 115, b 20

Aiban a citizen of Werlamcefter martyred under Dioclefian, 62, a 10

Aibania now Scotland, 27, a 20

Alby whom built, 12, a 20

Albina his treatife againft king Charles his articles, 135, a 60. *See* Alwine.

Almon now England why fo named as Bodin faith, 3, b 50. Diuerfe opinions of the name, 4, a 10, 5, a 20

Almion the giants coming into this land, 4, a 10. The fon of Neptune, fubdueth the Celts 3, b 20. He and Bergion flaine with the moft part of their armie, 4, b 50

Almied daughter of Olmire married to Beda, 116, b 60

Almiond cite deftroied by the Danes, 144, b 20. Whether in Scotland or no, 21, a 40

Almiond a famous clerke an Engifhman, 132, a 60

Almiond bifhop of Shireburne, 129, a 60

Almiond. *See* Alwine.

Almiond bifhop of Cantuarburie, 154, a 10. Bifhop of wycheftre in fauour with R. Edward the third, 193, a 60, b 10. Archbifhop of York, 196, b 20, 152, b 10. Slaine by duke Chorthmond, 137, a 10

Almiond king of little Britaine in France, 71, b 20

Almiond king of Caftangles departedh this life, 129, a 10

Almus counted a ringleader of theures: note, 59, b 20. Killeth Caraulus & fucceedeth him in rule ouer Britaine, 56, b 50. Alfurped the title and dignitie of king of Britaine, 61, b 10

Alexander pope the fecond famous duke Williams conqueft of England, 199, a 10

Aler. *See* Eiler.

Alfin bifhop of wincheftre, 161, a 40

Alfred the daughter of Olla king of Mercia married to Ethelbert, 136, b 60

Alfred the fon of Egelred maketh challenge to the crowne, 181, b 60. Striath in daies to kepe

Adelftan from the gouernment, 154, a 20. Taken prifoner, his eyes put out, his death, 183, a 10, 184, a 40. Sufpected perfons for his death examined, 185, a 20. *See* Binned.

Alfred the beautifull daughter of duke Hergorius: note, 160, a 60

The wife of king Edgar dieth, and what offence it caufed him to do, 160, a 60. His wicked purpofe to kill his fonne, 163, a 30

Alfreda the daughter of R. Dita of Mercia married to Ethelbert, 133, a 60. Groued at the death of hir husband, becometh a nun, 133, b 30

Alfrida king of Northumbers, 129, a 10. A ballard, 125, b 20

Alfrida archbifhop of York, 185, a 20

Alfrida duke of Mercia, banifhed, 165, a 60. Viceadmirall of king Egredus namie a traitor to his countrie, 166, b 20

Alfwald king of Northumbers his death, 135, a 50. His fonnnes miferable ftaine by Ethelbert, 136, b 50

Alfwine fitter to Elfedra, 152, b 40

Algar the fonne of earle Leofrike bath Harold's lands giuen him 193, a 60. His intended rafhnef reuenged, 133, b 60. His eyes put out for his fathers treafon, 166, b 30

Algar made earle of Cheller, exiled, he recouereth it by force, 193, a 60

Algar earle of Oxford, 191, b 30

Banifhed, 192, b 10

Almece aduifedlie to be made, 79, a 40, 80. *See* Haringe.

Almece. *See* Aluatie.

Almiond not a stratagem, 83, a 20

Alfred archbifhop of York, 188, a 20

Almaricus a traititious deacon, 170, a 60

Alric the fon of Herbert flaine in fight, 137, a 10. *See* Wilfred.

Alfin bifhop of Shireburne a warrior, 138, b 10

Alfwald. *See* Alfwald.

Alfwine the brother of king Egfrid flaine, 123, a 60

Alfred king of Northumbers, 133, a 20

Alured king of Weftfasons and the greater part of England, 144, b 60. Perfecuted by the Danes, 145, a 10. He banifhed them by fea, 145, a 50. By their means put to his wife, 146, a 50. Difguileth himfelfe like a miftrill, 146, b 10. King Ethelwifles fonne and coniferated king at Rome, 141, a 30. His prouifion for the feite of his land againft the Danes, 148, a 20. Learned, and what worke he wrote, 148, b 10.

60. Defcribed and commended, 148, b 10. His court learned 149, a 10. How he diuided the time for his neceffarie beas, 149, a 30. His death, 148, a 30. Laft will & epitaph, 149, a 40

Alwin. *See* Adwin.

Amphibalus instituted St. Alban, 62, a 10. Borne in Carreleon, 19, a 10. Martyred at Redburne, 63, b 10

Amphibalus abbete at wincheftre, 76, b 10

Amibition to rule alone, what mifchiefe it interreth, 16, a 40. It cauleth bloudfhed, 15, b 20. And flaughter, 11, b 50. Caufe of diffention betwene byrthen: note, 14, b 50. Rewarded with fhome, 13, b 20

Amibition of nephews for monachie of fole regiment: note, 14, a 10

Amibition in noblemen, 89, b 60

Amibition of Ballianus: note, 56, a 60. Of Caraulus but a mean man feeking to be a king, 54, b 20. Of Hengift the Dane on, 78, b 40. Of Leira two fons in law, 13, a 50. Of Romans, 40, a 60. Of the old emperour Severus, 54, b 60, 55, a 10. Of Aleramus difcouered at his death, 41, a 60. Of Hozigerne, 77, a 10

Amibie now Salifburie, 82, a 10

Andates the goddeffe of victorie worfhipped of the Britains, 45, a 20

Andragatius killeth German by treafon, 68, b 10

Andredecefter a citie in Britaine 86, b 60

Androgens abandoneth Britaine becaufe the people hated him as a traitor, 32, a 60. Aided Caftibelaue againft Cefar, 27, a 40. Duke of Croinuant, 31, a 30. *See* Earle.

Angel. *See* Alton.

Anger what mifchiefes it procureth men vnto, 194, a 10

Angles came ouer with the Saxons into Britaine, 78, b 60, 79, a 20

Anglefele innaded by the Romans and Rome, 41, b 10. Yielded to Agricola, 48, a 20

Angli, quafi Angeli, 99, b 40. Of anthoritie in Germanie, 79, a 20

Anglia, why fo call'd, 98, a 40

Anna king of Caftangles flaine by Denha, 116, b 10. His daughters profefled nuns, 114, b 60

Antigonus brother of Pandarus taken prifoner, flain, 8, a 50

Antoninus Pius emperour fendeth Lollius Urbicus to keepe the Britains in order, 53, a 50

Apollafie. *See* Adolatre, and Shighere.

Arbitrement of eight graue counfellors to end controuerfies, 87, b 60, 88, a 10

Arbogast

The second table for the historie

Arbogaster a Goth slayeth Flaust-
us vicor of Hottillimus, 68, b 50
Archbishop Adelme of Cantur-
burie, 154, a 10. Ethelred of Can-
turburie, 150, b 30. Ethelnoth of
Canturburie, 182, a 20, 187, a
10. Alnoed of York, 152, b 10,
196, b 20. Alfrise of York, 185,
a 20. Alired of York, 188, a 20.
Augustine the mounke of the
English nation, 101, a 30. Bert-
wald of Canturburie, 129, b 60
Bightwald of Canturburie,
126, b 20, 30. Bosa of York, 125
b 50. Ceadda of York, 119, b 20
Damianus of Cant. 116, b 40.
Deufedit of Cantur. 116, b 40.
Canbald of Cantur. 137, b 40.
Edinus of Canturburie, 186,
b 40. Elnothus of Canturba-
rie, 182, b 30. Elphegus of Can-
turb. murdered by the Danes,
170, b 10, 40. Egbert of York: a
note, 130, a 60. Eucelme of
London ambassadoz for Bri-
tains, 71, b 30. Honorius of
Canturburie, 110, a 30. He re-
ceiveth his pall, 110, b 10. John
of York the religious, 125, b 50.
Lambert of Canturb. 135, a 20
Deprived, 132, a 20. Laurence
of Canturb. ¶ See Laurence,
Hothelmus of Canturb. 130, b
50. Odo of Canturb. 136, b 60.
Oswald of York, 161, b 20.
Piermond of Canturb. 149,
a 20. Paul of York receiveth
his pall, 110, b 10. Robert of
Canturburie, 187, b 20, 60. Si-
ricius of Canturb. 166, a 60.
Strigand of Canturburie an
intruder: note, 191, a 40. Tack-
wine of Canturburie, 129, b 60.
Theodore of Canturburie cre-
ated upon condition, 120, a 20.
Wilfride the second of Cantur-
burie, 129, a 50. Wolthere, 150, a
10. William of York, 156, a 50
Archbishops authozitie exem-
plified: note, 181, b 30. Chæc in
Britaine, 52, a 30. They flee
with their clergie into woods &
mountains: note, 98, b 20. The
see of Canturb. monks refuse,
120, a 10. The see removed to
Richfeld, 132, a 10. Of Can-
turburie & York with a decre
concerning their elacion, 110,
b 20. The see restored to Can-
turburie, 136, a 40. The see of
Canturburie void, 135, a 20
Archigallus king of Britaine
given to dissention, and depri-
ved, 21, a 10
Ardulfe made king of Northum-
berland and consecrated, 136, b
60. His acts & deds, 137, a 10
Arant, and their charge: note,
73, b 40
Arelus Ambrose. ¶ See Aure-
lius.
Arlote duke Robert of Norman-
dis paramour, that bare him
duke William the conqueror,
and of his pleasantness and da-
liance, 201, b 20
Armoica by whom first peopled,
63, a 40. Given to Conan He-
ridoc, & the plot to people it dis-
appointed, 67, a 20. The etymon
of reason of the name, 69, b 10
Armoica in France where it li-
eth, 12, a 40
Arnuise. ¶ See Ardulfe.
Arthur begotten out of Wedlock,
90, b 10. And of whom begot-
ten, 88, a 20. He beginneth to
reigne, 90, a 40. Of a mightie
making, 92, a 10. And what is
left written of him, 93, a 10. He
had two wives, 93, b 10. His
exploits, 91, a 10. His twelue
battles against the Saxons,

90, a 60. He is wounded and de-
th, his buriall: note, 91, b 50
Aruragus k. of Britaine, 32, a 10
He furuieth this land & repa-
reth the ruines of it, 36, b 20, 35
b 60. His valiantnesse, 36, a 10.
In what state Britaine was
in his reigne, 46, a 50. King of
the Aceni, 42, a 60. He putteth
the Romans to flight, 35, b 40.
He is most villainously abused
by them, 42, a 60. He is buried
at Glocester, 37, a 10
Asburga a gentlewoman married
to king Ethelwulf, 140, a 40
Asclepiotus. ¶ See Duke.
Albret protector of gouernoz of
young king Kenelme hithe,
murdereth his lord and mai-
ster, 139, b 50
Amaracus interteineth Brit-
e, 7, b 40
Asterius Menecensis bishop of
Shirborne, 149, a 10
Aurians, 33, a 10
Athenius archbishop of Can-
turburie, 185, a 10
Ethelred archbishop of Cantur-
burie, 150, b 30
Ethelfane king of Kent & duke
Calher vanquish the Danes
by sea, 141, a 20. ¶ See ADEL-
stane.
Avalon Ile now Alpes Ile, 92,
a 30
Augustine ordeined archbishop of
the English nation, 101, a 30.
His see at Canturburie, 102, a
60. He receiveth the pall, 101, b
60. Surnamed the English-
mens apostle, 102, b 60. He re-
quireth three things of the
Britains to be obserued, 103, a
20. His miracles, his acts and
deds, 102, a 10
Augustus the emperoz is denied
his tribute out of Britaine, his
acts and deds: note, 32, b 30
Aulake k. of Northwic baptised,
166, b 50. Wanded with Danes
& others maketh against ADEL-
stane, discomfited, 155, b 30. Cha-
sed by king Edmund, he retur-
neth into Northumberland, &
expelled by the people, 158, a 40.
He taketh upon him the rule of
the Northumbers, 156, b 60.
Disguised he cometh to brew
the English campe, 155, b 60.
King of the Danes of North-
umberland attempteth war
against king Edmund, his
death, 156, b 60
Aulus Atticus a Romane cap-
taine slaine, 50, b 30
Aulus Aulus sent into Bri-
taine to supplie the ruine of De-
stozius, 40, b 10
Aulus Plantius with his armie
arriveth in Britaine, 34, a 10
Aureling Ambrosius & his bro-
ther Uter arriveth in Britaine
with their powers against
Mortigerne, 84, a 10. He & Uter
Pendragon flee into little Bri-
tain, 77, a 40. He with his Bri-
tains encounter the Saxons,
88, a 30. He putteth Saxons
out of Britaine, 84, b 50. He fal-
leth sicke at Winchester, 85, a
10. ¶ See Uter Pendragon.
Aurelius Conanus made king of
Britaine, & described, 94, b 60.
He killeth Constantine, 94, a
60. He is noted by Epipas to be
a vertie bad man, 95, a 10
Authun. ¶ See Werthun.

B.

Baden hill, 88, a 40
Baldred usurped the king-
dome of Kent & departeth into
exile, 139, b 30

Baldred. ¶ See Bladud.
Baldwin earle of Flanders coma-
meth into England to visit
Edw. 3. his brother in law, 188,
b 10. Earle of Flanders aideth
duke William to conquer En-
gland, 198, b 30
Banket satall, 79, a 50
Baptisme of bondmen and bond-
women and making them free,
123, a 60. How gracious being
received: note, 123, a 10. Recei-
ued of the British armie & how
beneficiall, 83, a 10. At the mini-
sting thereof godfathers were
in use, 114, b 10. Appointed to
ten thousand in the river of
Shute, 100, b 60. Egred defi-
led the font with his ordure
when he was baptised, 165, a 20
Bardi, their blage and professi-
on, 3, a 50
Bardus the son of Dantz, 3, a 30
Bastreg. ¶ See Walden.
Bastianus boze of a British
woman ruleth Britaine, 54, b
10. He practiseth with physici-
ans to poison his father Scue-
rus, 55, b 60
Bastards made kings as Alfrice
king of Northumberland, 125,
b 20. Harold so proclaimed and
consecrated, 181, b 20. Harin-
dus admitted to rule Britain,
20, a 40
Bataui, now Hollanders, 72, a 30
Bath called Carbadon, 14, b 10.
Besieged by the Saxons and
Germans, but overthrowne &
slaine, 90, b 60, 91, a 10
Bath. ¶ See Caerban.
Baths hot when first made or re-
pared and by whom, 12, b 40
Battell of Athdon fought be-
tweene k. Edmund Ironside &
Cnut with his Danes, 177, a
10. Of foure houres continu-
ance betwene the English and
the Danes, 176, b 40
Beasts wild deuour rulers of
Britaine, 11, b 40, 50
Beatrice put to death by hir step-
sons for poisoning hir hus-
band, 154, b 10
Beautie a snare to intrap: note,
78, b 60. A bait, & also a deauils
baine, 160, a 60, b 10. Abused to a
shamefull end, 191, b 60. It hel-
ped not to sane life, 171, a 10
Beautie of Edgna most excel-
lent, 133, a 10. ¶ See Rontz.
Beda dieth, diuerse things noted
concerning him, 130, b 10
Beline and Ben made freends,
17, a 60. ¶ See Bennis.
Belinus generall of Cassibelans
armie valiant, 27, a 40
Belinus gaie (now Billingsgate)
whereupon the ashes of Belinus
bodie were kept in a vessel of
brasse, 19, a 10
Bell of S. Elnutus: note, 161, a 60
Bels died in battell caused re-
roz: note, 27, b 10
Bergion brother to Albion kept
Ireland & the Orkneys, 4, a 60
Berking, and who built the ab-
beie there, 122, a 60
Berics expelled out of Britain,
his counsell to Claudius, 34, a 10
Berne iudge burned for crueltie,
135, a 30
Berne a noble man about York,
the raising of whose wife
died much mischance, 144, b 20
Berne an earle maliciously slaine
by his cousin, 188, a 20, 60
Berne k. of East Angles, 129, a 10
Berned by murder usurpeth
the kingdome of Mercia, he is
slaine, 128, b 10
Bernulf of Mercia slaine, 138,
b 20. He Romaseth king Eg-

bert, 138, a 50
Berthgils bishop of East Angles,
116, a 60
Bertha king Cheriberts daugh-
ter wife to Ethelbert king of
Kent, 99, a 50
Berthfride a valiant Northum-
ber capteine, 129, a 20
Berthelshure, now Warbelshure,
143, b 40
Berthun a duke of Suffex slaine,
124, b 50
Bertwald archbishop of Can-
turburie, 129, b 60
Bertwolve k. of Mercia tributa-
rie to the west Saxons, chased
out of his countrie by the
Danes, 142, a 20
Birinus a bishop Italian con-
uerteth the west Saxons to the
christian faith, 114, b 10
Biscop a mounke builded two ab-
bies, and what artificers he
brought into England that
were not in it before, 120, b 30
Bis. ¶ See Bishop.
Bishop Alca of Herham, 129, a 40
Bisstan of Shireburne of k.
Egberts counsell, 140, b 20. A
deluoid of Winchester, 161, b 20
Biswin of Winchester, 187, a 60
Bithelmus bishop of Shire-
burne, 129, a 60. Biswin of Win-
chester, 161, a 40. Bisstan a war-
rior, 138, b 10. Alferius of
Shireburne, 149, a 10. Bisil
of the East Angles, 121, b 60. Bi-
mislaus of the East Angles, 121,
b 60. Bightelme of Dorch-
ster, 161, a 40. Camelgarst ta-
ken prisoner of the Danes, &
redeemed by k. Edward, 151, a
60. Cedda of the East Angles,
117, a 60. Cofi in armes on
hoybacke destructione, 109,
b 10. Colman of Northumbria,
119, a 40. Cuthbert of Lindes-
ferne, 125, a 30. Daniell of Win-
chester, 129, a 60. Dima first
bishop of Mercia, 118, b 20.
Dunstan of Worcester and
London, 160, a 10. Eadulfus of
A. indleie, 122, b 60. Eata of
Hexam, 125, b 50. Edmund of
Shireburne slaine in battell,
144, a 10. Eadulfus of Lichfield
aboyed with the pall, 132, a 20.
Egwine of Worcester, 128, a
60. Elathertus of west Saxons,
129, b 10. Elphegus of Winc-
chester, 166, b 60, 165, b 50. E-
kenwald of the East Saxons, his
see at London, 122, a 60. Ethel-
wold of Winchester, 160, a 10.
Felix. ¶ See Felix. Finan of
Northumbria, 119, a 40. Geb-
mund of Rochester, 122, b 60.
Germanus sent to the East
Saxons to reduce them to the
faith, 121, a 10. Lincoln slaine
in the battell at Athdon, 177, a
20. Oswald of Worcester, 160, a
10. Dutta of Rochester a god
musician, 120, b 10. Of Roches-
ter & king Egred at strife,
165, a 60. Exebuit of Mer-
cia, 122, a 50. Swithunc of
Winchester of king Egberts
counsell, 140, b 20. Tiba of
Northumbria, 119, b 10. Walde-
fer of London, 122, a 60. Werra-
fus of Worcester, 149, a 10.
Wulfred of Northumbria his
diligence, 119, b 10. William of
London banished, 191, a 20.
William the pome bishop of
Rochester, 122, b 50
Bishop not disgraced and yet li-
uing a priuat life, 120, a 60.
Pome of west Saxons for the
space of seven yeres, 153, a 10.
A kings son & heire a bishop,
141, b 60. Duc iourneth his
powers

the first of no. 1, a 40. Governed by lieutenants & treasurers of Romane emperours, 37, a 60. Divided from Scotland by the emperor Adrian: no. 5, 53, a 50. Governed by British rulers, 7, 10. First inhabited by the Celts, 3, b 50. Rulers & kings thereof: bitterly persecuted against by Cyprian, 54, a 60, 95, a 10, 96, a 60, b 10. The state of it during Trajan's reign, 46, a 50. Afflicted by the invasion of barbarous nations, 75, a 20. Spoil pitifull by Gernudus, 98, a 30. Kings thereof of it staine in one battell at once, 97, a 30. The state of it under Arianus, 46, b 60. Ruled by women, 11, b 30, 13, b 50. Governed by kings of their owne nation, 20, 21, &c. Governed by five kings at once, 14, a 20. The state of it under kings, 15, 16, 17, &c. In France, 67, a 10. So called by commendement of the subdrier, 11, a 10. It receiveth faith: note, 37, a 30. Diverser people inhabited diverser portions of it, 23, b 50. Divided into realms, 21, b 40. Unknowne to the Romans but by report, 24, a 20. Whether the kings of it were kings or rulers of the commonweleth of tyrants, &c.: 3, b 40. A part of it called Valentia, 73, b 30. The succession of the kings thereof: berlie in their yeares to Clediburus, 22, a 10. Of whom first inhabited, 10, a 20. Pentarchie, 15, a 10. Sometimes called Samothea, 2, a 60. The subjection of it to the Romans when it was, 31, a 60. A monarchie how long after Brutus death, 31, b 40. The state of it touching government when Cesar did conquer it, 31, b 30, 60. The state of it under rulers, 11, 12, 13, &c. It receiveth the faith, 52, a 20. It tasted the crueltie of Dioclesian, &c. 61, b 60. The state of it under British kings, 76, a, 10. Britains repine to be governed by men of base degree, 53, b 50. Commonlie called welshmen, 127, a 10. The savage sort, their vlsage & attire: note, 55, a 40. Durrageous crueltie having gotten victorie against the Romans: note, 45, a 10. Their lamentable case after overthrow by J. Agricola, 50, b 50. They, the Scots, and Picts in a league, 77, a 20. They of Calendarwood assault the Romans upon advantage, 49, a 40. Their mysteries manifold: note, 41, b 60, 42, a 10. They go to Rome & complain of Perhermion to Commodus the emperor, 53, b 40. What practises Agricola used to traine them to civilltie, 48, a 20. Skillfull in swimming, 48, a 10. Admitted as well women as men to publike government, 42, b 60. Ready to defend their countrie against Cesar, 24, b 40. They refuse to paye tribute to Augustus, 32, b 30. Their manner of fighting in chariots, 26, a 40. Suffered a sore overthrow at the hands of Scapula, 39, b 10. Persecuted by the Scots & Picts, 70, a 50. In armie of their newlie christned, 83, a 20. They choose a place of aduantage: to enter the Ro-

mans, 38, b 30. The ridiculous boiage of Caligula attempted against them, 33, b 10. Driven by Romans out of their wood of refuge, 28, a 60. Plagued by the Saxons from time to time at appointment of God for their foule sins, 96, b 30. Whore errourarie to the Romans, 30, b 10. A contention among themselves after the death of Lucius, 52, b 60. By consent giue rule of all things in the wars to Cassibelane, 28, b 40. Pursued by Centwine K. of Westsaxons with fier and sword, 123, b 50. Defended the christian faith euen with the shedding of their blood, 63, b 10. Their fiercenesse against the Romans, 25, a 60. At all banquished by Cefar, 31, a 60. They lend to Cefar about a treatie of peace, 25, b 30. Utterlie disabled by Plantius & his power, 34, b 40. Their manner of fighting in war, 29, a 30. Remoued into wailes & Cornwall, 98, b 10. Received into the subiection of the Englishes & British kings, 131, b 20. Discomfited, leane their countre a preie to the Saxons, 81, a 50. They lost the more part of their ancient seats, 98, b 20. They late armoz aliue, & be take them to the reading of holie scriptures, 130, a 50. Serving in war vnder Constantine forstnar, 65, a 30. Under the conduct of Modicia giue the Romans a shamefull discobiture, 44, b 20. They obtaine the field against the Saxons, 80, b 10. Their miserable state vnder Horthgerne, 78, b 10. They rebel against Aletus & his Romans, 56, b 60. Oppressed of Saxons, craue aid of two bishops & preualite, note, 83, a 10. Their good zeale to religion in their troubles by Hengist, note, 82, b 30. Overthrowne by the Saxons & slain in gret numbers, 89, b 10. Their disloialtie to Altr Pendragon, 87, b 60. Their kings lacke to rule in this land, 127, a 20. A variance among themselves after the death of Lucius, 54, a 60. For lacke of skul gaue place to the Romans, 58, a 10. Britannia, why it ought rather to be called Britania, 123, b 60. ¶ See Britaine.

Wylthyrus profered seruice hathy ill successe, 169, b 10. Wyltons expert in art magike, 2, b 10. Why they bled to paynt their faces, 9, b 40. Swiung for aid to the Romans against the Scots & Picts, could get none, 71, a 20. Welthemen, 105, b 60. Utterlie subdued by the Romans but not without much laughter & bloudshed, 28, b 60. In gret miserie foule one another, 70, b 60. Where the line and government of their kings ended, 126, b 40. ¶ See Wyltains.

Wlcomale earle of Chestre defender of the monks of Bangor against the Northmenbers discomfited, 104, a 20. Wlcomale. ¶ See Wlcomale.

Wludus king of Pictis killeth Egfride, 125, a 30. Wlute, his descent, earual in Britaine, killing of his father, &c. 7, a 10. W: & his wiue

B. ii.

118
 119
 120
 121
 122
 123
 124
 125
 126
 127
 128
 129
 130
 131
 132
 133
 134
 135
 136
 137
 138
 139
 140
 141
 142
 143
 144
 145
 146
 147
 148
 149
 150
 151
 152
 153
 154
 155
 156
 157
 158
 159
 160
 161
 162
 163
 164
 165
 166
 167
 168
 169
 170
 171
 172
 173
 174
 175
 176
 177
 178
 179
 180
 181
 182
 183
 184
 185
 186
 187
 188
 189
 190
 191
 192
 193
 194
 195
 196
 197
 198
 199
 200
 201
 202
 203
 204
 205
 206
 207
 208
 209
 210
 211
 212
 213
 214
 215
 216
 217
 218
 219
 220
 221
 222
 223
 224
 225
 226
 227
 228
 229
 230
 231
 232
 233
 234
 235
 236
 237
 238
 239
 240
 241
 242
 243
 244
 245
 246
 247
 248
 249
 250
 251
 252
 253
 254
 255
 256
 257
 258
 259
 260
 261
 262
 263
 264
 265
 266
 267
 268
 269
 270
 271
 272
 273
 274
 275
 276
 277
 278
 279
 280
 281
 282
 283
 284
 285
 286
 287
 288
 289
 290
 291
 292
 293
 294
 295
 296
 297
 298
 299
 300
 301
 302
 303
 304
 305
 306
 307
 308
 309
 310
 311
 312
 313
 314
 315
 316
 317
 318
 319
 320
 321
 322
 323
 324
 325
 326
 327
 328
 329
 330
 331
 332
 333
 334
 335
 336
 337
 338
 339
 340
 341
 342
 343
 344
 345
 346
 347
 348
 349
 350
 351
 352
 353
 354
 355
 356
 357
 358
 359
 360
 361
 362
 363
 364
 365
 366
 367
 368
 369
 370
 371
 372
 373
 374
 375
 376
 377
 378
 379
 380
 381
 382
 383
 384
 385
 386
 387
 388
 389
 390
 391
 392
 393
 394
 395
 396
 397
 398
 399
 400
 401
 402
 403
 404
 405
 406
 407
 408
 409
 410
 411
 412
 413
 414
 415
 416
 417
 418
 419
 420
 421
 422
 423
 424
 425
 426
 427
 428
 429
 430
 431
 432
 433
 434
 435
 436
 437
 438
 439
 440
 441
 442
 443
 444
 445
 446
 447
 448
 449
 450
 451
 452
 453
 454
 455
 456
 457
 458
 459
 460
 461
 462
 463
 464
 465
 466
 467
 468
 469
 470
 471
 472
 473
 474
 475
 476
 477
 478
 479
 480
 481
 482
 483
 484
 485
 486
 487
 488
 489
 490
 491
 492
 493
 494
 495
 496
 497
 498
 499
 500
 501
 502
 503
 504
 505
 506
 507
 508
 509
 510
 511
 512
 513
 514
 515
 516
 517
 518
 519
 520
 521
 522
 523
 524
 525
 526
 527
 528
 529
 530
 531
 532
 533
 534
 535
 536
 537
 538
 539
 540
 541
 542
 543
 544
 545
 546
 547
 548
 549
 550
 551
 552
 553
 554
 555
 556
 557
 558
 559
 560
 561
 562
 563
 564
 565
 566
 567
 568
 569
 570
 571
 572
 573
 574
 575
 576
 577
 578
 579
 580
 581
 582
 583
 584
 585
 586
 587
 588
 589
 590
 591
 592
 593
 594
 595
 596
 597
 598
 599
 600
 601
 602
 603
 604
 605
 606
 607
 608
 609
 610
 611
 612
 613
 614
 615
 616
 617
 618
 619
 620
 621
 622
 623
 624
 625
 626
 627
 628
 629

C

The second table for the historie

The towne & the vniuersitie
when first founded, 19, b 20.
Burnt by Danes, 170, a 10.
The vniuersitie founded be-
foze xpoze 265 yeares, 145,
b 60
Camedolon a citie belonging to
the Trinobantes, 38, a 60
Cameigaret a welsh bishop ta-
ken prisoner of the Danes,
& released, 151, a 60
Camelodunum whether Col-
chester or no, 38, a 30, 44, b 10
Supposed of Polyd. Virg to be
Doncaster or Donstret, 38, a
60. (How Colchester) taken
by the Romans, 35, a 20. Deo-
pied with soldiers by xpoze
rius Scapula, 38, a 10
Cant inhabitants of Den-
bighshire, 37, b 50
Canons. See Priests.
Canterbury whether builder of
Cambridge or no, 20, b 60
Cantabrians, 33, a 10
Canturbur in old time Kaer-
hir, by whom first builded, 12,
b 30. Of saint Agnes church
built there by Caubald, 107, a
20. The see of archbishop Au-
gustine, 102, a 60. Like to haue
been taken by the Danes but
for composition, 169, b 30. Ta-
ken of the Danes by treason,
170, a 60. Citizens & the castle
of Bullongne together by the
caries, 188, b 10. The archbi-
shoplike void, 120, a 10
Caratake renowned in Italie
& Rome, 39, a 50. His wife &
daughter taken prisoners by
the Romans, 39, a 30. His
courageous words (being cap-
tative) to Claudius the empe-
ror, 39, a 50. His promise a-
gainst the Romans, 38, b 10
Caraulius a Britaine of low
birth killed Bassianus in
fight, 54, b 20. Of a bondman
made king of Britaine, 56, b
10. Slaine, b 10
Careticus made K. of Britaine
full of dissention, 97, b 60. His
acts and deeds, 98
Cartull by whom builded, 12, a
60. See Caerlell.
Carward flaine by Richbert
his countreiman, 110, a 10
Cartimancia queene of Bri-
tains betraith Caratake in-
to the Romans hands, 39, a
30. A square with hir halfe-
band Menenius: no. 2, a 40, b 40
Castibela protector of the Bri-
tains, 23, b 20. With what
kings he was assisted against
Cesar, 27, a 30. He sendeth to
four kings of Kent for aid
against Cesar, 30, a 10. He ru-
led Dorsetshire, Warkshire,
Wokinghamshire, Hampshire
Wessex, 28, b 40. Chose
chafe gouernor of the Bri-
tish arme, 28, b 40. Vanquish-
ed by Cesar, 30, a 40, b 60.
His noble acts & stratagems
against the Romans, 29, a 60.
He opposeth himselfe against
Cesar in the behaue of Bri-
taine, 24, b 10. His sharpe
strokes pitch and set on the
Thames banke, 31, a 20. His
towne taken by Cesar, 31, a 40
The time of his regement &
banquishment, 31, b 10
Catagrine. See Catigrine.
Cateracus vanquished by the
Romans, 34, a 40
Catigrine the brother of Iouit-
mer killeth Iozus, 80, b 10
Catus Decianus taketh flight,
44, b 20
Cead bishop of Mercia his is at

Lichfield, 121, a 40. Deigned
archbishop of York, his dili-
gence, 119, b 20. Why remoued
from the see of York, 120, a 60
Ceadwalia king of Westsaxons
malicious against Kentish-
men, 126, a 20. Driven out of
his countrie, his descent, his
exploits, 124, b 20. His bow,
124, b 50. He inuadeth Kent,
124, b 60. His death, 125, a 10.
He dieth at Rome, 127, a 20
Cedda bishop of Eastsaxons his
deuout deeds to prefer religi-
on, 117, a 60. Had in reuerence
of king Edwald, 117, b 60
Celric king ouer the west sax-
ons, 99, a 10
Celtica, 2, a 40
Celts that came first ouer to in-
habit this Island what they
were, 3, b 40. Subiect to the
giant Abion, 3, b 20
Ceibulfe king of Northumber-
land dead, 133, a 10
Centinarius. See Centurion.
Centwine king of westsaxons
ouercommeth the Britains,
123, b 50. How long he reig-
ned, 124, a 60
Ceolouph. See Ceowulf.
Ceolred king of Mercia dieth,
128, a 60
Ceolbulf souereigne king ouer
the Northumbrians, 130, a 30,
129, a 30
Ceowulf king of the west sax-
ons, 103, b 20. His acts and
deeds in battell, 104, b 60
Cerdic king of the westsaxons,
87, a 40, 89, b 30
Cerdicthore (now Yarmouth in
Northfolke) why so called,
87, a 40
Cesar vanquisheth Britaine
and maketh it tributarie, 30,
a 40. He vanquished not all
Britaine, 31, a 60. He with
his Romans at Kingston by
on Thames 12 not far off, 29,
a 60. He repair eth his nauie, 28
b 20. His nauie soe beaten &
spoiled in tempest, 28, b 10.
Vanquished the Britons, &
put to his flytes, 27, a 10. He
incampeth there Canturba-
rie, 30, b 50. He taketh a new
occasion to make war against
Britaine, 27, b 60. He retreateth
with shame enough out of
Britaine, 27, b 30
Celsus Flavius, his legion van-
quisheth the Britons, 41, a 10
Cewulf malice king of Mercia
by the Danes, 149, b 30
Chariots to fight in used of the
Britons, 26, a 40, 29, b 20
Charitie of Edward to the poore:
note, 114, a 60. See Hospita-
litie.
Chastitie. See Virginitie.
Chetberike K. of Germanie co-
meth in aid of Colgrime, 90, b
30. Quert hborne, 90, b 50.
Slaine by Eadard duke of
Cornwall, 91, a 10
Chenwald K. of westsaxons o-
uercome of Jenda, 115, b 40.
Admitteth bishops & expelleth
them again, 115, b 60, 116, a 10
Vanquished by Alsthere, 119,
a 30
Cheolred K. of Mercia, 127, b 10
Cherbert. See Wertha.
Chester a coloune of Romans:
note, 40, a 40. Taken by the
Danes, 147, b 10. Builded by
Marinus, as some thinke, 51, a
50. Conquered by Egbert, 139,
a 10. Defaced by the Danes,
152, a 50. Two churches there
built by earle Leofric, 193, a
60. Supposed to haue been be-

gun to be builded by xpoze-
us, 40, a 30. Repaired by Leill,
& when first so called, 12, a 60
Cheulung encountereth with
Britons & vanquisheth them
97, a 30. K. of westsaxons en-
deth his life in exile, 98, b 50
See Kenrike.
Children 50 of Eborake, 11, b 60
Chorea Gigantum, 88, b 20
Christ Iesus his birth, 32, b 10.
Diuerse things that were
occupied about him crucified
sent to Adellane for presents
156, a 60
Christians graueslie afflicted
after Cowins death, 111, a 30
Persecuted vnder Dioclesi-
an, 61, a 60, 62, a 40. Honored &
cherished in Constantines
time, 64, b 20. In word but not
in deed & how Peda thought
of them, 117, a 10
Church neglected whilke the
Danes kept such a stirre in
England: note, 153, a 50. In-
riched by Cnute and his wife
Emma, 182, a 10. Gouerne-
ment thereof prescribed by
Gregorie, 101, a 40. Articles of
reformation for it from pope
Adrian: note, 134, b 30
Church discipline, 101, b 10
Churches built euerie where in
Northumberland when Arian
preached, 114, a 50. Repaired by
Aurelius Ambrose, 84, b 50.
Destroyed, 98, a 60, b 20. How
bountifull king Ethelwulf
was to them, 141, a 50, 60
Cicero matched by fronto, 58,
b 20
Cinegiscus & his sonne Riche-
linus reigne iointlie ouer the
westsaxons, 105, a 10
Cinebulfus. See Kinewulf.
Cingetrix king of Kent taken
prisoner of Romans, 30, a 40
Cirencester, now Chichester ta-
ken by Gurmundus, 98, a 10
Gilla sonne to Ella the Saxon,
89, b 10
Cities, townes & monasteries o-
uerthrowne with wind, 135, a
60. Defaced with fire, 133, a 20
Ciuilis a maintainer of iustice,
73, a 30
Claudianus report of Britaine
in the leaue of the Roman
empire, 74, b 10
Claudicestra, now Gloucester,
36, a 20
Claudius the emperor moueth
war against Britaine, & why,
33, b 60. He sendeth legions of
soldiers into Ireland, 36, b 10.
He giueth his daughter Ce-
niska in marriage to Aruira-
gus, 36, a 20. He wonne Dor-
chester, 35, b 30, 36, a 10. He let-
teth Caratake, his wife & kin-
red at libertie, 39, b 30. He in-
person cometh into Bri-
taine, 35, a 20
Cleanders hatred against Per-
cennius, 53, b 60
Clergie fauour Cnute for their
oth sake, 175, b 30, 176, a 10
Clodius Albinus lieutenant in
Britaine, 54, a 40
Cloten K. of Cornwall, 15, b 10
Cneus Trebellius lieutenant
of Britaine, 51, a 40, 53, a 10
Cnute the son of Swene suc-
ceeds his father in England,
173, a 30. Absolute K. of Eng-
land, 178, a 60. He passeth in-
to Denmarke to subdue the
Dandals & Swedners that
annoyed his land, 180, b 20, 40.
His diuerse acts politike, and
memorable sayings, 181, a 60,
b, all. He resolutely combat pzo-

fered him by K. Edmund Fr-
onside, 175, b 60. At Gilling-
ham in Dorsetshire he is put
to flight, 176, a 10. He is mari-
ed to the widow of Egelred,
179, a 60. He sendeth away
his Danish nauie into Den-
marke, 179, b 40. His endeuor
to establish himselfe in the
kingdome, 173, a 60. He would
command the sea in his pride,
& is taught humilitie, 181, b 10
He renounceth the wearing
of a crowne roiall any more,
40. His children, 60. He taketh
vpon him the rule of all Eng-
land, 179, a 20. He causeth Co-
riths throte to be cut, 179, b 50.
What countries he passed
through, 174, b 60. He retur-
neth into England, 174, a 60.
He and K. Edmund Fronside
fight a combat, 177, b 40. His
lawes, 182, a 20. He is forced
to forsake England, 173, b 20.
His death, 191, a 30
Coelus gouernment in Bri-
taine, 62, a 40
Cogidunus king of Britaine,
32, a 10. Faithfull to the Ro-
mans, 40, a 60
Coffin an heathenish bishops seale
to destric idolatrie, 109, a 60,
Coilus king of Britaine de-
scribed, 51, b 10
Colchester builded, 51, b 30.
Walled by Helen, 66, a 10.
Whereof Eildad was bishop,
84, b 40
Colman bishop of Northum-
bers, 119, a 40
Combat betwene Catigrine &
Iozus, 80, b 10. Offered by K.
Edmund Fronside to Cnute
the Dane, 175, b 40. Fought
betwene K. Edmund Fron-
side & Cnute, 177, b 40. Pur-
posed of Edgar against the
king of England & Kenneth
king of Scots, 161, b 50
Comius of Arras ambassadour
from the Romans stand of the
Britons as prisoner, 25, b 40
Commodus the emperor sen-
deth Alpius against the Bri-
tains, 53, b 10. He enueth the
renoume of Alpius, 53, b 30
Coppemise. See Arbitrement.
Conan Aberdoc duke of Corn-
wall, 65, b 40
Conspiracie notable punished,
155, a 60. Rewarded with
murder, 4, b 20. Of Ricard
against Kinewulf, 134, a 50.
See Treason.
Constantine brother to Albro-
nus K. of Britaine vpo con-
stant, 76, a 50. His thre sons, &
his death by treason, 76, b 10.
A Britaine boine, his reg-
ment in this Ile, why surna-
med Great, 63, b 50. An as-
sured branch of the British
race, 66, a 10. Commended, 65,
a 10. His decease, 66, a 30
Constantine cousin to Arthas
reigneth ouer Britaine, his
exploits, 94, a 40. Moted by
Egidias, to be a verie ill man,
94, b 20, 69, b 10. Slaine in
battell, 94, a 60
Constantine the emperor & his
sonne slaine, 76, b 20
Constantius his reigne ouer
Britaine, 62, b 20. A simple K.
and slaine by his gard, 77, a 40
Constantius the Romanie lieut-
enant taketh Coels daugh-
ter a Britaine to wife, 62, a 40
His notable talke & bravaio
on his death bed, 63, a 10
Contention about succession to
the crowne of England, 161,
a 60.

a 60.
Contract
arbitr
Copa.
Cordell
& kille
gan &
daugh
Cordne
11, b
Gog
lcth
Wju
Corma
Corma
effect
Cormill
the 1
dued
Corney
new
Corona
do,
Coyre
a me
Coyne
cust
Coyne
18, b
143,
ding
giant
mur
Coun
20, a
ted
Jedi
133
nisi
a wi
lect
fo
loft
adu
50.
500
lett
187
a 5
rett
Crid
Cros
can
the
fate
boy
ph
K
Cros
hes
fig
Cros
dic
the
Cros
r
40
on
17
dit
C
gla
Cros
Cros
Cru
on
bp
da
ne
del
kin
ga
173
ago
top
in
not
194
m

a 60. ¶ *See* Discord.
 Controuersies to be ended by
 arbitrement, 87, b 60, 88, a 10
 Copia. ¶ *See* Copia.
 Cordella gouerneth Britaine
 & killeth hir selfe, 13, b 40. *Re-*
gan & *Gonozilla*, the thre sole
 daughters of *Acir*, 12, b 60
 Cornutus duke of Cornuwall,
 11, b 10. He wrestleth with
 Gogmagog, 10, b 40. He kil-
 leth *Timbert*, 10, a 10. ¶ *See*
Wute.
 Cornutus preaching among the
 Northumbres taking small
 effect, maketh him depart,
 113, b 20
 Cornishmens seruice against
 the Romans, 27, b 10. Sub-
 dued by *Abdellan*, 156, a 30
 Cornewall wby given to *Corn-*
utus, 10, b 60
 Corona ciuica, a ciuem redimen-
 do, 37, b 50
 Correction done vnnatural by
 a mother on hir son, 165, a 30
 Couentrie made free of toll and
 custome, 193, a 40
 Couetousnes how dangerous,
 18, b 10. Of bishop *Abdellan*,
 143, a 60. Of *Harold* in di-
 uiding spoiles of the *Norwe-*
gians, 198, a 50. It caused
 murder, 174, a 40
 Counsell in issue vnhappy, 78, a
 20. Ending to safetie, neglec-
 ted bradish danger, 160, b 30.
 Desiderie of a wicked wife,
 133, b 10. Of yong beads per-
 nicious, 16, a 40. Gou ginen of
 a woman, 104, b 50. Gou neg-
 lected, a what ensued, 125, a 30
 For safetie neglected with
 losse & teopardie, 151, a 10. Un-
 aduiseable taken, hurteth, 78, b
 50. Cuius what mischeffe it
 wrought, 187, a 60. Cuius fal-
 leth out ill to the counsellor,
 187, b 20. Cuius ill requited, 131
 a 50. Cuius followed prouo-
 ceth hurt, 192, b 10
 Crida first B. of *Mercia*, 97, b 20
 Crosse borne before them that
 came to conuert *Chelbert* &
 the English Saxons to the
 faith, 100, b 20. Creted in full
 hope to be an ensigne of tro-
 phe of victorie: note, 111, b 50.
 Ruerenced by *Constantine*,
 64, b 60
 Crosse of bloudie colour fell fro
 heauen on mens garments,
 signifying affliction, 135, b 50
 Crosse bringeth sight of the
 diuinitie, and crossing driueth
 them awaie, 157, b 40
 Crowne roiall set on a crucifix
 & renounced of *Cnut*, 181, b
 40. Of England recovered
 out of the hands of *Danes*,
 179, b 30. Of gold what king
 did first weare, 15, a 30, 16, a 10
 Controuersie for that of En-
 gland, 182, b 10
 Crowne called *Corona ciuica*,
 37, b 50
 Crownes shauen controuersed,
 119, a 50
 Crueltie of the Britains too so
 outrageous, 45, a 10. Executed
 vpon *Beatrice* B. *Edwards*
 daughter, 154, b 10. In go-
 uernment purchase malice &
 death, 151, b 60. In an extreme
 kind, 179, b 60. Of *Cnut* a-
 gainst the English pledges,
 173, b 30. Unspeakable bit-
 t against *Alfred* by his tormen-
 tors, 183, b 60. Of the *Danes*
 in winning of *Canterburie*:
 note, 170, b 10. Of *Erle* *Osfe*,
 194, b 20. For bing wherof a
 sudge was burnet, 135, a 30.

Of *Penda* & *Cadwallo*, 111,
 a 30. ¶ *See* *Erpennie*.
 Cumberland giuen to the king
 of Scots to hold in homage,
 157, a 30. Walked by the
Danes, 167, b 10
 Cambria slaine for speaking truth
 & giuing good counsell, 131, a 50
 Cunedag sole ruler of Britaine,
 14, a 30
 Caneglasus ingriued against
 by *Edwas* a leud iuer, 69, a 60
 Cattle of the pope when first
 thundered out at England:
 note, 153, a 50. Of the Irish-
 men when thought to take
 place, 125, a 20, b 40
 Custome paid out of Britaine
 to the Romans, 33, a 30
 Custome of Northumberland,
 to sell their nere kinsfolks for
 a small price, 99, b 10
 Cutberd bishop of Lindesferne,
 25, a 30
 Cutha fighteth with the *Wit-*
tans at *Bedford*, 97, a 30
 Cuthred B. of *Wessexons*, his
 exploits, 131, a 10
 D.

Dalmatia, now *Slaonia*,
 32, b 50, 33, a 10.
 Damianus consecrated archi-
 shop of *Canterburie*, 116, b 40
 ¶ *See* *Fugatus*.
 Danes arrive vpon the English
 coasts, & do much mischeffe in
 B. *Erle* *reds* time, 165, a 50.
 Duer all England like gra-
 hepers, 166, a 60. Wintered at
 London, 145, a 20. *Cnut* on
 B. *Edmund* in *Framingham*
 castell, & pitifullie put him to
 death, 144, a 60. Cause of their
 coming into Northumber-
 land, 144, b 10. That first ar-
 rived on the English coasts,
 & when, 135, b 50. How many
 shires they wasted, 170, a 20.
 Norwegians & they encoun-
 ter, 16, a 60. Sought the de-
 struction of this land, 140, a 60
 b 10. Joine with the welsh
 and are vanquished, 139, a 40.
 Landed & spoiled the abbey of
Lindesferne & did much hurt
 in Northumberland, 137, a 50
 How long the persecution of
 them lasted, 140, b 20. With a
 nauie of 35 ships arrive on the
 English coasts, 139, a 20. En-
 tering vpon diuerse parts of
 England are vanquished and
 slaine, 140, b 50. Come to *Bea-*
ding are put to flight, 144, a 10
 Come within 17 miles of
Witlow, 145, a 60. Compelled
 to flee to their ships & shame &
 losse enough, 137, a 60. Forced
 to paie tribut to the king of
 Britaine, 19, a 40. Slaine by
 multitudes at *Tenet*, 141, a 40
 Lose one of their kings and
 fine earles in a discomfiture,
 143, b 60. Grow in puissance,
 142, b 60. Fawoured of B. *Ed-*
gar, 159, b 50. Cruce breakers,
 145, a 60, b 60. Their campe
 viewed by *Alfred* disguised
 like a minstrell, 146, b 10. Be-
 siege *Nottingham*, 143, b 30.
 Solozne at London, 145, b 60
 went into Northumberland,
 145, a 40. Wast all the east part
 of Kent, 142, b 10. Nine earles
 & one king of them slaine in
Chelreds time, 142, b 40. Di-
 uerse meetings & encounters
 betwene them & B. *Edwards*
 forces, 151, a 20, &c. Remained
 at *Cambridge* a whole yeare,
 145, a 40. Besiege *Roche*ster,
 147, a 60. Build them a castell

in the borders of wales, 148, a
 10. With their armies come
 into *Yorkshire*, 143, a 10. Di-
 uerle baptised, 146, b 60. win-
 tered in *Cirencester*, 147, a 50.
 Constrained to eat horsefleshe,
 147, b 50. Winter in *Lindes-*
ferne, 150, a 10. Meant to inhabit
 Northumberland, 150, a 10.
 Birnie in *Essex*, 147, b 50.
 Their armie diuided into
 thre parts, 148, a 10. Take
 priues about *Chichester*, 147,
 b 50. Wereued *Alfred* almost
 of all his kingdome, 148, b 40.
 Destroie *Winchester*, 144, b 10
 Assembled in *Staffordshire*,
 151, b 40. Had the whole go-
 uernment of this land fro the
 Thames northward, 145, a 60
 Crueltie in the winning of
Canterburie citie, 170, a 60, b
 10. Duercome at *Brentford*,
 156, a 60. Inuade the west
 parts of this land, 167, a 50.
 Crucebreakers, 168, b 60, 169
 a 10. Wast this land in all
 parts after *Dunstan*s death,
 166, a 40. First entrie of them
 cotrouerled among writers,
 & all their attempts impeach-
 ed, 164, a 40. Spoile *Hand-*
wich in *Edward* the thirde
 time, 88, a 30. Deuier to king
Alfred hostages & covenants
 to depart his dominions, 146,
 b 50. Egberts deuile to
 murder them all in one daie,
 168, b 30. Overcome by sea &
 otherwise vanquished, 141, a 20
 In great miserie for lacke of
 vittels, 151, b 10. Rule & per-
 secution when it ceased in
 England, 185, b 60. Kings &
 earles of their armie slaine,
 151, a 40. Tributarie to the
 Britains, 16, b 40. Utterlie
 expelled out of England by
 decre, 187, a 20
 Danegilt, 166, a 60. Ceased in
 England, 195, a 20
 Danaus & his fiftie daughters,
 5, b 20. The murdering of
 their husbands how reuenged
 and their names, 6, a 50
 Daniell bishop of *Winchester*,
 129, a 60
 Daughters bntind to their fa-
 ther, 13, a 60
 Dearth in England by means
 of tempest, 188, a 10
 Dearth and mortallitie in *Wit-*
taine and *Ireland*, 119, b 10
 Death after dearth, 188, a 10
 Decima a surname of a *Romane*
 legion whereto the eagle was
 painted, 25, a 40
 Deira kingdom when it began,
 95, b 10. How Northumber-
 land, 99, b 50. Delivered *De-*
ira Dei, 99, b 50
 Demetia now *Southwales*, 18,
 b 60, 27, a 30
 Denbighshire spoiled by *Difor-*
rius, 37, b 50
 Denonshiremen banquish the
Danes, 141, a 20
 Deusedie archbishop of *Can-*
turburie, 116, b 40
 Didanus the father of *Frid-*
olfe, 133, b 60
 Dindinus & *Merianus* bze-
 thyen slain in battell by *Con-*
stans, 62, a 30
 Dionethus duke of *Cornuwall*,
 67, a 20
 Dioclesian a tyrant, 52, a 50. He
 & *Maximian* emperors, 61, b 60
 Discipline ¶ *See* *Church*.
 Discord bryngeth decaye, 88, a 40
 Of brythzen: note, 197, b 30,
 194, b 10: note, 150, b 40, 151, a
 10. Cuius openeth a gap to the

forren enemies, 142, b 60, 143,
 a 10. Bryingeth miseries ma-
 nifold, 124, a 40
 Disdain how dangerous, 18, a 10
 Disobedience punished by sic
 and sword, 158, a 50. Punished
 with wasting and spoiling,
 153, a 30
 Dissention damnieth the au-
 thor, 21, a 10. ¶ *See* *Discord*
 and warres ciuill.
 Dissimulation requited with
 dissimulation, 187, a 50. Of
Edrike brought him vnto a
 shameful end, 179, b 50. Of
 earle *Godwin*, 183, a 10, 184,
 a 10. Of *Engist* notable, 81, b
 60. Of *Hercules* *Maximian-*
us, 64, a 20. Of *quen* *Alfred*
 163, a 30. Of *Uortigerne* no-
 table, 77, a 40. Of *Edrike*, 169
 a 50. ¶ *See* *Edrike*.
 Duell waits at the table when
Dunstan sat with the king,
 157, b 60. He laugheth at
*Dunstan*s erile, 159, a 30
 Duision. ¶ *See* *Dissention*.
 Duma the first bishop of *Mer-*
cia, 118, b 20
 Doctrine confirmed by miracle,
 83, b 10
 Domitian Nero emperor of
 Rome, 41, a 50. He enueth *Al-*
gricola his honor, 51, a 20
 Dorchester bishopricke, 114, b 20
 Dragons fire sining in the aie,
 135, b 60
 Dreame of *Alfred* comfortable
 to him, 146, a 60. Of *Wight-*
swold a monke of *Glasterbur-*
rie, 185, b 20. Of *Dunstan*,
 165, b 60. Of *Edgna* B. *Ed-*
wards concubine, 53, a 10. Of
 duke *Edstane* interpreted by
Dunstan, 157, b 50. Of arch-
 bishop *Laurence*: note, 106, b
 60, 107, a 10. Wherewith *Wella*
 was warned, 146, a 30
 Dyrnkennes. ¶ *See* *Quafling*.
 Duns the son of *Sarron*, 2, b 50
 Duises where they made their
 chiefe abode: &c. 2, b 60. Curle
 the Romans, 41, b 40
 Duke *Alfricke* of *Mercia*, 165,
 a 60. *Indrogus* of *Croino-*
nant, 31, a 30. *Arslepodotus*
 of *Cornuwall* his exploits a-
 gainst the Romans, 56, b 60.
 King of Britaine, 57, a 10.
 He is slaine, 2, a 30. *Berthun*
 & *Nuthun* of *Suffex*, 124, b 40
 Wledeirke of *Cornuwall*, 104, b
 10. *Chorthmund* a murderer
 137, a 10. *Conan* *Meridoc* of
Cornuwall, 65. *Cornutus* of
Cornuwall. ¶ *See* *Cornutus*.
 Dionethus of *Cornuwall*, 67,
 a 20. *Cardule* taken & wound-
 ed, 136, b 30. *Elking* of *Nor-*
waite, 16, a 50. *Gluni* of *Weme-*
ria, 36, a 20. *Goopolus* of *Corn-*
uwall, 88, a 20. *Vennius* of
Cornuwall, 13, a 20. *Bozge-*
rius of *Cornuwall* or *Denonshire*,
 160, a 60. *Magianus* of *Aba-*
nia, 13, a 20. *Idautus* of the
Gewilles, 65, a 60. *Salomon*
 of *Cornuwall*, 66, a 60. *Uort-*
igerne of the *Gewilles* & see
Cornuwall, 76, b 30. ¶ *See*
Uortigerne. Wade a conspi-
 rator, 137, a 10
 Duke *William* prepareth to in-
 uade England & conquer it,
 198, b 10. His proclamation
 telling the causes of his en-
 trance into England, 174, b
 60. His policie to disorder
 his enemies, 202, a 10. Fai-
 luttie receiveth *Harold*, 193,
 b 60, 194, a 10. Shendeth an
 arrhallenge to *Harold* putting
 him in mind to remember his
 oth,

The second table for the historie

eth, 196, b 60. Eretheth & buildeth toztreffes for his soldi-
ers, 199, a 30. He landed in
Shuller, 198, b 90. Was bale-
lie bozne of the boddie of Arlet-
a burgesles daughter of Fa-
lois, 201, b 10. The battell be-
twixt him & R. Harold fought
— 200, a 10. His comming ouer
into England, and returne,
190, b 60. Pretended a title to
the crowne of England, 196, b
10. His enterprife favoured of
pope Alexander, 199, a 10.
Sendeth to R. Harold requir-
ing him to take his daugh-
ter to wife, as he promised,
197, a 30. Promiseth Harold
his daughter in marriage, 194,
a 20. His pebegree 201, a 30
Dukes rebell against Aflawe,
118, b 60
Dubright bishop of Carleion,
90, b 20
Dubytius bishop of Landaffe
his diligence in his poffessi-
on, 94, a 10
Dulcitus an expert captaine in
war, 73, a 30. Pointed to put
Valentinus to death, 73, b 10
Dune a riuer where Doncaster
now standeth, 85, b 60
Durmailes sonnes eies put out
by king Edmund, 157, a 30
Dunstan, what is reported of
him, 165, b 10. His prophesie,
165, a 20. His sharpe message
sent to R. Ethelred, 165, a 60.
He is restozed in estimation
with Edgar, 159, a 60. Made
bishop of Worcester, 160, a 10.
In fauour with Edged, 158,
b 10 By working miracles he
had his will when argumēt
failed, 163, a 10. His hypocri-
sie, 161, a 10. His vision : note a
baine tale, 157, b 40. He is ba-
nished, 159, a 20
Dunwich a bishoprike, 110, a 40
Duresme citie besieged by God-
frie king Adelfians enemie,
155, a 20
Durham from Yorkeshire how
dubbed, 88, a 50. The towne
and minster builded, 167, a 10
Durmo, or rather Gurmo, Angli-
cus, why so named, 147, a 40

E.

Eddald king of Kent, incestuous, irreligious, & faithles, 106, a 40. Baptised, becommeth a christian, and buildeth a church, 107, a 10
Eddert k. of Northumberland becommeth a monk, 132, b 60
Eadbyht k. of Southsaxons slain in battell, 127, b 20
Eadwicus bishop of Lindseie, 112, b 60
Eadulfus bishop of Richied adorned with the pall, 132, a 20
Eadulfe a duke taken & wounded, 136, b 30
Earle. ¶ See **Erle.**
Eartongata a kings daughter a professed nun, 114, b 50
Easter. ¶ See **Ester.**
Eata bishop of Heream, 125, b 50
Eaulab archbishop of Cantuarburie, 137, b 40
Eaulfed king **Edwins** daughter bozne, 107, b 60
Eaufride and **Ofrike** kings of Northumberland slain: note 111, a 60, b 10
Ebranke first invaded France after **Britie**, 12, a 10. First ruler of Britaine, 11, b 60. He had 21 wives, 20 sonnes, 30 daughters, to be married with **Asrian** blood, 11, b 60, 12, a 10

Ebula. ¶ *See* **Deca.**
Eclipse of the sunne, 119, b 10.
note, 130, a 60. That in the
yeare when it appeared died
king Ercombert & the arch-
bishop Deauldedit, 119, b 60
Eban k. of Scots warreth a-
gainst Edelred of Northum-
berland, 103, b 50
Edbert. ¶ *See* **Ethelbert.**
Edelred k. of Northumberlā
his exploits & victories, 103, b
50, 104, a 10. He entereth Ches-
ter, 104, b 10. Associated of
the Saxon princes maketh
Cadwan in the field, 106, a 10
wounded in fight and put to
flight, 104, b 20, 60
Edelhere slaine by ðe witte, 116,
b 30
Edelwulfe earle of Barkeshyre
fought at Englesfeth with the
Danes, 143, b 40
Edelwulfe king of Kent chased
out of his countrie, 138, b 10
Edenburg castell by ðohome
builded, 12, a 20
Ederus king of Scots, alias
Eridogus, 27, a 30, 60
Edgar k. of England his dispo-
sition & diligent prouision for
defense of his realme, 159, a 60
b 10. Furthereth Eiselwold
a marieth his wife, 160, b 30.
His wiues & children, and in
what state the land was in
his time, 162, a 20. Rowed on
þ water eight kings dñiuing
his barge, 159, b 40. He pre-
ferred monks to bishoprikes,
160, a 10. Put to seuen yeares
penance for defouling wil-
frid, 161, a 20. In lone with
duke of Cornewals daughter
sendeth to hir about mariage,
& is preuenyed by the mes-
senger, 160, a 60, b 10 Described,
161, b 50. Subdueth the
welshmen, his spoiles, his vi-
sion and death, 161 a 60
Edgar Edeling why the pères
of England would not make
him king, 196, a 60
Edgitha. ¶ *See* **Editha.**
Edgitha the wife of (as some
saie) the concubine of king
Edward hir deame, 153, a 10
Mother of k. Eðred, 158, b 10
Edirike. ¶ *See* **Eðric.**
Edilbald king of Mercia figh-
teth against Cuthb, 131, a 10
30. Put to flight, 131, a 30
Eilred king of Mercia inua-
deth Kent, 122, b 40. ¶ *See*
Ethelred.
Eilwald king of Northumber-
land, his acts & deeds, 132, b 60
Eilwalke king of Southap-
ons licenceth wilfrid to preach
to his people, 123, a 10. Expel-
led out of his kingdome by
his subiects & slaine, 124, b 40
Eilwald king of Deira dispo-
sed to deuotion, 117, b 60
Eiritha the daughter of earle
Godwin married to Edward
the third, 187, a 40. Put awaie
by hir husband king Edward
the third; note, 189, b 40. His wife
& yet a virgin, 154, b 20. Bafe
daughter of Eðgar made a
nun, 160, b 60. Whelle of wil-
ton, 161, b 10
Eoll earle of Gloucester of Ches-
ter his valiantnesse against
the Saxons with a stake, he
taketh Hengist, 82, a 10.
Edmand bishop of Shyrburne
slaine, 144, a 10
Edmund king Egelseds eldest
son marieth the widow of Hs-
gelferd ð Dane, 174, a 60. His
valiant exploits, 174, b 20, 60

Edmund fighteth in combat with Cnutre, 177, a 40. Distressed by the Danes withdraweth into Gloucestershire, 177, a 20. **E**ggersdes eldest sonne sent into England, 173, a 40. Jotneth Northumberland into his owne estate, 157, a 20. **E** of England by intreatie concludeth peace with Danes of Northumberland, 136, b 50. His lawes, 157, a 60. His death & the lamentable manner thereof, 157, a 60, b 10. Diuerse and discordant reports of his end, 178, b 40. His death renewed, 179, a 40. His sons banished, 50. They are married, 60. **E**dmond who surnamed Ironside, 175, b 60. Proclaimed **K.** of England, 175, b 30. Offereth the combat vnto Cnutre the Dane, 175, b 60. He & his English discomfitt Cnutre and his Danes in a pitch field, 176, b 30. He sheweth himselfe to his soldiers, partlye beleeuing that he was slaine, 176, a 40. Traitorously slaine in Norththire, 178, b 10. **E**dmond king of Westsangles in armes against the Danes, he is cruellie murdered of them 144, a 60. **E**dmond the martir gouerned the Eastsangles, 133, b 50. **E**dred **K.** of England his acts and deads, 158, a 20. Impiisloneth archbishop Wolsan, 158, b 60. He dieth, 158, b 10. **E**drike a Dane ruler of the Eastsangles, 149, b 60. Murdor of **K.** Edmunds death, 178, b 10. **E**dmundeth faire Gunthildis to be put to death, 171, a 10. A close furtherer of Danes doings, 169, b 30. Taketh part with the Danes against Edmund, 176, b 60, 177, a 10. Put to death after he had redeemed his traitorous hart, 179, b 50. **E**drike de Streona his traitors partlye against two Danish noble men, 174, a 40. He with a great power flieth to **E** Danes, 174, b 10. Made duke of earle of Mercia, 169, a 50. His treason against **E** English, 176, a 40. His treason coloured with sickness, 168, b 50. **E**drike king of Kent slaine in warres, 126, a 10. **E**dwin archbishop of Canturburie, 186, b 40. **E**dwine the sonne of king Ella banished out of Northumberland, 104, b 30. He displaceth monks and putteth secular priests in their romes, 159, a 40. Denaleth against the Westsaxons, 108, a 10. Wisteth the helpe of Petrusus a Southsaier, 112, b 50. In a doubt what religion to imbrace, 108, 109. His vision: note, 108, a 40. He with his people receiueth the chrystian faith, 109, b 40. King of Northumberland, his regiment enlarged, and his reputation, 107, a 60, b 10. A good commonwealthe man, 110, a 60. His zeale in setting forth religion, 110, a 10. His two wiues and his childezen, 109, b 60. King of England, his filthy lust, 159, a 10. He and his two sonnes slaine in battell, 110, b 60. He dieth with greafe, 159, a 50. **E**dwin king of Deffians brother accused of conspiracie, & how punished, 155, a 60.

Edward the elder king of Eng-
land, and coniferated, 150, b
30. Subdueth the kingdome
of East Angles, 152, a 10. Set-
teth into his hands the cures
of London and Oxford, 151, a
40. Sendeth presents to the
pope to appease his dispica-
ture, 153, a 60. Builder and
reparer of townes, 152, b 50.
Put the Danes still to the
worst, 151, b 40. His three
wives, his issue by them, and
his death, 153, a 10
Edward the secōd king of En-
gland after much contention
162, b 10. Gouerned by good
counsell, 163, a 20. Shamefule
lie murdered by his mo-
thers procurement, 163, a 30.
furnamed Harry, 163, b 30
Edward the thir king of En-
gland by generall consent, crow-
ned, 186, a 60, b 40. Promiseth
to make duke William heire,
191, a 10. Abstemeth from the
company of his wife, 187, a
50. Death striketh with his
mother Emma, 60. In person
maketh out against Edwin
and his complices, 190, a 10.
His lawes instituted, 191, b
10. Marieth earle Gower his
daughter, 187, a 40. Duteth
awaie his wife Editha: note,
189, b 40. Dep: rieth this life,
his manners, and mnd., 195, a
10. Canonised by the name of
Edward Confessor, 195, a
60. His words vpon his death
bed, b 10 Described, b 30
Edward the sonne of Edmund
Ironside furnamed the out-
law, his death, 192, b 10
Egbert archbishop of Yorke:
note, 130, a 60. He hath his
pall from Rome, b 50. Depar-
teth this life, 135, a 20
Egbert king of Kent, 119, b 60.
Dieth, and what is written
of him, 122, a 20
Egbert king of Northambere-
land, 131, b 10. Expelled from
his kingdome by his subiects
149, b 60. Recriued as king of
the west Saxons, 137, b 60. His
notable exploits & conquests,
138, a 40, 139, a 10. His death,
buriall, his issue, and how he
diuided his kingdome among
his sonnes, 139, a 50
Egbert one of the blood riuall
banished, 135, b 40
Egred is sent for home & re-
turneth, 173, a 40. K. of Eng-
land & negligent in gouern-
ment, 164, b 50. Maketh him-
selfe strong against Danes,
173, b 20. Marieth Emma a
ladie of Normandie, 168, a 10.
His deuise to murder all the
Danes in one daie, 168, a 30.
Diuerse foretokens of euils
like to befall in his time, 165, a
20. Married earle Egberts
daughter, 165, a 60. Deter-
mineth to giue place vnto
Hwasne, 172, b 10. Hath no
remedie against the Danes
outrages, 170, a 60. Halleth
to Normandie, 172, b 20. Had
no remedie against crucitie
of Danes, 196, a 20. Discon-
fited by them, 171, b 60. His or-
ratio to his soldiers, 172, a 10
Recovered of his sicknesse,
assembled an armie against
the Danes, 174, b 40. Con-
poundeth with the Danes for
peace, 166, b 50. Dieth and is
buried, his qualities, and ti-
tles, 174, a 10
Eggrida one of the wives of
Harold

of Britaine and England.

Edgars. 162, a 10
 Egbert k. of Estranges head
 chopt off by falkyng, 132, a 10
 Egfrid king of Northumber-
 land, 121, a 60. He and Edil-
 red fight in ames, 123, a 60.
 Eantheðd bishop wylfred, 122
 b 60. His armie wast Ireland
 125, a 10. Slatne by Wude-
 us king of Scots, 125, a 30
 Egfrid king of Mercia, his
 acts and dedes, 132, b 20
 Egfrics. ¶ See Sigibert.
 Egwine bishop of Worcester,
 118, a 60, 129, a 10
 Elandus king of Britaine how
 long he reigned, 20, a 20
 Eleanus king of westsaxons,
 his acts and dedes, 122, a 10
 Elcwald. ¶ See Alfwold.
 Eldad bishop of Colchester, 84,
 b 40
 Eleutherius. ¶ See Elutherius
 Elier duke of Mercia & others
 immediatly after Edgars
 death remoued the monks &
 restored the canons, 162, b 10
 Departeth this life, 165, a 60.
 Eaten to death with lice, 163,
 b 30
 Elfreda gouernesse of Mercia
 by k. Edwards assignement,
 152, a 30. k. Alureds daugh-
 ter hir continencie & chastite,
 148, a 60. Hir victories against
 the Danes & others, hir deth,
 buriall, and epitaph, 152, a 50
 Elfrida. ¶ See Elfrida.
 Elnothus archbishop of Can-
 turburie refuseth to confe-
 crate Harold, 182, b 30
 Elphegus bishop of winche-
 ster, 165, b 50, 166, b 60
 Elphegus archbishop of Can-
 turburie murdered by the
 Danes, 170, b 10, 40
 Elie fle whereof it toke the
 name and by whome builded,
 23, a 10. ¶ See S. Auderie.
 Elnodur king of Britaine la-
 boureth to haue his brother
 restored to the kingdom, 21, a
 10. Taken prisoner of his
 owne brethren, 21, b 30. Deli-
 uered out of prison and crow-
 ned king, 21, b 60
 Ella the son of Hystria first k. of
 Dura, 95, b 10, 30. King of the
 Southsaxons his exploits, 89,
 b 10. He & his thre sons enter
 Britaine, 86, a 20, b 60. He
 and Alfwight king of North-
 thumbers are slaine by the
 Danes, 143, a 20
 Elias croft in yorckshire whp
 sonamed, 144, b 40
 Eling. ¶ See Duke.
 Elfrida king Alureds daugh-
 ter married to Baldwin earle
 of Flanders, 149, a 60
 Elnathus bishop of Rome his
 aduise to Lucius touching
 religion, 52, a 10
 Elutherius bishop of westsax-
 ons, 129, b 10
 Embert a notable man & first
 husband to Ethelred, 125, a 60
 Emma daughter to Richard
 duke of Normandie married to
 k. Egilred, 168, a 10. Sent
 for out of banishment, 185, a 10.
 Accused of diuerle crimes
 purgeth hir selfe by the O-
 belian law, 187, a 60. The wi-
 dow of Egilred married to
 Canute, 179, a 60. Sendeth hir
 sonnes into Normandie, 176,
 a 60. The praise of hir wise-
 dome, 179, b 30. Harolda con-
 ferit letter tendng to the
 destruction of hir & hir sons,
 183, a 60, b 10 all, 184, a all.
 Banished after she had bene

spoiled, 184, a 60
 Emma k. Edward the thirde
 mother dieth, 191, a 30
 Empire. ¶ See Rome.
 Emperoz, a name that no Ro-
 mane should take vpon him
 oftener than once in anie be-
 age, 35, a 30
 England sometimes called. Iden-
 gilland, 98, a 30. Free from
 troubles both on sea & land in
 Edward the thirde daies, 191,
 a 60. Danes utterlie expelled
 out by decre, 187, a 20. The
 foure notable conquests ther-
 of set downe in an aduertifse-
 ment, 202, a 10. Miserable
 state of it vnder the Danes,
 168, a 60. Deftered by Danes
 as thick as grasschoppers,
 166, a 60. The more part of it
 conquered by Swaine, 172, b
 10. Subiect to Swaine the
 Dane, 172, b 60. How manie
 shires therein the Danes walked
 170, a 20. The cause that it
 was so afflicted by the Danes
 in k. Egilredes time, 167, b 10
 The maiestie and glorie of it
 fell with the deth of Edmund
 178, b 50. Parted betwene k.
 Edmund and Canute, 178, a
 10, 60. Frethie inuaded by
 Swaine, 171, a 60. Contenton
 about successiõ to the crowne
 therof, 162, a 60. First accu-
 sed by the pope: note, 153, a 50
 Deftered with wolues & how
 rid of them, 160, a 20. Absolu-
 tie in Canutes hands, 178, a 60
 State of things much altered
 therein by the deth of Canute,
 184, b 60. State of it in king
 Edgars daies, 162, a 20.
 Foure especiall destructions
 thereof, 140, a 60. When the
 Danes rule & persecutiõ cea-
 sed in it, 185, b 60. The name
 of this fle when changed &
 made a monarchie, 139, a 10.
 ¶ See Alibion and Britaine.
 Englishmen of whom they lear-
 ned their excessive feeding,
 185, b 50. Behaue themselves
 like beasts, 199, b 50. Their
 valiantnesse and skilfulnesse
 in fight against the Normans,
 200, a 10. Order imballied
 against duke William & his
 Normans, 199, b 40. Penale
 against the Danes, 145, b 10.
 Why they went into France
 and became monks, 114, b 60.
 Willat themselves with ciuill
 wars, 137, a 20. Practised in
 wars are commonlie victors,
 150, b 60. Obteine grants be-
 neficiall at the instance of k.
 Canute, 181, b 10. Their good
 seruice vnder Canute against
 the Vandals, 180, b 30. Flee
 to the Danes & take part a-
 gainst their owne king, 171, b
 60, 172, a 10. In a perplecitie,
 172, a 60. Hardlie handled by
 Swaine, 172, b 60. Receiue
 the faith in Ethelberts time,
 100, b 40. Lerne vices of strā-
 gers, 159, b 60. Learned to
 quasse of the Danes, 159, b 60
 Discomforted by duke William
 Normans, 200, a 40. Happie
 when Theodore was archbi-
 shop of Canturburie, 120, b 20
 Discomforted by the Danes,
 139, a 30. ¶ See Britains,
 Britons, and welshmen.
 Englishsaxons. ¶ See Saxons.
 Enigne beaer of the Romans
 his valiantnesse, 25, a 40
 Ennie anemie to honor, 51, a
 30. To vertue & honor, 53, b 30
 Enue at anothers welfare, 110,

b 50. At an others aduance-
 ment, 90, a 60
 Enue of kindmen contened a-
 gainst their uncle breakeh in-
 to murder, 117, a 60, b 10
 Enue of Cleander against Per-
 hennius: note, 53, b 60. Of
 Penda against Alfwald for
 his god proceedings, 115, a 10
 Enuise earle of Summerlet a
 conspirator, 141, a 60
 Eopa a Saxon, but disguised
 Britaine, poisoneth Har-
 lus, 85, a 20
 Erchenwin first king of East-
 saxons, 90, a 30
 Ercombert the first of the Eng-
 lish kings that destroyed all
 idols in his kingdom, 114, b 40
 Erkenwald bishop of Eas-
 ons, 122, a 50
 Errike a Dane king of Ean-
 gles, put to flight, he is mur-
 dered of his subiects, 151, b 60
 Erle Algare of Wyford, 191, b
 30. Androgus of London:
 note, 30, b 30. Baldwin.
 ¶ See Baldwin. Brightnes
 of Elex queth battell to the
 Danes, 166, a 60. Wode-
 male of Chester, 104, a 20. Co-
 ell of Colchester, 62, a 40. Fa-
 ther to the god emperesse He-
 len, 66, a 10. Edelwalde of
 Barkeshire his valiantnesse,
 143, b 40. Edol of Gloucester of
 Chester. ¶ See Eoll. Enue
 of Summerlet, 141, a 60. Of
 Eler namelesse, 162, b 10. Go-
 da of Denonshire slaine, 166,
 a 50. Godwin of Kent, 182, b
 10. ¶ See Godwin. Lofrike
 of Chester, 180, a 40, 188, b 60.
 Honneus, 74, a 10. Wodo hath
 Denonshire & Summerlet-
 shire giue him, 189, b 30. Rafe
 of Hereford, 188, b 60. St-
 ward of Northumberland,
 188, b 60. His exploits against
 the Scots, 192, a 30, 60
 Ermenredus his two sonnes
 cruelle slaine, 122, a 30
 Erming first. ¶ See High-
 waics.
 Ercus king of the Almans a
 friend to Constantine, 64, a 10
 Escuinus. ¶ See Ecuinus.
 Escda, 17, a 60. ¶ See Chariots.
 Elex arrined in by the Danes,
 147, b 60. The kingdom ther-
 of taketh end, 139, b 40
 Essexmen paided themselves to
 Alfwold, 150, b 60
 Estranges where planied in
 Britaine, 32, a 20. Their king-
 dome brought into decaye and
 subiect to diuerle, 133, b 40. It
 ceaseth, 144, b 10. Conquered
 by Wlla, 133, b 30. Subiect
 vnto the Danes, 149, b 60.
 Kingdome & when it began,
 first called Wllines, 87, a 30.
 They haue Gurtheran a
 Dane their king, 144, b 30, 146
 b 50. Their kingdom subdu-
 ed by king Edward, 152, a 10
 Their balne hope made them
 venterous to their cost, 116, a
 50. wholie conuerted to the
 faith, 110, a 30
 Estraxons when their kingdom
 began, 90, a 10. Will not re-
 ceine Melitus to his see at
 London, 107, a 10. Receiue the
 faith which they had renoun-
 ced, 117, a 10. Gouerned by a
 Dane, 144, b 20. Notable co-
 firmid in the faith, 121, a 10
 Kingdom ceased, 133, b 60
 Eter least to be vniformitie
 kept, 110, b 30. Obseruing
 wherof the Scots will obserue
 their owne custome, 119, a 50.
 Wllig.

About the obseruing wherof
 there was contention in Au-
 gustines time: note, 102, b 40,
 103, a 20. About the obserua-
 tion wherof the Scots varie,
 114, a 10
 Ethelard king of westsaxons
 takerh flight out of his land,
 his death, 129, b 10
 Ethelbald k. of Mercia of what
 puillance he was, 130, a 30.
 His vertues and vices: note,
 128, b 20. His acts, and death
 in battell, 128, b 10. ¶ See E-
 thelbright.
 Ethelbert king of Estranges
 highlie commended, 133, a 40.
 Builded saint Andrewes in
 Rochester, 102, b 10, 103, a 50
 Ethelbert king of Kent, 97, a 20.
 He imbraceth the gospill, 99,
 a 60, 100, all. Subdurth all
 the Englishsaxons, 99, a 50.
 Taken prisoner and released
 in winchcomb church, 136, a
 50. His lappes, death, and bu-
 riall, 106, a 40
 Ethelbert k. of Northumbers
 his cruelties, his ill life, & ill
 death, 126, b 30. ¶ See Alrike,
 and Ethelbitt.
 Ethelbight & Ethelbald diuide
 their fathers kingdome be-
 twene them, 144, a 60
 Ethelbitt, 125, b 60. ¶ See Lo-
 ther.
 Ethelburga sister to k. Eadbald
 married to k. Edwin, 107, b
 30. wife to king Inas hir de-
 uise to persuaue hir husband
 to forsake the woold, 127, b 60.
 128, a 10. Deliuereð of a child,
 107, b 60. Desired in a letter
 from the pope to continue in
 the faith, 108, a 40. Returneth
 into Kent, 111, a 50. An ill
 woman & proud as the diuell,
 hir end: note, 136, a 10. ¶ See
 Erkenwald.
 Ethelwida. ¶ See Ethelreda.
 Ethelgna k. Egilredes wife,
 165, a 60. She dieth, 168, a 10
 Ethelred king of Estrangles,
 131, b 10
 Ethelred king of Mercia beco-
 meth a monk, 128, a 40
 Ethelred k. of westsaxons he
 fought with the Danes nine
 times in one yeare, 142, b 10.
 His death, 144, a 60. ¶ See
 Eilred.
 Ethelreda king Egfrides wife
 a virgin: note, 125, a 50
 Ethelwida king Burthens
 wife died in Paula, 149, b 30.
 ¶ See Elfrida.
 Ethelwold bishop of winche-
 ster, 160, a 10. Put in trust to
 sue for king Edgar to speeð
 him of a wife, deceiaeth the
 king, 160, a 60, b 10
 Ethelwulfe k. of westsaxons,
 a subdescon, &c: note, 140, a 30
 Marieth his butlers daugh-
 ter, 140, a 40. Marieth the
 French kings daughter, 141,
 b 40. His geneclogie as the old
 Saxons draw it, 141, b 40. His
 victories against the Danes,
 140, b 20. His last will, how he
 diuideth his kingdom and
 dieth, 141, b 20, 30
 Euclie of Eweline alied to An-
 drogenus, 30, b 30
 Eumerus a murderer sent to
 kill Edwin & why, 107, b 40
 Europe by whom first peopled,
 1, b 30
 Exeter besieged by Danes,
 147, b 40. Taken by them
 and spoiled, 168, b 40. Fortifi-
 ed by Britan, and besieged
 by king Edwin, 112, b 50.
 Wlliges

The second table for the historie

Belieged of Trespahan, 36, b
40. Repared by Adelstane,
156, a 30
Excommunication for unlaue-
full marriage, 117, b 10. Of
Wozingern by bishop Ger-
mane, 84, a 20

F.

Famine in Sussex for want
of raine, 123, a 30. Among
the Danes in Cheshire, 147,
b 50. warre and it signifieu,
135, b 60. ¶ See Hunger.
Fast in what manner obserued
in old time, 118, a 10. ¶ See
Lent.
Fausta the daughter of Max-
imianus & wife to Constanti-
ne, 64, a 50
Feare effectually submission,
172, b 20. Force of feare, 171,
a 60
Feast. ¶ See Banket.
Feix bishop of Burgogone prea-
cheth the word to the Gal-
angles, 110, a 30
Feix bishop of Dunwich a
Burgundian, 21, a 20
Ferrer the ninth ruler of Bri-
taine, 14, b 50. Shaine, 14, b 60
Fier defaced sundrie cities, &c:
133, a 20
Finan bishop of Northumbers,
119, a 40
Fishes caught with nets whose
deuile in Sussex, 123, a 50
Flamines and Archflamines in
Britaine, 52, a 30
Flatterie of Merannius, 41,
a 60. Reproued actually by
Enute: note, 181, b 50
Flauius Trespahanus his va-
liantnesse against the Bri-
tons, 34, b 40. ¶ See Trespahan.
Flauius Victor nobilissimus, 68,
b 10
Fles noisome and mortall, 14,
a 60
Folle. ¶ See Highwaies.
Fraie in Canturburie betwene
the citizens and the earle of
Bullongne, 188, b 10
France by whome inuaded after
Britaine, 12, a 10
Franci or Frankeners people
of Germaine, 61, a 60
Frankeners now Frenchmen,
76, b 10
Fratricide, 11, b 50, 14, b 60, a 60
Frea wife to woden, 79, a 10
¶ See woden.
Friendship. ¶ See Loue.
Frenchmen or Normans first
entred into England, 187, b
60. ¶ See Galles.
Fridaie why so named, 79, a 10
Friswide daughter to Wida-
nus his chaditie: note, 133,
b 60
Fronto counted Ciceros match
58, b 20
Frost verie great and long, 133,
a 10
Fugatus. ¶ See Joseph of A-
rimathia.
Furius Camillus with his
Romans ouerthoweth the
Galles, 18, b 10
Forleus a deuout person that
came out of Ireland, 116, a 60

G.

Gagagus capitaine of Bri-
tains fighteth against A-
gricola, 49, a 60
Gallia now called France, 9, b
20. Inuaded by Bren and
Beline, 17, b 10. Celtica the

hither parts of France, 32,
b 50
Galles put to flight by Brites
and Corineus, 10, b 50. Wren-
ten backe by the Romans, 18,
a 10. Enter into Rome, 18, a
10. Their courtesies priu-
diciall to themselves, 18, b 10
Galles an old inuention, 4, a 10
rowed with oyes strange to
the Britans to see, 25, a 30
Gallio Rauenna sent into Bri-
taine to succor the people, 70,
b 10
Gawaines loialtie, fighting a-
gainst his owne brother in
his princes quarrell, and di-
eng, is honorablie buried by
Arthur, 91, b 10
Gebmound bishop of Roche-
ster, 122, b 60
Genilia the daughter of Clau-
dius the emperour giuen in
marriage to Aruiragus, 36, a
10. Maketh Aruiragus and
Trespahan friends, and loca-
ted their warres, 36, b 50
Gerent king of Britans chased
and put to flight, 127, b 10
Germanus and Lupus bishops
arriue in Britaine and pre-
uaile against the Pelagian
heresie, 82, b 40. He conducteth
the British armie against
the Saxons, 83, a 10. His mi-
racle of a calfe, 84, a 40. He re-
turneth into little Britaine,
83, b 10. His death and bur-
iall, 83, b 20
German assistants to the Ro-
mans, 49, b 50
Geta. ¶ See Bassianus.
Guelles inhabitants of that
part of Britaine which the
west Saxons afterwards held,
77, b 30. Why so named, 65,
a 60, b 10
Giants, and how the word is
meant, 4, a 50. How long they
continued in this Ile, 5, a 60.
whom our chronicles meane
by that name, 5, a 30. Encoun-
ter Brites, 10, b 40
Gigas. ¶ See Giants.
Gift. ¶ See Present.
Gillomanus king of Ireland
discomfited, 84, b 60. Shaine
in battell, 85, a 10
Gipwich, now Ipswich, 169,
b 60
Githa the wife of earle God-
win departed England, 189,
a 60
Girth king Harolds brother
would not haue him fight in
person against the duke, 199,
a 50
Girug what people, 125, a 60
Glamorgan. ¶ See Glau
Morgan.
Gualiers first brought into En-
gland, 120, b 30
Glasterburie monasterie built,
127, b 40
Glouernia now Gloucester, 36,
a 20
Glunt. ¶ See Duke.
Godaseric of Deuonshire shaine,
166, a 50
Goda, sister to king Edward the
third, married to Baldwin
earle of Flanders, 188, b 10
Godfathers, 117, b 60, 147, b 20,
157, a 10. ¶ See Baptisme.
Goffarius surnamed Didus,
9, b 20. Sendeth to Brites,
9, b 60
Gogmagog in dwelling shaine,
10, b 50
Gonild the nece to R. Shwaine
with his sonnes auoid out of
England, 187, a 20
Godwin currieth fauour with

king Edward the third, and
good cause why, 186, b 50, 60.
Defended with king Ed-
ward the third, for fauouring
strangers, 188, b 40. Well
frended, 190, a 60. In fauour
with king Edward the third
none greater, 187, a 40. Put
to his purgation for the death
of Alfred, 185, a 60. He and
his two sonnes rise in armes
against king Edward the
third, they die, 189, a 11. They
are proclaimed outlawes, b
30. Recoured into fauour re-
turneth home, 190, a 30. His
qualities, his wives, his chil-
dren, with the lewd life and
foule end of his mother, 191,
b 60. Dissembling frendship
to Alfred mischeuous, 183,
a 10, 184, a 11. He & his sons
practise piracie vpon the En-
glish coastes, 189, b 60. His ser-
uice in Denmarke, 180, b 20.
His authoritie in England,
182, b 20. His sudden death:
note, 191, b 10
Gorbodan. ¶ See Gurgustius.
Gorbodug the eighteenth ruler
of Britaine, 14, b 40
Gorbodanus king of Britaine
his acts and deeds, 20, b 20
Gorolus duke of Cornewall
shaine for his wife, 88, a 20
Gospel, and that Augustine the
monke is sent into Britaine
to preach it, 99, b 10
Gosseline archbishop of Lon-
don, 71, b 30
Gothlots dishauefull against
Mathald his countryman
both Britans: note, 87, b 50
Granchester, 21, a 10
Granta now Cambridge, 20,
b 40
Grantham by whome builded,
20, b 40
Gratian, who and what sent
from Rome to rule in Bri-
taine, 67, b 60, 68, a 10. In-
trapped by a policie, 68, a 60.
His rough regiment causeth
his owne destruction, 70, a 10
Grese inward brudgeth death,
159, a 50
Gregories willingnesse and de-
sire to win the Englishsar-
ons to the faith, 100, a 10.
Whereby moued to send Au-
gustine the monke to preach
in this land, 99, b 10. His se-
necolus Letanie, 100, a 60.
His platforme of ecclesiasti-
cal government sent to make
Augustine in Britaine, 101,
a 40
Griffin king of wales destrui-
eth Hereford, 189, b 60. In
armes with Algare against
king Edward the third, 192,
b 20. He with his wellmen
are subdued, 188, a 40. A pre-
sent aid alwaies against king
Edward the third, 193, a 60.
His palace burned, b 10. Re-
nounced of all people & as a
banished person, he is shaine,
and his head sent to Harold,
193, b 20
Guanus king of the Hunnes a
mercilesse murder, 67, a 30
Gudwina the wife of earle Leo-
fricke rideth naked thorough
Coventrie towne, and why,
193, a 50
Guenouer and why so named,
93, a 60. Arthurs wife, neere
kinfwoman to Cadoc earle of
Cornewall, 91, a 30. Buried
with his husband Arthur,
the tresses of his haire: note,
22, a 20

Guendolena daughter to Cor-
neus duke of Cornewall, 11,
b 10. Ruled Britaine du-
ring his sonnes minority, 11,
b 20
Guetheline. ¶ See Gosseline.
Gunderus king of Britaine de-
mest tribute to the Romans,
33, a 90. Cratipodius shaine,
35, b 30
Guillomer king of Ireland as-
sailing the Scots is repelled
by Arthur, 91, a 20
Gulthadacus R. of Denmarke
landed in Northumberland,
16, a 60
Guintoline king of Britaine,
his acts and deeds, 19, b 20
Guzongus gouerned Kent be-
fore Wozingern, 79, b 10
Guzotigern. ¶ See Woztingern.
Gunthildis the sister of king
Shwaine murdered, 170, b 60
171, a 10
Gurguint king of Britaine his
acts and deeds, 19, a 40
Gurgustius the fourteenth ru-
ler of Britaine, 14, a 60
Gurmundus R. of Africa at-
tendeth the Saxons against the
Britans, 98, a 10. Spoileth
Britaine in pitifull sort, 98,
a 30. ¶ See Gurguthun.
Gurthun a principall man of
the Danes is baptised, 146,
b 50. King of Eastangles dis-
eth, 149, b 60
Guthlake a man of great ver-
tue and holinesse, 133, b 40
Guthmond a Danish captaine
with his Danes spoile Ips-
wich, 166, a 60
Guthred king of Northumber-
land: note, 150, a 10
Guthrun a Dane king of East-
angles, 144, b 20
Guy of warwike when he liued
136, b 10
Gylbas words inuective a-
gainst the British rulers and
kings, 94, a 60, 95, a 10, b 60,
95, a 60, b 10

H.

Halden and Walerceg two
leaders of kings of the
Danes, 143, b 40. A Danish
king inuadeth Mercia, 145,
a 10
Hamo apparelling himselfe like
a Britaine killeth the king
thereof, 35, b 30. Shaine by
Aruragus, 35, b 40
Hampton whie so called: note,
35, b 50
Hardiknought. ¶ See Harde-
cnute.
Hardicnute proclaimed & crow-
ned king of England, 185, a
10. His sudden death, his
conditions, 185, b 20
Harold father to one Hirke R.
of Northumberland, 188, a 50
Harold the base sonne of Enute
proclaimed king and conse-
crated, 182, b 20. Degenera-
teth from his father Enute,
194, b 10. Why surnamed
Harefoot, 181, b 60. His coun-
terfeit letter tending to the
destruction of Emma and his
sonnes, 183, b 10. His bodie
taken by and throwne into
the Thames, 185, a 10
Harold Harfarger king of Nor-
wiche is perswaded by Col-
tie to make conquest of England
197, b 50, 198, a 10. He is
shaine, 198, a 30
Harold king of England, where-
in note the diuerse opinions
of writers, 196, b 20. Hated &
distained of the pope and car-
dinals,

of Britaine and England.

- dimals, 199, a 10. Battell be-
twixt duke William and him,
200, a 10. He and his brother
Leofwin invade the thires of
Dorset and Summerfet, 189,
b 60. They wine with God-
win in the Ile of Wight, 190,
a 10. He goeth over into Nor-
mandie, 193, b 30. He hath
more hauncesse than hardi-
nesse, 199, a 50. Higbie wel-
comed to duke William, 194,
a 10. He had his father God-
wins caridome, 191, b 30. His
pvide, 197, a 10, b 20. His coun-
tounes, 198, a 40. He seeketh
to win the peoples hearts, 196,
b 50. He prometh duke Wil-
liam to keepe the realme of
England to his use, 194, a 20.
Hade generall of king Ed-
ward the thirde arme, his ex-
plots against the wellshmen,
he fortifieth the cite of Here-
ford, 192, b 30. His answer to
duke Williams embassadours
touching his oth and promise
made to the duke, 197, a 10. He
invadeth Cristins dominions
and burneth his palace, 193, b
10. He is taken prisoner by
the earle of Poncheu, and set
at libertie at duke Williams
request, 193, b 60. His death
diverslie reported, he is descri-
bed, his acts and deeds, 100, a
60, b 10
- Hasting** capteine of the Danes,
besieged, he receiveth an oth
touching baptisme: ever true
of his word, 147, b 10
- Hastelb,** 110, b 60
- Hatred** and death for good will,
163, a 30. *¶ See Enule.*
- Hector Boetius** his fault to ad-
vise the Scots with the ho-
nor of the Britons, 23, b 50.
His error touching the Shi-
lures, Brigants, & Movants
41, a 20
- Helie** king of Britaine his acts
and deeds, 23, a 10
- Helen** the daughter of Ceell a
Britaine married to Con-
stantius a Romaine lieuten-
ant, 62, a 60. The religious
empressse hir devout acts and
deeds, 64, b 30. Hir loue to
London and Colchester, hir
death and buriall, 66, a 10
- Hengist** purposeth at the first to
conquer the Britains, 78, b
40. He and Hoxlus two Sax-
onish brethren, 78, a 30. His
devise to make Hoxtigerne in
loue with his daughter, 79, b
10. He and Hoxlus of what li-
nage they came, 78, b 60, 79, a
10. He with his Saxons re-
turne into Britaine, 81, b 40.
He trefon against the Britains,
81, b 50. Counted Regulus a
little king, 82, b 10. He wor-
keth all upon the advantage,
77, 78, 79. Taken and behea-
ded, 84, b 47. Contrariecie a-
mong writers touching his
death, 85, a 60, 86, b 40
- Hengistland** (now England) &
the reason of the name, 98, a 30
- Henninus.** *¶ See Duke.*
- Heptarchie.** *¶ See Britaine, &
Kings seven.*
- Hercules** lieutenant of Bri-
taine, 54, a 50
- Hercules** his being in Britaine
proued, 5, a 10. Why he persua-
ed & slue his coullins Albin
and Bergion, 4, b 20
- Heresie** to heretic as poison to
the bodie, 110, b 40. Of Pela-
gius spread in Britaine, 82, b 20
- Heusied** in Britaine, 94, a 20
- Hercules.** *¶ See Hike.*
- Hertford** castell built, 151, a 50
- Hemenieid,** 111, b 60
- Hide** of land is an hundred a-
cres, 169, b 10
- Hegelbald** a noble man wel-fa-
rons slaine in battell, 127, b 10
- Highwais** foure finished by
Helene, that his father begun
16, b 50. Priviledged, 17, a 10
- Hiknell** street *¶ See Highwais.*
- Hilda** an abbelle: note, 118, b 10
- Hibelle** of whithie, she dieth,
a description of certeine hir
actions, 123, b 30
- Hildelicha** a nun. *¶ See Etken-
swald.*
- Hirke** the sonne of one Harold
K. of Northumbers, 158, a 50
they put him awaie, 158, a 60
- Hirida** nephue to Cassibelane,
30, b 30
- Histories** should not fauour of
lies, 84, a 60
- Honorius** commended by Clau-
dianus for deeds done in Bri-
taine, 74, b 10. His drift to re-
conquer the empire that biter-
lie fell, 69, a 60
- Honorius** archbishop of Can-
turburie, 110, a 30. He dieth,
116, a 60
- Hope**, baine of Eastangles, 116,
a 50
- Hozgerius** duke of Cornwalloz
Deuonshire and of his faire
daughter: note, 160, a 60
- Hozreltians** inhabitants of An-
gus and Werne, 51, a 10
- Hoxlus.** *¶ See Hengist.*
- Hospitalitie** of a herdmanto bi-
shop German how rewar-
ded, 84, a 40
- Hollages** delacted for assur-
ance of loialtie, 190, b 20. Deman-
ded by Cesar of the Britans,
25, b 50. Given to Cesar by
Androgeus, 30, b 50. *¶ See
Pledges.*
- Houres** 24 of the date and night
how blured divided for his
necessarie uses, 149, a 30
- Howell** king of litle Britaine
cometh ouer in aid of Arthur
against the Saxons, 90, b 40.
- Belieged** by the Scots, 91,
a 10
- Hugh** a Nozwan conspireth
with the Danes, 168, b 50
- Humber** gulle oz riuier why so
named, 11, a 60
- Hundredes.** *¶ See Tithings.*
- Hungar.** *¶ See Agnerus, Hub-
ba, and Abba.*
- Hunger** what it forced the Bri-
tons to do, 70, b 60. *¶ See
Famine.*
- Hubba** a Danish capteine slaine
145, b 20. *¶ See Agnerus.*
- Hypermetra** hir loue to hir
husband commended, 5, b 60
- I.
- Iambert.** *¶ See Lambert.*
- Iaphet** and his sonnes, & co-
first peopled Europe, 1, b 30
- Iaroman** bishop, sent to the
Esfaxons to reduce them to
the faith, 121, a 10
- Icent,** Northfolke men, 38, a 60
42, a 60
- Ida** the first king of Wensicia,
95, a 50. Of Northumberland
his acts, deeds, and death, 96,
b 60
- Idols** destroyed by king Eri-
cobert, 114, b 40. Destroyed by
a heathenish bishop, 109, a 10
- Idolatrie** erected by Sighere
king of Eastfloxons, 120, b 60
- Ierusalem** when taken by Ma-
chodonosoz, 14, b 10
- Iew.** *¶ See Inas.*
- Igeras.** *¶ See Igarne.*
- Igarne** the wife of Ester af-
ter the slaughter of hir first
husband, 81, a 20
- Ilands** none at the first as some
coniecture, 1, a 40
- Images** proued by a fabulous
vision, 128, a 60
- Imanucntius** slaine by Cassi-
belane, 29, b 50
- Imball** king of Armopica slaine
67, a 10
- Imbert** slaine by Copincus, 10,
a 10
- Ine.** *¶ See Inas.*
- Inas** king of Westfloxons, his
acts and deeds, 127, a 20. Sel-
leth peace for monie, 126, b 10.
Dimideth the Westfloxons
prouince into two bishopps
129, a 60. How persuaded by
his wife to religne by his
croune & become a pilgrime,
128, a 10. Went to Rome and
there died, 127, b 30
- Indians** fond adorning them-
selues with pretious stones,
9, b 50
- Indigenz,** 4, a 60
- Inogen** the wife of Wurtz, 8,
b 40
- Interreinment.** *¶ See Hospi-
tallitie.*
- John** archbishop of Yorke, 125,
b 50
- John** the archchanter of saint
Peters at Rome sent to the
synod at Hatfield, and why,
123, b 10
- Joseph** of Trimathia, 52, a 40.
- His** comming into Britaine,
37, a 20
- Jpswich** spoiled by the Danes,
116, a 60
- Ireland** and the Dynacles by
whom first gouerned, 4, b 10.
When it late wast and not in-
habited, 19, b 10. The peoples
curfles against king Egfride
prouaile, 125, a 20, b 40. Enill
discord there when Agricola
was lieutenant of Britaine,
49, a 10. Conquest thereof pur-
sued by Eurgelus, 98, a 10.
Invaded by the Northum-
bers, 125, a 10. Subdued to
Edgar, 162, a 20
- Irmenrike** the son of Oth the
Saxon, 89, a 20
- Irmenrike** of Kent dies, 97, a 10
- Ithamor** bishop of Rochester
consecrath archbishops of
Canturburie, 116, b 40
- Icius portus** supposed to be Ca-
lis, 24, a 50
- Judith** the daughter of Charles
the Bald married king E-
thelwolfe, 141, a 60
- Judge** Wearne burnt for cruel-
tie, 135, a 30
- Judwall,** 160, a 20. *¶ See Lud-
wall.*
- Jue.** *¶ See Inas.*
- Jugants** a people, 40, b 40
- Julius** Agricola lieutenant of
Britaine, 47, b 40. His good
government, 48, a 40
- Julius** Cefars purpose to make
a disconerie of Britaine, 24, a
30. Appointed for to conquer
Gallia, 24, a 10. With two le-
gions passeth ouer into Bri-
taine, 24, b 30. His ships lie at
Calis, 24, a 50
- Julius** Cassianus at square
with Suetonius, 46, a 20
- Julius** Frontinus lieutenant
of Britaine, 46, b 40
- Justine.** *¶ See Guthmond.*
- Justus** archbishop of Cantur-
burie, 107, a 30
- Justus** bishop of Rochester, 103,
a 40. He and Adelcius depart
into France, 106, b 50. Both
sent for againe, & the one re-
stozed to his bishoppske, 107,
a 10
- Jutes** called Jibitti a kind of
people that came into Bri-
taine with the Saxons, 78, b
60, 79, a 20
- K.
- Kerkin,** 12, b 30. *¶ See Can-
turburie.*
- Kennelme** murdered by his mo-
ther Quezed, 136, b 10. King
of Mercia shamefullie mur-
thered, 139, b 50
- Kenneth** king of Scots durst
not combat with K. Edgar:
note, 161, b 60, 162, a 10
- Kenred** king of Mercia descri-
bed, 128, a 50
- Kennie** the son of king Canthred
slaine, 131, a 10
- Kenrike** K. of Westfloxons, his
acts, deeds, & death, 95, b 40
- Kent,** when it began to be a
kingdome, & how it was ex-
tended, 82, a 40. Of whom the
kings thereof descended, 95, a
50. Wasted, spoiled, and dis-
quieted, 126, a 20, b 10. Word
of a king for the space of seuen
yeares, 126, b 10. The foure
kings thereof in Cassibelans
time, 30, a 30. Noble offspring
of the kings thereof decayed,
137, b 10. The kingdome had
two kings at once, 126, b 10.
Given to Hengist in reward,
79, b 10. When it began to be a
kingdom, 86, b 10. The king-
dome taketh end, 139, b 30
- Kentishmen** slay the men a-
gainst the westfloxons, 126, a
20. Vanquished in fight of the
Danes, 167, a 60. Descended
of the Jutes, 79, a 20. Diso-
beyeng K. Edwards coman-
dement are surprisid by the ce-
nimies, 151, a 10. Brie peace
with monie, 127, b 10. Desiti-
tute of a king, 126, a 50
- Kenulle** king of Mercia his
vertues, 136, a 40. His libera-
tie toward churchmen, 136,
a 50
- Kenwalch** king of Westfloxons
dieth, his acts & deeds, 121, b 60
- Kimarus** king of Britaine his
sudden end, 20, a 10
- Kimbeline** king of Britaine in
great fauour with Cesar, 32,
b 10, 33, a 10
- Kineards** conspiracie against
Kinewille, 134, a 50
- King** becommeth a pilgrim for-
saking a crowne, 128, a 10. In
name but not in rule, 77, a 20.
A philosopher, 125, b 30. Dis-
possessed of his kingdome and
restozed, 13, b 20. Made of a
herdmann, 84, a 40. Made of a
seruant, 149, b 30. Made of
one brought and sold, 150, a 12.
- Becommeth** a monke, 129,
a 10, 132, b 60. The first that
swore a golden crowne, 15, a
30, 16, a 10. Depriuer, 79, b 60
- ¶ See Crown & Northgerne.*
- Kings** seuen in Britaine called
Reguli, 82, a 60. By usurpatio
and not by succession, 126, b 10
- Eight** of the English & Sax-
on nation at once, 98, b 10.
- Eight** row king Edgar in a
barge upon the water, 159, b
40. They become monks, 122,
a 60, 131, b 20. Their daugh-
ters professed nuns, 114, b 60.
- Five** ruled this land all at
once. *¶ See Pentarchie.*
- ¶ They*

The second table for the historie

They governed Britaine be-
fore the Romans subdued it,
31, b 40. Crowned & gouerne
Britaine, 11, 12, 13, 32. The
British kings gouernement
endeth, 126, b 40
Kingdome of East Angles when
it began, 87, a 20. Of South-
saxons when it began, 86, a
30. Seuen erected by the
Saxons: note, 97, b 40
Kingis king of westsaxons
becommeth a christian, 114,
10. ¶ See Cincifus.
Kingstone vpon Chames sa-
mons by meanes of kings
there crowned, 158, a 30
Rimmacus the tenthenth ru-
ler of Britaine, 14, b 20
Rimmarus. ¶ See Rimmacus.
Rimwulfe king of westsaxons,
his victories and exploits, he
is slaine of his seruants, 134,
a 30
Knight of the field in Celers
time, 32, b 10
Knighthood of Rimbeline king
of Britaine giuen him by Ce-
sar, 32, b 20, 33, a 10
Brought. ¶ See Cnute.

L.

Labin. ¶ See Heracles.
Labienus a Romane tri-
bune slaine, 27, a 50
Lambert archbishop of Can-
turburie, 135, a 20. Dep. uied,
132, a 20. Dieth, 137, b 40
Laurence archbishop of Can-
turburie labourereth to enlarge
the church and augment the
faith, 105, a 30. ¶ Meaning to
leau his life he is otherwise
warned in a dreame, 106, b 60.
Law of dalian: note, 187, a 60.
Lawes of king Blured: note,
148, b 10. Of Cnute, 182, a 20.
Of king Edmund, 157, a 60.
Of king Edward the third,
191, b 10. Of king J-
nas, 127, b 30. Of Maris, 19,
b 60. Of Pulmutius, 15, b
30
Lawes and decrees how dange-
rous to be broken of them
that make them, 141, a 60
Lecherie ingendered of South,
11, b 50
Legats from the pope into En-
gland, 134, b 30
Legions of souldiers sent by
Claudius into Ireland, 36,
b 10
Leicester, 12, b 60. ¶ See Cae-
ler.
Leil the senenth ruler of Bri-
taine, 12, a 60
Leir the tenth ruler of Britan,
12, b 60. Driven to great di-
stresse, 13, a 60. Restored to
his kingdome, 13, b 10
Lent how fasted, 118, a 10. First
ordained to be kept in Eng-
land, 114, b 50
Loefrike earle of Chester, 180, a
40. Ware great rule in the
commonwelth, 182, a 20. ¶
Furtherer of Edward third
to the crowne, 187, a 10. He
dieth and was buried at Co-
uentrie, 193, a 40
Logitia an Iland wherin
Brute arrived, 8, b 50
Lolin king of Southwailes an
aid to R. Edmund, 157, a 30
Leporius Agricola a Delagi-
an, 82, b 20
Lichfield, whereof it take the
name, 62, a 30. The bishop of
Mercia his see, 121, a 40
Lincius chosen fellow with
Marinianus in the empire,

64, a 60
Lilla his zealous seruice cost him
his life, 107, b 60
Lincolne besieged by Cheldrike
king of Germanie and the
Saxons, 90, b 40
Lindesferne the bishop of Noz-
thumbers lse, 119, a 50, b 10
Lindseie a part of Lincolne-
shire, 110, a 40
Linius Gallus slaine by Acle-
piodorus, 57, a 10
Locrine the second ruler of
Britaine, 11, a 50. Forlakeneth
Guendolina his wife & mar-
rieth Estrid, 11, b 10. Hath
both a wife and a paramour,
11, b 10. In loue with Estrid
da a Scythian kings daugh-
ter, 11, b 10. Slaine in bat-
till, 11, b 10
Lolaitie of Gwayne. ¶ See
Gwayne.
Lollus Ardicus lieutenant in
Britaine, 53, a 50
London walled by Helen, 66,
a 10. In danger to be spoiled
in the time of the Romans,
59, b 30. Recovered out of the
hands of the Danes, 147, a 60
In obedience to Cnute, 177,
a 60. Not greatlie peopled
with Romans in Suetoni-
us his time, 44, b 60. The
cheefe citie of the Eastsaxons
kingdome, 90, a 10. ¶ Great
part of it burnt by casual
fier, 165, a 60. Deserted with
the Danes, 145, a 20. ¶ Besie-
ged by Cnute & his aidants,
176, a 10. ¶ Slaited by Swaine
the Dane & notable defended
by the Londoners, 171, b 20.
Besieged by the Danes and
defended by the citizens, 166,
b 50. How first named, 23,
a 60. Called Augusta, 72,
b 60, 73, a 40. ¶ Great part
of it consumed with fier, 135,
a 60
Londoners victors against the
Danes, 147, b 60. Merie val-
iant against Swaine and his
Danes, 171, b 20. Submit
themselves to Swaine, 172,
b 20. Receiue Edmund J-
rsonside verie iofullie, 175, b
60. Slaine by the Danes,
166, b 20
Londonike. ¶ See Roderike.
Lord Dane became a word of
contempt, 168, a 60
Losses recompensed, 123, b 10
Loth king of Scots ioineth
with the Saxons against
Arthur, ouerthrowne, 90, b 10
Lothaire the king of Kent, 122,
a 20. Durst not meet Edeled
in the field, 122, b 40. He dieth
of a wound, 125, b 60
Loue put to triall: note, 12, b 60
13, a 10. Betwene Aldan &
Edwin, 115, b 20. Of Amphit-
balus and Aldan, 62, a 10. Of
Locrine lewd ill rewarded,
11, b 10. Betwene brethren
long at discord, 17, a 60. ¶ Ho-
therlie notable exphied, 21,
a 40. Towards enemies, &c:
purchased hatred and death,
117, b 10. Of a wife to his hus-
band, exemplified, 133, b 30.
Like to cost losse of life: note
fond Ethelwulfe doing,
141, a 60. Hath men blind
and sottish: note, 79, b 50. In
a woman with lust what mis-
chiefe it bred, 40, b 40. Un-
lawfull of Algar reuenged,
133, b 60. Unlawfull of Rine-
wulfe: note, 134, a 10. Car-
ned into nolour, 13, a 60. Of
ones countrie maketh a man

offend against his calling,
158, a 60. ¶ See Aust.
Lucius king of Britaine re-
nowned in writers, 51, b 20.
Wuilt. S. Peters at west-
minster, 52, a 60
Lud king of Britaine, his acts
and deeds, 23, a 30
Ludgate by whome builded, 23,
a 40
Lubhardthas the eight ruler
of Britaine, 12, b 20
Ludwall payeth a tribute of
woolfskins to Edgar, 160,
a 20
Luidhard bishop appointed to
instruct queene Bertha: note,
99, a 50
Lupicinus is sent from Rome
to releeue the Britons a-
gainst the Scots and Picts,
72, a 30
Lupus. ¶ See Germanus.
Lust and what inconueniences
it breedeth in men, 79, a 40.
Unlawfull what mischiefe it
bred, 144, b 20. Flethlie to sa-
tisfie occasion of deadiie vil-
lanie, 160, b 30, 50. Of Algar
in seeking to ransh Frisford
punished with blindness, 133,
b 60, 134, a 10. Unlawfull of
king Edwin, 159, a 10. ¶ See
Lone.
Lyncus preferred by his wife,
5, b 60, 6, a 30

M.

Mackbeth the usurper of the
crown of Scotland ban-
quished, 192, a 30
Maclogunus his wicked acts
and deeds detected by Gyl-
das, 96, b 10
Madan the third ruler of Bri-
taine deuoured of wild beas-
ts, 11, b 30
Magike taught throughtout all
the realme, 12, b 50
Magianus. ¶ See Duke.
Maglannus and Henninus
slaine, 13, b 20
Magus the son of Samothas
and what parts of the earth
he gouerned, 2, b 10
Maides murdered by thou-
sands, 67, a 40
Malchenus. ¶ See Marcha-
rus.
Malcolme king of Scots hol-
deth Cumberland in homage,
157, a 30
Malgo made king of Britaine,
cometie of person but filthie
of condition, 96, a 50
Malice and the nature thereof:
note, 191, a 10. Causely mur-
ther, 57, a 30. Of wilnot
in burning king Egredes
ships, 169, b 10. ¶ See Cnute.
Malmeburie and the Altes by
whom built, 15, b 30. The ab-
beie founded, 129, b 10
Marcellinus panegyricall or-
ation in praise of Dioclesian
and Mariminian emperors:
note, 57, b 30
Marandubatus in fauour with
the Croinoants, and for
whome they sued to Cesar to
be their gouernor, 29, b 40
Marcius slaine of his brother
Marcellinus, 11, b 50
Marcharus made earle of Noz-
thumberland, 195, a 10
Marcius Papius indignation
and disdaine, 18, a 10
Margadub R. of Southwailes,
104, b 10
Marriage made vpon godlie
conditions: note, 99, a 50.
Unlawfull punished, 117, b

20. Slaid for by messenger
not without decret: note, 160,
a 60, b 10. Granted vpon con-
dition of becoming a chri-
stian, 116, b 60. Without dower
a consent to a prince, 13, a 40.
Madethrough mistrust of e-
mines, 132, a 50. Unlawfull
& incestuous, 144, a 60. Weid
of flethlie pleasure, 187, a 40.
Unpleasurabie by meanes of
hatred, 189, b 50. Granted
vpon religious conditions:
note, 107, b 30. Come to by
murther, 88, a 20. Of a king
to his butlers daughter, 140,
a 40. Fatal, 5, b 50, 79, b 10,
133, a 60, b 10, 160, b 10, 168,
a 20
Marriages disappointed, 67, a
30. In what degrees thought
tolerable, 101, b 10
Martha the wife of Quintoline
gouerneth in hir sons tyme,
19, b 20
Marij victoria, 47, a 40
Marius king of Britaine, his
acts and deeds, 47, a 10
Martys. ¶ See Christians.
Materfield, 115, a 10
Mauns. ¶ See Arniragus.
Maxentius the tyrant emper-
or of Rome, 64, a 10
Maximianus slaine, 64, a 60.
¶ See Maximus.
Maximus succesor to the em-
pire by treason, 68, a 60, b 10.
Ruler of the Britains and
Conan Meridoc at mutuall
warre, 66, b 60. His martiall
exploits, 67, a 60. Slaine by
Theodosius, 68, b 40
Mearloun now Maldon, 151,
a 40
Medulle a Scot founder of
Malmeburie abbey, 129, b 10
Methamsted now Peterbor-
row, and who built the mona-
strie there, 122, a 50
Melza king of the Picts a cru-
ell murderier, 67, a 30
Mellitus bishop of London, 103,
a 40, 50. Goeth to Rome a-
bout church matters of Eng-
land, 105, b 20. Why he was
slaine to leaue London, and
get him into iacent: note, 106,
b 10. Archbishop of Cantur-
burie, 107, a 20. ¶ See Jus-
tus.
Mempricius the fourth ruler of
Britaine deuoured of wild
beasts, 11, b 40
Menecius, now S. Dauids in
Wales, 19, a 10
Mercia kingdome when it be-
gan, 97, b 20. Under certeine
noble men ambitiouslie min-
ded, 89, b 50. Of whome the
kings thereof descended, 95,
a 50. Tributarie to Rome,
132, a 60, b 10. Aduanced by
Offa and how, 132, a 20. ¶
And the welsh confines diui-
ded by Offa, 132, b 10. How
long continued a kingdome,
149, b 50. And when it took
end, 149, b 20
Meridoc and Maximus ruler
of Britaine make mutuall
warre, 66, b 60
Merlins birth and propheties,
84, a 10. His comparison tou-
ching Pendragon, 87, b 10
Melsa now Melgarie, 72, a 30
Melures & weights by whome
first ordeined, 16, a 10
Mercurius. ¶ See Mauns.
Middleanle people, who, 116,
b 40. They become christi-
ans, 117, a 10
Miracle wherewith Bede slane
was comforted, 156, a 10. Of
saint

saint Germans 84, a 40. Con-
 firms the doctrine of German
 83, b 10. Confirming that the
 Scots should be ought to be
 subiect to the kings of Eng-
 land, 155, a 50
 Miracles of Augustine, 102, a
 10, b 40. Of Dunstane bet-
 ter than his arguments, 163,
 a 10. Wrought at Edwards
 the second his graue, 163, b 10
 Of Oswald, 115, a 20
 Hodwen a virgin in Ireland
 renowned, 142, a 30
 Apollo brother to king Ceas-
 walla burnt to death, 126,
 a 20
 Apoll. ¶ See Edilwold.
 Monarchie how safetie to be
 maintained, 137, b 10. Of
 Britaine how long it conti-
 nued per it became a pentar-
 chie, 15, a 10. ¶ See Ambri-
 tion, Britaine, England, and
 Kings.
 Monasteries how consecrated,
 118, a 10. ¶ See Abbeies.
 Monke of a king, 122, a 60, 128,
 a 40, 116, a 40. ¶ See Kings.
 Monke refuseth to be archbi-
 shop of Canturburie, 120, a
 10
 Monke Bishop. ¶ See Bishop.
 Monks name in France that
 were Englishmen, 114, b 60.
 Displaced and secular priests
 put in their come, 159, a 40.
 Remoued and the canons re-
 stored, 162, b 30. ¶ Stemed,
 and secular priests not regard-
 ed, 161, b 20. Their order im-
 braced of kings, 131, b 20.
 Their cowles in estimation,
 131, b 20. A pretie shift of
 them to disappoint the priests
 of their linings, 162, b 60. Of
 Bangor, their number, man-
 ner of liuing, and slaughter in
 battell, 104, a 20. They must
 needs write much in praise of
 Edgar who had them in such
 estimation, 160, a 10. Licen-
 ced to drinke wine, 133, a 10.
 Fawoured by king Edgar,
 159, a 60
 Monie purchaseth peace, 127,
 b 10. Maketh friends, 126,
 a 10
 Monie oppereth bloudie, and
 how strangle she receiued hir
 former brightnesse, 131, b 30
 Morcad & Sigefred two Da-
 nish noble men slaine, 174, a
 40
 Morfred usurpeth the king-
 dome of Britaine and resti-
 feth Arthurs landing in
 Britaine, 91, b 10. His sons
 repine at Constantines ad-
 uancement to the crowne, 94,
 a 40. He is slaine, 91, b 40
 Morzan & Cunedag at armes
 about the rule of this Ile, 14,
 a 10
 Moriant what kind of people &
 where seated, 20, a 60
 Morindus king of Britaine,
 his crueltie, & exploits, he is
 deuoured of a monster, 20, a 40
 Morini a people that now in-
 habit Teruine in France,
 27, a 20
 Mother killeth hir sonne, 15, a
 10. ¶ See Fratricide & Mur-
 ther.
 Mulantius Dunwallon first
 king of Britaine that wore
 a golden crowne, 15, a 30. His
 lawes, 15, b 30
 Further done by the Danes
 vpon king Edmund vertela-
 mentable, 144, a 60. Of a king
 by his seruant, 133, b 20. Of

a father reuenged on the son,
 163, b 20. Unnaturall procu-
 red by Alfrid vpon hir sonne,
 163, a 30. Of kinewulfe no-
 table, 134, a 60. Unnaturall
 of Alfrida, 128, a 50. Of king
 Edmund lamentable, 157, a
 60, b 10. Done by the Danes
 vpon a bishop, 170, b 30. Al-
 on matias, 67, a 30. Of a son
 by his mother, 136, b 10. Most
 vile of two innocents, 122, a
 30. The consent whereto pu-
 nished, 125, b 60, 126, a 10. Re-
 uenged, 11, a 60. Committed
 for pittie, 50, b 40. Most villa-
 nous: note, 107, b 40. By poi-
 son terrible punished, 154, b
 10. Accompanied with mur-
 ther, 4, b 20, 14, b 60, 35, b 40,
 56, a 60, 68, b 10, 40, 83, b 30,
 131, a 60, 134, b 10, 137, a 10,
 158, b 10: note, 179, b 60
 Musike taught by a bishop,
 122, b 50. ¶ See Singing.
 Mutinie among souldiers, 74,
 a 30

N.

Narcissus one that might
 doe all with Claudius,
 36, b 60. Sent to appease the
 souldiers of Plautius, 34, a
 10
 Nathaniel a man of no great
 ancient house, sent against
 the Saxons at Burchius Im-
 brose his death, 87, b 30
 Nazareth a mightie king of the
 Britains, 89, a 50. He is
 slaine, b 10
 Nennius wounded of Cesar di-
 eth, 27, a 40
 Neptune how he grew to be cal-
 led the king of god of the seas
 4, a 10
 Nidred and Surebare kings
 of Kent by usurpation, 126,
 b 20
 Noah monarch of all the world
 diuideth it among his thre
 sonnes, 1, b 10
 Nonnus sustained the first in-
 uasion of the Saxons into
 great Britaine, 74, a 10
 Noymandie why so named, 146,
 a 40. Gouerned by the French
 king, 185, a 10
 Noymans first entering into
 England, 187, b 60. Under
 duke William, and the maner
 of their arais, 199, b 40. How
 they pretended a title to the
 crowne, 168, a 20. Slaine by
 the pol, the tenth reformed,
 183, a 10. Upper lips and
 cheekes shauen, and taken for
 priests, 199, a 40. Banished
 the realme vpon a malicious
 reuenge, 191, a 20, 30
 Northmercia, 118, b 40
 Northumberland a kingdom
 compounded of two, 95, a 10.
 Two kingdoms, Deira and
 Bernicia, 111, a 60. Adulter-
 tie submit themselves to king
 Egbert, 138, b 60. The king-
 dome when it was parted, 95,
 b 30. Diminished by the
 Diacs, 125, b 40. Inuaded by
 two kings, 110, b 50. Brought
 into a miserable case, 111, a
 40. Their custome to sell
 their nere kinsfolke for a
 smal price, 99, b 10. The king-
 dome gouerned by two parts
 115, a 60. why it remai-
 ned long without anie gouer-
 nor, 137, a 40. It had no
 Saxon king by title for ma-
 nie yeares together, 79, b 40.
 Inhabited with Saxons,
 79, b 40. In subiection to the

kings of Westsaxons, 140, a
 20. The kingdom thereof fa-
 tall: note, 137, a 30
 Northumbers inuade Ireland,
 125, a 10. Querthow the
 Diacs, 129, a 20. Rebel a-
 gainst their earle Colie, and
 whie, 194, a 20. Yield to
 Swaine without resistance,
 171, b 10. In subiection to the
 Danes, 149, b 60. Rebel and
 are subdued by king Eozed,
 158, a 30. Put to the sword
 by king Eozed, 158, a 50.
 Inuaded by Henda, 115, a 10.
 Complained against by Eoz-
 man for their neglect of reli-
 gion, 113, b 20
 Northelmus archbishop of Can-
 turburie, 130, b 50
 Nottingham besieged by the
 Danes, 143, b 30
 Norwegians arrive in Hum-
 ber, doe much mischief, and
 are discomfited, 197, b 30, 198,
 a 10. Slaine by the Bri-
 tains, 16, b 20
 Norwich taken and spoiled by
 the Danes, 168, b 60
 Nourants inhabitants of Cum-
 berland, 41, a 30
 Nun couline to Inas, 127, b 10.
 Debauched and after married,
 and againe restored to the
 nunnrie, 150, b 40. Alfred in-
 dued with the spirit of pro-
 phesie, 133, b 30
 Nuns lecherous and murthe-
 rous life, 128, b 40. Defile
 their bodies, 129, a 20. Con-
 cubines, 134, b 60. Whome in
 France that were English-
 women, 114, b 60

O.

Oeca the sonne of Hengist
 taken and fauourable
 dealt withall by Aurelius,
 84, b 50. He and Ebusa lea-
 ders of the Saxons, 79, b 30.
 He reigned in Kent foure and
 twentie yeares, 89, a 10. He
 threatheneth destruction to Al-
 ber: note, 87, b 60
 Occasion not to be neglected,
 42, a 50. Not neglected, 78, b
 40. Taken to come to ones
 purpose, 79, a 40. Watched &
 bled, 126, a 10, 165, a 20, 97,
 b 60
 Octauian a British lord gouer-
 ned Britaine noble, he dieth,
 65, a 60, b 60
 Odo archbishop of Canturba-
 rie, 136, b 60
 Ossa conquereth the Eastan-
 gles, 133, b 30. Maketh his
 realme tributarie to Rome,
 and dieth, 132, a 60, b 10. Ali-
 eth himselfe to other princes
 for feare of his enemies, 132,
 a 50. King of Mercia, his
 acts, deeds, and victories, 131,
 b 60. King of Eastsaxons, be-
 commeth a monke, 129, a 10
 Othchurch in Warwickshire
 built, 132, b 20
 Othrich of Ossa dieth, 132, b 20
 Oke of saint Augustine, 102,
 b 30
 Onichelimus. ¶ See Richeli-
 nus.
 Opportunitie. ¶ See Occasion.
 Oracle that Hute consulted
 withall, 8, b 60
 Oratozie to praise in erected by
 bishop Cead, 121, a 40. Built
 by Ioseph of Tremathia, 127,
 b 40
 Ordoctes old inhabitants of
 Shropshire, Cheshire, and
 Lancashire, 38, b 20. In ma-

ner destroyed, 47, b 50
 Othright king of Northum-
 bers deposed and Ella suc-
 ced, 143, a 10
 Othred & of Northumb. land
 expelled, 136, b 30. His fillye
 life and death in battell, 129,
 a 10
 Othrike king of Northumber-
 land, 125, b 50. His counsell to
 reuenge the death of Kin-
 wulfe, 134, b 10. He renoun-
 ceth his kingdom and be-
 commeth a monke, 129, a 40.
 ¶ See Canfrid.
 Othorius Scapula his exploits
 in Britaine, 37, b 10. Church
 the Britains a soze ouer-
 throw, 39, b 10. Accomplished at
 the Britons cherefullnesse a-
 gainst his Romans, 38, b 60.
 His triumph for victories a-
 gainst Caratake, 39, b 40. He
 dieth, 40, a 20
 Othtra the wife of king Ethel-
 red, cruellie slaine, 128, a 40,
 a 50
 Othulph king of Northumber-
 land slaine by treason, 132,
 b 60
 Oswald a noble man ordeined
 king of Northumbers, expel-
 led, 136, b 60. Raifeth warre
 against Ethelard, 129, b 10.
 King of Northumbers, his
 valiantnesse against Cadwal-
 lo, 111, b 20. The true storie
 concerning him, 113, a 50. His
 zeale to aduance religion, 114,
 a 50. He breaketh his silver
 plate to the poore, 114, a 60. An
 interpreter to the preacher,
 114, a 30. Cruellie slaine by
 Henda, 115, a 20. Canonised
 a saint, 115, a 20
 Oswald archbishop of Yorkie,
 161, b 20
 Oswald bishop of Worcester,
 160, a 10
 Oswie king of Northumber-
 land, 118, a 30. His vow that
 he made if he might haue the
 victorie, 118, a 40. He sickneth
 and dieth, 121, a 50
 Oswin. ¶ See Oswie.
 Oth constrained is nooth, 197,
 a 10. Taken for purgation in
 a case of murder, 185, a 60
 Oth the son of Oeca the Sax-
 on, 89, a 20
 Othford burned by the Danes,
 169, b 40. The vnnurritie
 wher founded and erected,
 148, b 50
 Othfordshiremen resist the Sax-
 ons, and are slaine, 37, b 20

P.

Paters brought into Eng-
 gland, 120, b 30
 Palace called the bishops pa-
 lace by Paulus by whome,
 builded, 23, a 50
 Paladour mount now Shaftes-
 burie, 12, b 30
 Pall of an archbishop, 101, b 60
 Palladius instructeth Scots
 in the faith, 82, b 60
 Pandrasus prepareth an armie
 to suppresse the Troian off-
 spring, he is taken prisoner,
 8, a 40, b 20
 Paunonia now Hungarie, 32,
 b 50
 Parricide, 7, b 20. ¶ See Mur-
 ther.
 Pascientius Martigners prom-
 gess sonne his exploits, 85, a
 10. His practise of reuocation a-
 gainst Aurelius, 85, a 20
 Panta in Lombardie, 149, b 30
 Paul preached vnto the Bri-

The second table for the historie

tains, 37, a 50
 Paules church first a temple by
 whome builded, 23, a 60. By
 whome builded, doubtfull, 102,
 b 10, 103, a 50
 Pauline bishop of Rochester,
 111, a 60. Diligent in his of-
 fice, 107, b 40, 108, a 10. His
 preaching and baptising pre-
 ualantly much, 109, b 60. He
 prospereth in the discharge of
 his function, 110, a 50. He sit-
 eth into Kent, 111, a 50
 Pauline archbishop of yorke,
 110, b 10. He receiveth the
 pall, 110, b 10. He deceaseth,
 115, a 50
 Peada. ¶ He Peada a wicaba.
 Peace concluded vpon condi-
 tions betwene king Edmund
 Ironside and Canute, 178, a
 50, 177, b 40. Concluded to
 make opene waie for trea-
 son, 176, b 10. Purchased
 with monie, 126, b 10, 127, b
 10, 165, a 60, 166, a 60, b 60,
 169, a 50
 Peada king of Middlesex,
 married, baptised, 116, b 50. His
 opinion and saying of hpgol-
 pellers, 117, a 10
 Pelagian errors greaſtie pre-
 uailed in Britaine, 82, b 10.
 To be suppressed, 110, b 40
 Pelagius where bozne, his he-
 reſie, 82, b 20
 Petrus a Spaniard wizzard of
 witchſaier: note, 112, b 50
 Penance that Edgar did for de-
 ſtouring Wilfrid, 161, a 10.
 Voluntary that Robert duke
 of Normandie undertoke,
 201, b 20
 Penda king of Mercia, 110, b
 50. His crueltie, 111, a 30. His
 regiment, his acts and deas,
 112, a 20. He enueth of
 waids well doing, 115, a 10.
 Slaine by Oswie, 116, b 30
 Penus Wolſthunus killeth
 himſelfe, 46, a 10
 Pentarchie of Britaine, 15, a 10
 ¶ See Britaine and kings.
 Perdur his prophesies, 14, a 60
 Peredurus ¶ See Wigemius.
 Perhennus all in all vnder the
 emperour Commodus, 53, b 40.
 Perurie neuer left unpunished:
 note, 199, a 50. ¶ See With and
 Promiſe.
 Perfection. ¶ See Chriſti-
 ans.
 Pertinax lieutenant of Bri-
 taine, 54, a 10
 Peterburrow, 122, a 50. ¶ See
 Weidhamſted.
 Peterpence firſt paid to Rome,
 128, a 30. Paid to Rome in
 Maſtine, 132, b 10. Their
 grant confirmed by Ethel-
 wulfe, 141, a 50
 Petronius Turpilianus an
 idle lieutenant, 46, a 60
 Petrus Cerealis his hard ef-
 cape, 44, b 50
 Philoſopher made a king, 125,
 b 30
 Pictis why ſo named, 9, b 30. Di-
 uided into two nations, 72,
 b 40. In no Romane writer
 mentioned before Almer-
 tins time, 61, b 50. Inuaded
 this land, and of what nation
 deſcended, 47, a 10. The next
 after the Romans (of ſtran-
 gers) that inuaded this land,
 47, a 40. Cut off one part of
 the limits of the kingdom of
 Northumberland, 125, b 40.
 They and Scots recover a
 part of their countrie long
 poſſeſſed of the Engliſh, 125,
 a 40. Why they had the ſouth

parts of Scotland giuen
 them, 56, b 30. Allied with the
 Saxons, 90, a 60. Duer-
 thowne by the Northum-
 bers, 129, a 20. ¶ See Scots.
 Pictland or Pictland, 9, b 60
 Pilgrimage of Robert duke of
 Normandie that he volunta-
 rily toke to Ieruſalem, 201,
 b 20. Of R. Inas to Rome,
 127, b 30. Of Sweine the ſon
 of the earle Godwine, 190,
 b 30
 Pinneſſes, 4, a 10. ¶ See Gal-
 lies.
 Pittie procured murder, 50, b
 60. Of Adelſtan vpon cer-
 teine kings that ſtood to his
 mercie, 155, a 10
 Pledges giuen vpon ſecuritie,
 193, b 20, 40. No ſufficient
 warrant of freedom from
 danger, 174, b 60. Engliſh
 crueltie handled, 173, b 30.
 ¶ See Hoſtages.
 Pleimond archbiſhop of Can-
 turburie, 149, a 20. Preſident
 of the Engliſh prouinciall
 council, 153, a 60, b 30
 Plentie accompanied with ma-
 nie outrageous ſinnes: note,
 77, b 60
 Pleſure which bringeth greiſe
 is to be forgozne: note, 148,
 a 60. Of the fleſh to loſe of
 life, 134, a 60. Dorelie bought,
 161, a 10, 20, 144, b 20. Gran-
 ted bringeth preſerment, 160,
 b 60, 161, a 10. ¶ See Loue
 and Luſt.
 Plouconius put to flight by Co-
 rinus, 10, a 10
 Poiſon, & what ſharpe puniſh-
 ment was executed vpon one
 that poiſoned his huſband:
 154, b 10
 Policie of Aulake diſcouered:
 note, 155, b 40. Of Alured to
 know the ſtate of the Danes
 his enemies campe, 146, b 10.
 Of duke William to diſorder
 the Engliſhmens armie, 200,
 a 10. Of Gurmundus to take
 Cirenceſter, 98, a 10. Of Hen-
 riſt, 77, 78, 79
 Polycletus great poſt offen-
 ſive, 46, a 40
 Pope when he firſt curſed En-
 gland: note, 153, a 50. Alex-
 ander a fauourer of duke Wil-
 liams conqueſt of England,
 199, a 10. Vitalianus, 120,
 a 20
 Porcheſter wome by the Ro-
 mans, 36, a 10
 Porrex. ¶ See Ferrer.
 Porth the Saxons arrivall in
 Britaine, 89, a 40
 Portſmouth why ſo named, 89,
 a 40
 Prayer to God by the Britains
 for aid againſt the Saxons,
 8, a 30. Of Moavia before
 his encounter with the Ro-
 mans, 44, a 40. For victorie
 before the battell begun, 111,
 b 60
 Praters, and what effect they
 haue, 134, a 10
 Praſutagus king of Britaine,
 32, a 10. ¶ See Truiragus.
 Predens giuen to bicars, 161,
 b 30
 Preching, and that ſuch as are
 called to it ſhould haue the
 knowledge of tonges, 114, a
 20. Of what ſort preuaileth
 and is moſt effectfull, 113, b
 20, 114, a 10, 8c.
 Preſt wighart well ſene in
 the ſcriptures, 119, b 60
 Preſts that ſerued in Claudi-
 us temple, ſpoilers, and rob-

bers, 42, b 20. Go to warre
 with euill ſped, 104, a 30.
 Went with Peda to teach and
 baptiſe the Middleſexes,
 116, b 60. In battell with
 their Alledia: note, 83, a 30.
 Not to come to the alar bare-
 legged, and whie, 134, b 50.
 Four all brethren, 118, a 30.
 Secular had wines in mo-
 naſteries, 162, b 40. Put in the
 rowmes of monks, 159, a 50.
 Little regarded and monks
 eſteemed, 161, b 20. Received
 into monaſteries and monks
 remoued, 162, b 30
 Pryn, 136, a 50. ¶ See Ethelbert.
 Puerogative of king Edgar te-
 ſtified, 159, b 40
 Preſent that earle Godwin
 gaue Hardicute to redeeme
 his ſauour, 185, a 60
 Preſents ſent to king Adelſtan
 from diuerſe kings: note, 156,
 a 10
 Preſumption hath a fall, 12, b 50
 Pride of Canute turned into hu-
 militie, 181, b 10
 Priuileges granted to Welins
 highwaies, 16, b 50. Gran-
 ted to ſaint Cutberts ſhine,
 150, a 60. Granted by Apul-
 matius, 15, b 40
 Profit preferred before hone-
 ſtie, 193, a 50
 Propheſie, the ſpirit wherof was
 in Alured, 133, b 30. Of king
 Edward the third fulfilled,
 195, b 30
 Promiſe interchangeable made
 and ſealed with oth, 194, a 20.
 Faithfullie kept, 167, a 10.
 Made with corporall oth by-
 ged to the purpoſe, 196, b 60.
 ¶ See Now.
 Promiſes in extremitie may
 be made and yet not of neceſ-
 ſitie to be performed, 194, a 60,
 b 10. And rewards moue
 mightie, 139, b 50. Faire
 what miſcheefe they make
 men do, 77, a 10. Not to be
 truſted, 136, b 50
 Prouerbe, The Britains nei-
 ther daunt in war nor faith-
 full in peace, 35, b 20. Helans
 hoſtie caſt his rider, 137, a 20.
 In truſt is trecherie proued
 true, 5, b 50
 Prouiſion for ſhips and armoz,
 and what order for mainte-
 nance the nauie, 169, b 10
 Punishment vpon the ſonne for
 the fathers offence, 166, b 30
 Putta a good muſician made bi-
 ſhop of Rocheſter, 120, b 10.
 Teacheth ſong and muſike,
 122, b 50. Biſhop of Roche-
 ſter is ſaine to ſee, 122, b 50
 Pyrrhus his three ſons frends
 to Pyrrus, 7, b 30

¶ Making exceſſive reformed
 by king Edgar, 159, b 60
 Quarell vpon a light cauſe pro-
 cured ſlaughter, 18, a 10. Up-
 on a light occaſion, 188, b 10.
 Upon words wherof inſued
 wounds and ſlaughter, 30, b
 30. ¶ See Frate.
 Quene, a name withdrawne
 from the welſaxons kings
 wines, 136, a 20
 Quenped king Ma his wife
 wiſe but malicious, 133, b 10.
 His ambitious and enuious
 mind at his brothers aduance-
 ment, 139, b 50. Furthereth
 his ſonne Kenelme, 136, b 10
 Quinburga the daughter of
 Cearlus king of Mercia,

109, b 60
 Quintus Atrius ouerſer of
 the Romane nauie, 28, a 50
 Quintus Laberius Durus a
 tribune ſaine, 28, b 60
 R.
 Raine in Suſſex none for
 three yeeres ſpace, 123, a 30
 Raine of bloud, 14, a 60
 Ranſome of a biſhop out of the
 Danes hands, 151, b 10
 Raſhelle of Bedſſe diſcom-
 mendable, 155, a 60, b 20
 Rauiſhments enforced by the
 Romans, 45, b 10. ¶ See
 Luſt.
 Rebellion prevented and puni-
 ſhed, 73, a 60. Of ſubjects, 149,
 b 60. Actual of people againſt
 their prince, 128, b 10. Of the
 Britains againſt their lords
 and gouernors, 70, b 60. Of
 the middle part of England a-
 gainſt king Edwin, 159, a 40.
 Of Northumbers againſt
 Coſtie their earle, 194, b 30.
 Of certaine dukes againſt
 Oswie, 118, b 60. ¶ See Diſ-
 obedience.
 Reding where the Danes got
 the victorie, 143, b 50. Diſcom-
 ſited, 144, a 10
 Redwald king of Eaſtangles
 intertaineſh Godwine in exile,
 104, b 40. Baptiſed, he would
 ſerue God and the diuell, 110,
 a 10
 Reguli of Britaine ſcuen, 82,
 a 60
 Religion a Chriſtian faith that
 king Edmund would not re-
 nounce to the loſſe of his life:
 note, 144, a 60. Iceland ad-
 uanced by king Alwald, 114,
 a 50. Received of the Middle-
 angles, 116, b 60, 117, a 10. And
 of the Eaſtſaxons, a 20. Great-
 lie decayed in Britaine, 82, b
 10. Reſtored by Alortimer af-
 ter the vanquiſhing of the
 Saxons, 81, a 60. In Bri-
 taine in Octavianus time, 66, a
 50. Embraced for commodi-
 tie ſake, 123, a 60. Embraced
 of the Eaſtſaxons with ſcale
 to die for it, 121, a 10. Great-
 lie decayed, 98, b 20. Not to be
 lingered of dallied withall,
 108, 109. A cloke to rob and
 ſpoile, 42, b 20. Reuolting
 from it puniſhed by God, 111,
 a 60. Aduanced by king Ce-
 dred, 158, b 10. Decayed a-
 gain among the Britains,
 94, a 20. The profeſſors of it
 hated of the Eaſtſaxons, 106,
 a 60, b 10. Heathenlyſh nothing
 worth: note, 109, a 60
 Repentance too late, 155, b 10.
 Of Alured for murdering
 his ſtepoſon, 163, b 10. Of El-
 fer too late, 163, b 30
 Regiment. ¶ See Monarchie.
 Reſtitutus biſhop of London,
 66, a 50
 Reuenge with ſlaughter of ma-
 nie for killing ſome ſew, 134,
 b 10. Sought with euill ſuc-
 ceſſe, 8, a 60. That God him-
 ſelfe toke for wrong done,
 175, a 60. Of an old grudge,
 180, b 60. Sought of injuries
 receiued, 42, b 60. Without
 mercie, 45, a 10, b 60. Long
 thought vpon, 127, a 60. Of
 the Scots and Picts vpon
 Alortimer & the Britains,
 78, a 10. Juſtice taken by God
 againſt prophene men, 106, b
 60, 10. With ſore outrage, 126,
 a 30. Vpon the dead for iniu-
 ries

res received, 185, a 10. Revenge upon a light occasion, 188, b 10. Of an old wrong, 191, a 10. Of murder by murder: note, 131, a 60, 137, a 10. Rewards move men to sinne attempr, 139, b 50. Ricc. ¶ See Giffin. Ricbrough. ¶ See Sandwich. Richelmus. ¶ See Cnegitelmus. Riclag king of Northumbres dieth, 150, a 10. Ricula sister to Ethelbert, 103, a 50. Ricallus the thirteenth ruler of Britaine, 14, a 50. Robert archbishop of Cantuarie, 187, b 20, 60. Warished, 191, a 20. Robert duke of Normandie father to duke William, diuerle acts of his, as well wanton as serious, 201, b 20. Rodrike king of Scots inuadeth this land, and is slaine, 47, a 10. Rochester besieged by Danes, 147, a 60. Saint Andrews church there by whome builded, 102, b 10, 103, a 50. The church defaced by Ethred, 122, b 50. The see void, 111, a 50. Bishop Thamar consecrateth archbishops of Cantuarie, 116, b 40. Rollo a Dane with a fresh power entrench into England, 146, a 20. The first duke of Normandie, & how he came to it, 201, a 30. Rome builded, 14, a 60. The empire diuided betwene two, 64, a 60, 61, a 10. Taken by Wren and Belin, 17, b 10. Rome seat. ¶ See Peterperce. Romans wherof so named, 74, a 60. Lane in Britaine without resistance, 28, a 30. Why they warred against Britaine, 24, a 20. Citerlie subdue the Britons but not without much bloodshed and slaughter, 28, b 60. Take Caratacus wile and daughter prisoners, 39, a 30. Slaie the ducks in Britaine vnder Moxus Scapula, 37, a 10, &c. Proud and ambitious, 40, a 60. In despair withdraw into the capitol, 17, b 60. Incountering with the Gallies overthrowne, 17, b 60. Discover Britaine, 24, a 40. Pursue the Britons and put them to flight, 26, b 60. Outragious vanishers and deuourers of womankind, 45, a 60, b 10. Received a great overthrow in Britaine, and put to their hard shifts in Domitians daies, 41, a 50. Put to their shifts by the Britains, 25, a 10. Get to land, but vnable to follow the Britains farre, 25, b 20. Refuse for euerie light occasion to come ouer and aid the Britons, 70, b 20. Knew not Britaine but by report, 24, a 20. Pastures why placed in townes subdued, 38, a 10. Their ensigne an eagle, 25, a 40. They reuise the Britans against the Scots and Picts, repining to be alwaies their aidors, 70, b 20. Cursed of the Druides, 41, b 40. Opinions touching the partle conquest of Britaine by them, 35, a 60. Manyfold oppressions moueth the Britans to rebellion, 42, all. In

all their martiall affaires be- rie fortunat, 74, a 60. Go to the pot awaie by thousands vnder Scuerus his conduct, 55, b 60. Heauie armour their great hinderance, 29, a 10. Terrified at the strange noise of belles used in the British armie, 27, b 10. Villanous and unnaturall crueltie, 42, a 60. By thousands slaine of the Britains, 45, a 10. Romanus bishop of Rochester downed as he went to Rome, 111, a 60. Romix a Saxonish laie and daughter to Hengist arriveth in Britaine, 78, b 60. Tethert Moxigeme with the batt of hir beautie, 79, a 60. Pseudo- neth Moxtimer his sonne in law, 80, b 40. Wood speaketh, 162, b 60. Rowen. See Romix. Rule parted betwene two of moze. ¶ See Ambition, Wrennus, Ferrex, and Moxgan. Rulers gouerne Britaine, 11, 12, 13, &c. Rutupium. ¶ See Ricbrough and Sandwich. S. S. Abert reigned ouer the East- saxons, and receiue the faith, 103, a 50. Roberts thre most lewd sons deseruedlie slaine all together, 106, b 60. Sabinus his valiantnesse against the Britans, 34, b 40. Sacrifices by whome to be made, 2, b 40. Of prisoners, 41, b 50. Saint Albons bones taken by and put into a rich thyme, 132, a 10. Saint Andrew of Elie. ¶ See Ethelreda. Saint Clements Danes without temple barre, 185, a 20. Saint Eubert appeared to St. Alured, 146, a 60. His thyme privileged, 150, a 60. Saint Eilutus bell, 161, a 60. Salassians inhabitants about Italie and Switserland, 33, a 10. Salisburie besieged by the Danes, 176, a 20. ¶ See Ambition. Salisburie plaine where the Saxons and Britons met, 81, b 40. And of the stones there at this daie remaining. ¶ See Stoneheng. Salomon king of Britaine Tre- mozike, 112, b 30. Samaritans maner of seruing God, 110, a 10. Samotha the name of Britaine, 2, a 60. Samothceans subdued by Albion, 4, a 40. Samothces what part of the world he had of his portion, 2, a 30. Sandwich of Ricbrough, 72, b 60. Where Uespasian durst not arrive, 36, b 40. Sarron the sonne of Moxus, 2, b 30. Sarronides too neuer sacrifice without a philosopher, 2, b 40. Satisfaction for sinnes, 163, b 20. Saxons described, 96, b 60. Traitorous, 81, b 60. They and the Picts renew their league, 82, b 60. Sue for licence to Moxtimer to depart home into Germania, 90, b 40.

Came swarming like bees into Britaine, 81, a 30. Remouing Britans out of their seats that gained ground of them, 97, b 40. First inuasion into great Britaine: note, 73, b 60. Plagued by Arthur of Britaine, 90, a 60. Four notable battels giuen them by the Britans to their ouerthrowes, 80, b 10. Slaughtered at Badon hill, 88, a 50. Appointed to plague the Britans from time to time for there foule sinnes, 96, b 30. Pursue the Britans without ceasing, &c. 97, b 60, 98, a 10. Create an heptarchie of seven kingdomes, 97, b 40. What parts of Britaine they had in their hands in Moxtigers time, 83, b 60. The first fight betwixt them in this Island, 97, a 20. Moxtighorne besieging Bath, 90, b 60, 91, a 10. Arriue and dwell in Northumberland, 79, b 40. Well intertained of Moxtighorne, 78, a 60. Well nigh wasted by Moxtimers warres, 80, b 10. Joine with the Scots and Picts against the Britans, 81, a 30. Rours, pirats, and moze cruell than all other enemies, 71, a 40. Waged to aid the Britans against the Picts and Scots, 78, a 30. Slaine and not one left to carrie newes into their owne countrie out of Britaine, 74, a 50. Come thicke and thre- fold into Britaine, 79, b 20. Make miserable destruction in this land, 79, b 50, 80, a 10. Notable discomfited by the Britans conducted by two holie bishops: note, 83, a 20. Called English what they were, 78, b 10. English subdued by Ethelbert, 99, a 50. The blood of race of them ceased to reigne in England, 200, b 50. ¶ See Eastangels, Southsaxons, and Westsaxons. Schole erected at Cambridge, by king Sigebert, 21, a 10. Secus the sonne of Moxigenus &c: hostages to Cesar, 30, b 50. Scots had no habitations in Britaine in the time of Moximus the emperor, 71, b 10. They and the Picts trouble this Ile, 72, a 20. Plague the Britans extremelie, 70, a 50, b 40. Not once named in the Romane writers till about Constantius time: note, 41, a 40. First coming out of Spaine into Ireland, 75, b 40. First coming out of Scythia, 75, b 40. Descended of Scythians as some thinke, 47, a 10. Inhabited Ireland, 47, a 10. Forced to submit themselves to Arthur, 91, a 10. Instructed in the faith, 82, b 60. Their king hath Cumberland giuen him and holdeth it by homage, 157, a 30. Marie about the keeping of Easter, 114, a 10. Receiue an oath to be true to king Eubert, 118, a 40. Subdued, and their king forced to deliuer his son as hostage to king Aelfstan, 155, a 50. Vanquished by the Saxons, 78, a 60. Afflicted by the Saxons, 79, b 30. Inmade the Britans in Moxtighorns time, 78, a 10. Made the third nation that inhabited Britaine, 75, b 40. Hampered for

comming into Britaine to giue battell, 103, b 60. ¶ See Picts. Scotland wasted by king Aelfric, 155, a 40. Sebbi king of Eastsaxons a professed monke, 122, a 60. Sebert king of the Eastsaxons conuerted to the faith & baptised, 106, b 10. Sedition, 131, a 10. ¶ See Discords and warres ciuill. Seburga queene of the Westsaxons hir gouernement, 122, a 10. Wife of Ercombert, 114, b 50. Seginus duke of the Allsbogs, 16, b 20. Seians horse, 137, a 30. Selred king of Eastsaxons, 129, a 10. Slaine, 133, b 60. Served. ¶ See Seward. Seruants louing their masters, 134, a 60. Seuerus arriveth in Britaine, and would be surnamed Britannicus, 55, a 20. Reigned as king, 54, a 60. His seuerer and cruell commandement, 56, a 10. Sacketh the destruction of Albinus, 54, a 40. Slaine by Fulgentius, 54, b 10. His death, 56, a 20. And maner of funerall after the Romane fashion, ibidem 60. Seuerus coronell of the footmen putteth the Saxons in feare, 74, a 10. Sewfred. ¶ See Sigbert. Sexbasse bishop of Mercies, 122, a 50. Shalfesburie called mount Peladour, 12, b 30. Ships of Cnutte passing for pompe, 173, b 60. Seibert king of Eastangels christened, 110, a 20. Siccius king of Britaine, 19, b 50. ¶ See Sigislaus. Sidroc a Danish earle slaine in fight, 143, a 40. Sigbert. ¶ See Sigibert. Sigbert. ¶ See Sebert and Sebert. Sigeferd. ¶ See Moxcad. Sighere gouernour of a part of the Eastsaxons with Sebbi, 122, b 10. Confirmed notable in the faith, 121, a 10. King of Eastsaxons renounceth the faith, and imbraceth idolatrie, 120, b 60. Sigward. ¶ See Sewfred. Sights strange import an alteration of the state, 196, b 10. Strange in the ear, 135, b 60. Sigibert king of Eastangels ioueth learning, buildeth scholers, resigneth his kingdom, & becommeth a monke, he is slaine, 116, a 20. Sigibert king of Westsaxons cruell at home but a coward abroad, 131, a 50. Sigibert the second receiued the faith, 117, a 20. Murthered by two of his owne kinsmen, 117, a 60, b 10. Signes of ill lucke, 133, b 10. Silures inhabited in Southwales of neere vnto the welsh marches, 38, a 40. Why so hettish & eager against the Romans, 40, a 10. Simon Sclotes. ¶ See Ioseph of Armatia. Simplicitie of king Constantius abused by Moxtighorne, 77, a 10. Singing brought into churches, 120, a 60. ¶ See Churches and Musike. Sinnes abhominable of the Britans

The second table for the historie

Britains the cause of their scourging by the Saxons, 96, b 30. **See** Gylbas.
Siricius archbishop of Canturburie, 166, a 60.
Stifallus the sixteenth ruler of Britaine, 14, b 10.
Stithake king of Northumberland, 150, a 60.
Stward earle of Northumberland dieth: note, 192, b 60.
Slander prevented, 188, b 60.
Stioath ingendeth lecherie, 11, b 50.
Snouw and frost great, 133, a 10.
Of aboute two moneths continuance, 188, a 10.
Sodomie committed, 11, b 60.
Soldiers of Julius Plautius disordered, 34, a 10. **Of** Britaine valorous, 69, b 20. **De** lette, 68, a 60.
Soldiers like not laws to keepe them in order, 54, a 30. **Against** their captaine, 46, b 10.
Southmercia, 118, b 40.
Southsaxons kingdome what number of families it contained, 123, a 10. **It** ceaseth, 127, b 20. **See** Suffer.
Sparatum a towne, 8, a 40, 60.
Spie. **See** Delicie.
Spying tides, 174, a 30.
Stanefmore, 47, a 50.
Stiermarke. **See** Valeria.
Stigand archbishop of Canturburie by intrusion, 191, a 40. **Made** but a test at **St. Edward** words propheticall speeches, 195, b 20.
Stilio the sonne in law to **Maximianus**, his acts and deeds in Britaine, 74, b 50.
Stoneheng on Salisbury plain why so called, 84, b 60. **Called** Chorea gigantum, 88, b 20.
Strangers teach Englishmen diverse vile vices, 159, b 60.
Suspected of the Britains, for their multitudes, 79, b 50.
Dought not to quarrell in foreign countries, 188, b 10.
Strenuold a valiant man, 166, a 50.
Subiection makes kings know themselves, 21, b 20. **Of** Britaine to the Romans when it was, 31, a 60.
Subtiltie of **Uostigerne** to concale his treason, 77, a 30.
Succession. **See** Crowne.
Suehard. **See** Ridged.
Suetonius lieutenant of Britaine invadeth Anglesca, &c: 41, b 10. **In** courageh his hands against **Uoadicia** and her Britains, 45, b 20. **Supplied** with fresh forces sette upon the Britains, 45, a 50.
Thinking upon safetie with draweth himselfe and his forces, 44, a 60. **By** hart grudge thrust at to lose his dignitie, 46, a 30.
Swidhelme king of Eastsaxons christened, 117, b 60.
Sunne eclipsed exceedinglie, 130, a 60.
Suspicion sometimes necessary, 81, b 60.
Suffer of Southsax, with the beginning of the Southsaxons kingdome, 86, a 10. **Imprudent** the faith, 123, a 10. **Assisted** with famine for lacke of raine, 123, a 30. **See** Southsax & Southsaxons.
Swaine arriving at Sandwith spoileth all the countrie nere the sea side, 169, a 20. **Reputed** full king of England handlieth the people hardlie, 172, b 60. **Conquered** the

greater part of England, 172, b 12. **King** of Denmarke, taketh **Spowere** and spoileth it, 168, b 60. **Prepares** a fresh armie to invade England, 171, a 60. **Erle** Godwinson, banished, his lewd life, 188, a 10, 64. **He** rebelleth against his father Godwin, his misdeeds ending in going on pilgrimage, 190, b 30. **His** end and death, 178, a 10.
Swimming a practise used among the Britains, 48, a 10.
Swithed. **See** Swithzed.
Swithzed king of Eastsaxons expelled, 133, b 60.
Swithune bishop of Winchester of king Egberts council, 140, b 20.
Synod provinciall to reforme wants in the church, 153, a 60.
Holden for the appoyning of images, 128, a 60. **Held** in Augustines time, 102, b 30, 60.
Held at Hatfield, 123, b 10.
Held at Herford, 121, a 60.
Held in Mercia, what was there done, 135, a 10.

T.

Tewine archbishop of Canturburie, 129, b 60. **He** dieth, 130, b 50.
Tempest on sea, 25, b 60. **Where** in Celar lost 40 ships, 28, b 10.
Tenancius assisted Eastsaxons against Celar, 27, a 40. **See** Geomantus.
Tenet **He** a refuge for Saxons, 80, b 40.
Thamar an Englishman bishop of Rochester, 115, a 60.
Thames passable by fords in one place in Celars time, 31, a 20.
Theobaldus the brother of **Edelred** laine, 103, b 60.
Theodore made archbishop of Canturburie upon conditions, 120, a 20. **Called** **He** holdeth a synod at Herford, 121, a 60. **His** acts and deeds after his instalment, 120, a 50. **Worthily** praised, 120, b 10. **Reconcileth** two kings being at warres, 123, a 60, b 10. **Holdeth** a synod at Hatfield, 123, b 10. **His** articles proposed in the synod, 121, a 60. **Eighthie** & eight yeares old, 126, b 20.
Theodore married to **Constantius**, 62, b 40.
Theodosius his acts and deeds in Britaine, 72, 73. **Prementeth** a conspiracie against him and punisheth the offenders, 73, b 10. **His** praise, 73, b 40.
Theomantius R. of Britaine giueth tribute to the Romans, 32, a 60.
These murdered king **Edmund**, 137, b 10.
These noz robber but died in **Edgars** time, 160, a 20.
Thet restrained by laws: note, 148, b 20. **Punished**, 16, a 10.
Thomas bishop of the East Angles after Felix, 116, a 60.
Thule of some taken to be Ireland, of other some Scotland, 74, b 50.
Thunir cheste ruler of the land under Egbert, 122, a 30.
A vile murderer, 122, a 30.
Thuringers a people in Saxonia, 79, a 30.
Tida bishop of Northumbria, 119, b 10.
Elleburge now **Tilberie**, 117, b 60.
Tithing preposterous, nine

laine, and the tenth reserved, 183, a 10, 184, a 40. **Of** the people of Canturburie by the Danes preposterous, 170, b 10.
Tithings, & who divided countrees into tithings, and what it meaneth, 148, b 20.
Togodumnus a British by the Romans vanquished, 34, a 40, 35, a 10.
Tokens. **See** Sighis and wonders.
Tormace. **See** Theomantius.
Tostie earle of Northumbria his crueltie, 194, b 30. **Disquieteth** his brother Harold, spoiling his countrees, he is repelled, 197, b 30. **His** crueltie deaking procureth a rebellion, 194, b 20. **Slaine**, 198, a 30.
Totnesse, where **Uespasian** arrived, 36, b 40.
Tours whether built by **Julius** or no, 10, a 20, 60.
Towne, or hold, & what so called of the Britains, 29, b 60.
Townes erected and repaired by **Edred**: note, 152, a 30. **By** king **Edward**, 152, b 50.
Tower of London built by **Uelene**, and first called **Uelene** tower, 19, a 10.
Uaberne laine, 65, b 30.
Uebellius **Uaximus** lieutenant of Britaine, 46, a 60.
Treason practised by **Alfred** to keepe **Uelene** from the crowne, 154, a 10.
Treason of **Alfrike** in fleeing to the Danes, 166, b 20. **Of** **Alfrike** punished in his son **Algar**, 166, b 30. **Of** **Umaricus** in betraying Canturburie to the Danes, 170, a 60. **Of** **Andragatius** in killing of **Erastus** the emperor, 68, a 60, b 10. **Of** **Androgenus** in aiding Celar against Eastsaxons, 30, b 60. **What** ensued upon it to the author, 32, a 60. **Most** villanous of **Edrike** in a fought battell, 176, a 40. **Notable** coloured, 169, a 60. **Preceding** **Edmunds** death, punished with death, 178, b 30.
Of **Uernerus**, 107, b 40. **Of** **Harold** by a counterfet letter, 183, b 60, b 10 all, 184, a all. **Of** **Uengist** to kill the Britains barned, 81, b 50. **Against** **Ufrica**, 128, a 50. **Of** **Ualcentius** practised by a counterfet monke upon **Uurelius**, 85, a 20. **Of** a **Uict** in killing king **Constantine**, 76, b 10. **Of** the **Uicts** against **Uallianus**, 56, b 30. **Of** the **Uicts** end **Uict** killing their king, 77, a 20. **Of** **Uostigerne** to attaine the kingdome: note, 77, a 10. **Of** archbishop **Uolfane**, 158, a 60. **Of** cousins, 129, a 20. **Uersuaded** by a wife to his husband, and practised, 133, b 10. **In** the nobilitie, 167, b 20, 60. **In** trust: note, 39, a 30, 40.
Coloured with counterfet sickness, 168, b 50. **Uingeth** an euill end: note, 179, b 50. **Punished** with sudden death, 154, a 10. **See** Trust.
Triumph. **See** Victorie.
Tribute craced by the Danes of the English, 170, b 40. **Paid** to the Danes that laie at **Greenewich**, 174, a 30. **By** them inbanded, 168, a 10. **Retained** by king **Harbichnutr**, 185, a 20. **Paid** to England out of wales, 193, b 10. **Of** three thousand pounds paid to the Romans, 31, a 10. **Paid** by the Britains to the Romans,

30, b 10. **Paid** by the Danes to the king of Britaine, 19, a 40. **Demanded** by the Romans, & what warres ensued, 33, a 60. **Of** **Uolfcelinus**, 160, a 20. **Of** gold, silver, meat, hauis, and hounds paid to **Uelstan**, 156, a 20.
Troins accompanie **Uute**, 8, a 60.
Troinouant now London, 23, a 60. **Where**, **when**, & **by** **whome** builded, 11, a 10.
Tromonants what they were & where they inhabited, 20, b 40.
Trust treasonable, 81, b 40, 60, 115, b 10. **Not**, 132, a 10, 136, b 50. 137, b 50, 163, a 30, 166, b 20. **See** Treason.
Truth told with reproofe particularly distancur, 159, a 20.
Uurgetius pursueth the conquest of Ireland, 98, a 10.
Uurketell **Uireneched** while he deserues an euilllasting reproch, 169, b 60.
Uurkilling a Danie ruler in Northfolke & Suffolke, 170, b 40. **Retained** in fruce with **Uegelded**, 173, b 40. **Uelclaf** seeth the secrets of this land to **U. Swaine**, 171, a 40. **His** drift (being furdome to **Uegelded**) to aduance **Uute**, 173, b 50, 60.
Uurketilling a Danish cric subdued, 151, b 20.
Uurinus the nephew of **Uure** laine, 10, b 60.
Uuronium. **See** Tours.
Uyant & a king distinguished, 98, b 60.

V.

Valens **Uulius** master of the hostes, 73, b 50.
Valentia a part of Britaine, 73, b 30.
Valentians, now Romans, 74, a 60.
Valentinus banished into Britaine, his wicked practices, 73, a 60. **Reitereth** & succorheth the distressed Britains, 70, b 10. **Put** in danger by **Uaximus**, 68, b 30. **Slaine**, 83, b 30.
Valeria aduocating to **Uannax** ma, 73, a 60. **How** **Uiermarke**, 73, a 60.
Ualiantnesse of **Edoll** with a hedgecroke, 82, a 10. **Of** a **Uomane** ensigne bearer, 25, a 40. **Of** **Uward** euen at his death, 192, a 30, b 60.
Uannes in **Uranica**, now Britaine in France, 24, a 50.
Uibba and **Uungar** two Danish captains and cruell of nature, 142, b 60.
Uillocatus a squire marrieth queene **Uartimanda**, his husband **Uenutus** being recalled, 40, b 50.
Venedocia now Northwales, 27, a 30.
Vengeance. **See** Reuenge.
Uenutus a skillfull British captaine, reiected of his wife, his acts and deeds, 40, b 30.
Uerannus his purpose against Britaine prevented by death, 41, a 60.
Verolanum a towne of great fame in the daies of **Uladicia**, 45, a 10.
Uicpasian sent by **Ulaudianus** to Britaine & where he arrived, 36, b 30. **He** is dead, 51, a 20.
Uika a Saxon & his dominion in Britaine, 87, a 20.
Uictorie waucering and inconsistent, 80, a 30. **Abused** with excessive crueltie, 45, a 10. **Of** the Britains

Britains against the legion of
 Marcius Valens, 40, b 10. Of
 Marcius against the Brits in-
 grauen upon a stone in place
 where it was gotten, 47, a 50.
 Of Marcius against Cara-
 take: note, 39, a 50, 60. Of Ma-
 rius how it might obaine
 against the enemy, 118, b 40.
 Notable against the Saxons,
 by the conduct of a British ar-
 mic under two bishops, 83, a 20.
 Killed by Swaine, 172, b 60
 Valerius Valens lieutenant of
 Britaine, 46, b 20
 Valis, 15, b 30. *¶* See Valmell-
 burie.
 Valentinus and Valerianus reigne
 iointly as kings, 21, b 30
 Valilianus gouernour of North-
 folke killeth a great man of
 the Danes, 169, a 10
 Valgine a pet a wife, 125, a 50. Of
 Friswilde his withstanding of
 prince Edgar, 133, b 60, 134, a 10
 Of Ireland called Hibernia,
 renowned, 142, a 30
 Virginitie of the daughter laud
 by the losse of the maids: note,
 160, b 60
 Vision of Dunstane, 157, b 40.
 Telling him of king Edgars
 death, 118, b 10. Of Edgar a
 little before his death, 161, a 60.
 Appearing to Edwin, 108, a 40.
 Of Egwin bishop of wyce-
 ster, 128, a 60. Of Augustine the
 monke, *¶* See Dyane.
 Vitalianus pope, 120, a 20
 Vice. *¶* See Jutes.
 Vilius Marcellus lieutenant in
 Britaine berie watchfull: note,
 53, b 10
 Vlysses in Britaine, 6, b 50
 Vngust king of Pias, 131, b 20
 Vnnuersitie. *¶* See Cambridge.
 Vnnkindnesse of E. lras daughters
 to their father, 13, a 60
 Vnnthankfulnesse to God puni-
 shed, 111, a 60
 Voadicia the wife of Aunragus
 beaten of the Romane souldi-
 ers, 42, a 60. Described, with
 the pittie speech that she made
 to the Britains against the
 Romans, 43, all 44. Her daugh-
 ters crucilie abused at the Ro-
 mans hands, 45, a 60. Chosen
 of the Britans to be their cap-
 taine against the Romans, 42, b
 60. Her death doubtfull, 45, b 60
 Vortigerns ambition to reigne a
 rule, 77, a 10. Chosen R. of Bri-
 taine, 77, a 60. I mean that
 Constantius the monke was
 made king, 76, b 50. Deprived
 of roialtie by his people, 79, b 60
 Foxlath his wife to marrie
 Konig a Saxonish damsell, 79,
 a 60. welcometh the Saxons
 in Britaine, 78, a 60. Taken
 prisoner by Hengist a how re-
 leased, 82, a 10. Put in feare of
 his usurped estate, 77, b 50, 78, a
 10. Busie in building a castell,
 84, a 10. Much given to sensu-
 all lust, 79, a 40. Restored to his
 kingdome, 81, b 10. Succesious
 e lewd of life, 84, a 20. Warned
 to death within a castell, 84, a 20
 Vortimer succedeth Vortigern
 as king of Britaine, 79, b 60.
 He is made king, 80, a 60
 Vortimer resposeth religion after
 he had banquished the Sax-
 ons, 81, a 60. Imbarrelled a-
 gainst the Saxons, 80, b 10.
 Able victories against Sax-
 ons, 80, b 10. Disloosed by his
 mother in law Konig, 80, b 40
 Vortiporus king of Britains,

his exploits, a Eydas excla-
 mations against him, 95, b 60
 Vow of chastitie inuolablie kept
 125, a 50. Of Ceadwalla if he
 might get a conquer the Ile of
 Wight, 124, b 50. Of Ethel-
 wulf wherof the pope absol-
 ued him, 140, a 30. That Marie
 made, if he might haue victorie,
 performed, 118, a 40, 60
 Vsurie by the Romans enforced
 upon the Britons, 42, b 10
 Vter whp surnamed Pendragon
 87, b 10. Made R. of Britaine,
 87, b 10. Encountereth Hef-
 centius and his ends a killeth
 them, 85, a 10. Fallth in loue
 with ladie Igwarne another
 mans wife, 88, a 10. Gorth into
 Ireland, and incountreth Gal-
 lomannus, 84, b 60. His decreafe,
 88, b 10. *¶* See Aurelius Im-
 brose, 77, a 40
 Vtred deliuered pledges vnto
 Enute and put to death not-
 withstanding, 174, b 60
 Vulfra son of Edwin, 111, a 50
 Vulfhere king of Mercies his
 acts a deeds, 119, a 10. A great
 furtherer of religion, he dieth,
 121, a 10
 W.

W. De a duke conspirator of
 Ethelberts dech, 137, a 10
 Walbrooke in London whie so
 called, 57, a 10
 Walchere bishop of London, 122,
 a 60
 Wales destroyed and harried by
 the Englishmen, 193, b 10
 Wallus brooke. *¶* See Walbrooke.
 warre is to be begun with pae-
 ce: example, 111, b 60
 Warre a famine signified, 137, a 60
 Wars ciuill sitte peares in Bri-
 taine, 15, a 10. Among the Bri-
 tains, 97, b 60. Decayed the
 force of the Britains, 71, a 10.
 Betwene the British kings,
 98, b 40. Betwixt R. Cuthred
 and one of his earls, 131, a 20.
 In Edwicks time, 126, a 10. Be-
 twene Ethelard and Alfwald,
 129, a 10. Betwene Haged a
 Constantine for succession to
 the crowne, 94, a 50. Among
 the Englishmen, 137, a 20. Be-
 twene the kings of Northum-
 berland, 115, a 60. By a wo-
 mans meanes, 40, b 40. Ceased
 betwene the Britains and
 Romans by queene Grimsles
 meanes, 36, b 50
 Warwicksheire wasted by the
 Danes, 174, b 30
 Wasall what it signifies, 79, a 60
 Watchword of treason. Nempt
 your sexes, 81, b 50
 Watlingstreet. *¶* See Highways.
 Wednesday whp so named, 79, a 10
 Wighis. *¶* See Wreathes.
 Wellowin, where great slaugh-
 ter of Danes did begin 168, a 40
 Welshmen obtained viatoie a-
 gainst the Englishmen, 192, b
 20. Rising in armes, were al-
 waies subdued, 188, a 40.
 wherby they toke their nanc,
 126, b 40. Preuent a slander,
 188, b 60. Their kings in the
 daies of Edgar, 159, b 30. Fone
 with the Danes a are banqui-
 sh, 139, a 40. Rebel against
 Edgar and are subdued, 161, a
 40. Good seruice against the
 Romans, 27, b 10. Are the berie
 Britons in dech, 90, a 50. Agree
 to paye their accustomed tribut
 to England, 193, b 10. Quer-
 thyowne in battell, 131, a 20

weretredas bishop of wycester,
 149, a 10
 weritians. *¶* See Churingers.
 Werlamchester, now saint Al-
 bous, 62, a 10
 Westmaria, now Westminster,
 47, a 50
 Westminster of whome first na-
 med, 47, a 50
 Westminster church built, 52, a 60
 Wy whom builded, vncertaine,
 102, b 10
 Westsaxons converted vnto the
 faith, 114, b 10. Their conquest
 of victories, 138, b 20. Their
 kings and of whom descended,
 55, a 50. They would not let
 their wiues be called queenes,
 136, a 20. Haue the whole ma-
 narchie of the land, 127, a 40.
 Their progenie ceased in Ed-
 ward the third, 197, b 50. Their
 kingdome vnder whome it be-
 gan, 87, a 40, 89, b 30. Subject
 to two, 124, b 10, 105, a 20. Kent
 a fter annexed to that king-
 dome, 139, b 30
 Wichsting king of Kent death la-
 uing illue three sons, 125, b 40
 Wife and pet a virgin, 125, a 50,
 154, b 20
 Wife forsaken: note, 79, a 60. Not
 to be forsaken without cause:
 note danger, 136, b 60. Faith-
 lesse and adulterous eximplifi-
 ed, 40, b 40. Loning to hir hus-
 band, 5, b 60. 133, b 30. Loned
 with detage, 79, b 50
 Wife of Berne a noble man rani-
 shed, bled much mischief, 144,
 b 20
 wines twentie and one had E-
 bzanke, 11, b 60
 Wighart a prest well seene in the
 scriptures, 119, b 60. Dieth of
 the pestilence, 120, a 10
 Wight Ile conquered by Ceas-
 walla, 124, b 50. Subdued to
 the Romans, 36, b 60. Conque-
 red by Vulfhere, 119, a 30. Re-
 ceiveth the faith, 124, b 60
 Wightam towne in Essex built,
 151, a 50
 Willeketell. *¶* See Willkull.
 Wilfrid the second archbishop of
 Canturburie, 129, a 50
 Wilfrid archbishop of yorke, 120,
 a 60. How far his iurisdiction
 extended, 121, a 30
 Wilfrid bishop of Northumbers,
 119, b 10
 Wilfrid by licence of king Ethel-
 walke preacheth the gospel to
 them of Shuller, 123, a 10.
 Taught the Southsaxons to
 catch fishes with nets, 123, a 50
 What part of the Ile of Wight
 king Ceadwalla gaue him, 124,
 b 50. Deposed for disobedience,
 122, a 50. Sanctified, 122, b 60.
 A long time in exile now re-
 stored, 125, b 50. A brack re-
 hearfall of him, 129, a 40
 Wilfrid a young damsell deuoured
 of king Edgar, 160, b 10
 William bishop of London bati-
 shed, 191, a 20
 William the poore bishop of Ro-
 chester, 122, b 50
 William duke of Normandie ar-
 der Edward the third going
 to take sea into England, 186,
 b 40. *¶* See Duke.
 Wolnot a Sussex gentleman an
 enemy to king Egred, 169,
 b 10
 Wilton spoiled by the Danes,
 168, b 60
 Winchester called Caerwent, 12,
 b 30. Destroyed by the Danes,
 144, b 10. The church where

the bishops see of all that pro-
 uince was then placed, by whi-
 builded, 121, b 60, 122, a 10
 Winings a kind of strange people
 line at Fulham, 147, a 50
 Winn blustering that ouertrow
 cities, 155, a 60
 Wine forbidden maids a at
 last granted, 133, a 10
 Wini bishop admitted by king
 Chennuald a expelled againe,
 115, b 60
 Winnebret a traitorous murder-
 rer of his lord and master, 133,
 b 20
 Wiperts field in Kent and when
 fought, 86, b 30
 Withred king of Kent after le-
 auen peares vacancie, 126, a 10
 Woden an ancient prince of the
 Saxon kings pedigree, 78, b
 60, 79, a 10. Was three sonnes,
 what kings of Britaine des-
 cended of them, 95, a 50
 Wolchere archbishop of Noth-
 thumbers, 150, a 10
 Wolstan archbishop of yorke,
 156, a 10. Imprisoned by king
 Edred, 158, a 60
 Woman not without a mischief-
 ous practice, 80, b 40. Wicked
 counsell, 133, b 10. Good coun-
 sell, 104, b 50. Persuasion wip-
 keth much, 159, a 20. Cause to
 make hir husband forsake the
 world, 128, a 10. Government
 ouer the Westsaxons, 122, a 10.
 Committed, 139, b 60. Wildome
 praiseworthy, 179, b 30
 Women in a strange manner of ha-
 bit and attire, 41, b 40. Wase
 rule in Britaine, 11, b 30, 13,
 50. Restrained of their great
 and supreme titles, 136, a 20.
 They as well as men admit-
 ted to publike gouernment a-
 mong the Britains, 42, b 60.
 Their rule disdained, 40, b 60
 Women with child taught a les-
 son of continence by Eufleda,
 148, a 60. To be baptised and
 purified: note, 101, b 40. What
 parentes should do when they
 haue a child brought into the
 world, 167, b 60, 108, a 10
 wonder of cresses that fell from
 heauen signifying affliction,
 135, b 50
 Wonders strange seeme impert an
 alteration of the state, 196, b 10
 and prophetically, 42, b 30
 Woods cut downe in Anglesie
 by Suetonius, 40, b 50
 Words faire make soles false to
 their smart, 132, a 10. Not
 lightlie to be trusted, 136, b 50.
 Wred displeasure, 161, b 50.
 All taken and bled hatred:
 note, 40, a 10. Wred wounds
 and slaughter, 30, b 30. The
 price of life: note, 155, b 20
 Wrething an ancient exercise, 10,
 b 40
 Y.
 Yarmouth. *¶* See Cerdic-
 shore.
 Yorke called Caerbranke and by
 whom builded and named, 12,
 a 10. Besieged by Arthur, 90,
 b 30. Burnt by the Danes,
 143, a 30
 Yorkehiremen rebell and the au-
 thors punished by Offorins
 Scapula, 37, b 60
 Z.
 Zeale of Edwin in preferring
 religion, 110, a 10. Of De-
 wald to aduance the same, 114,
 a 50



The third table for the description, historie,
and chronicles of Ireland: gathered by Iohn
Hooker alias Vowell, gentleman.

The first number noteth the page, the
second the line.

- A.
- A**bertieffe. 4,6
Abbot of Bangor. 54,6
Adam of Hereford abbot
of the English fleet, discom-
meth and spoileth the Irish
fleet. 33,10
Adelike castle taken. 62,22
Adrian the pope confirmeth the
privileges of the church and
realme of Ireland. 35,17
Adulterie cause of warres. 140
Affliction maketh men religi-
ous. 53,54
Ailane Touch lord iustice slaine
by the earle of Surrie lord
Fitzwarren. 62,55
Ailen archbishop of Dublin
enemie to the Geraldines, was
murdered. 92,1
Ailen sir John knight, enemie to
the erle of Midare. 88,67
Ailen doctor acquainted with
James Fitzmorris. 154,23
Ailene with him in conspi-
racie, ibi. He arriveth into
Ireland, ib. 44. He causeth
the popes banner to be dis-
played. 159,5. He incourageth
the traitors, ib. 30. He is slain,
ib. 28,46
Alma daughter to erle Strang-
bowe, married unto William
Fitzgerald. 35,74
Alan Walter. 41,40. Sherifff
of Wexford, ib. 43. Corrupt
and covetous, ib. 46. A secret
enemie to Desmond, ib. 58.
Amerebuke Fitzstephens some
45,54
Ambition breedeth dissention.
49,70
Ambition cause of bloudshed.
49,70
Anragh: Cow late quoth Bois
75,66
Articles concluded at the synod
of Cashill. 23,45
Articles for government. 111,3
Ardescoll towne burned. 63,41
Arthur mac Whorrough discom-
fited by the earle of Desmond.
77,1
Arthur king of England receiv-
eth homage at Westchester
for the realme of Ireland. 49,
60,36,10
Arundell of the Strand his re-
venues one thousand five hun-
dred pound. 75,22
Arnold sir Nicholas lord iustice,
110,28
Articles for marshall law. 166,6
Archbishops appointed in Ire-
land. 31,20,59,10
Archbishops and their suffra-
gans. 31,1
Armagh enemie to rats. 31,40
Archbishop of Ardmagh the
lest primat of all Ireland. o
Archbishop of Cashill like to be
killed. 118,50
Ahton sir Richard lord iustice,
73,5
Aketen the earle of Desmond's
house. 160,10. Is besieged,
161,30. The warders fore-
take the castle, and by a traime
set it on fire, ib. 57. It is ta-
ken and made a ward, ib. 66.
Capitaine Barklie late in gar-
rison there. 172,25
Assurance given for totaltie by
the lords of Ireland. 76,60
Athelon castle burned. 66,15
Athelon byrge burned. 152,71
Augustus the emperor. 2,30
Ailmer lord iustice of the com-
mon pleas. 100,34. Made
cheefe iustice of the Kings
bench, ib. 41. He is discom-
mended to the king, ib. 50.
The king hath speches with
him and liketh him well, ib.
60. He is the cause whyle the
lands of all nobles absenting
out of that land are given to
the king. 101,10
Aire of Ireland. 13,12
Agard Francis sent to James
Fitzmorris with his par. on.
153,57. His death. 166,21
Appelleie a capitaine distrusteth
himselfe. 157,3. He withdraw-
eth the earle of Desmond,
ib. 10
- B.
- B**agnoll sir Nicholas com-
plained against by Walting-
gasse, he beareth the sword,
149,60. A bill is exhibited
against him. 150,1. The mat-
ter is examined, ib. 5. He is in
the hosting with sir William
Dunne. 157,30
Bainmore in Leinster burned.
64,13
Baliol king of Scotland dwelt
homage for his earldome in
Ireland. 63,60
Ballinglas. 4. See Boer.
Balkam lord of Enfort his re-
venues on thousand and three
hundred pounds. 75,15
Balle marrye, castle taken. 131,
37
Banne and Bogabunne. 10,5
30,3,67,31
Bannethe river. 37,60
Bannet. 39,30
Banger abbeie. 54,60
Barnabie Fitzpatrick baron of
Upperkerrie slayeth Bozie
Og and killeth him. 149,20.
He and the earle of Desmond
are reconciled. 162,40
Barnacles. 18,30. For fish
not fish. 19,40
Barnwell baron of Trimel-
ston. 38,65. He delivereth the
kings sword to the deputie.
95,10
Barnwells first arrivall into
Ireland. 38,65
Barnwell of Beere haven his
revenues one thousand five
hundred pounds. 75
Barnwell sir Christopher, a
wise and a learned knight. 38,
23. He excepteth against the
Englishmen to be burgesses.
120,20. Offended with the
speech of an English gentle-
man in the parlement. 121,57.
Is commanded to silence.
ib. 65
Barie Robert his ballantness.
5,51,53,56,11,41
Barie Philip nephew to Fitz-
stephens. 45,44. Brother to
Gerald Cambrynsis. ib. 50.
His issue remaineth in Ire-
land. 46,36
Barrie the vicount. 37,43
Barrie David lord iustice sa-
ved Moys Fitzmorris. 60,7
He burneth his owne house.
171,68. He is set upon by cap-
taine Raleigh. 173,30
Barie Og sweareth fealtie. 131,
55
Barrow river. 46,58
Bartholomew inhabiteth Ire-
land. 47,12
Barod lord of the gard his re-
venues one thousand and one
hundred pounds. 75,26
Bath of Mullerstowne execu-
cuted. 94,12
Baldia earle Strangbours
daughter married to Ri-
mond. 34,70. His dreame.
40,40
Barkleie Edward arriveth in-
to Ireland. 172,26. He lieth
in Aketen. ib. 31
Battel at Ardmagh against
the Scots. 68,70. At knock-
tow. 79,55. Against the gi-
ants. 43,30
Bess how the he ingendred. 19,
24
Benefit of god government.
111,13
Bellingham sir Edward, lord
deputie. 109,12. He keepeth a
mint. ib. 12. His carefulnesse
for his government. ib. 23.
His readinesse to serve. ib. 34.
He killeth a foxt at Leigh-
lin. ib. 44. He taketh the earle
of Desmond's napping. ib. 1. ca-
rieth him to Dublin, and cau-
seth him to be murdered and
instructed. ib. 9. The earle al-
waies prayed for him. ib. 25.
*.
- He was never chargeable to
anie subject, ib. 30. His by-
rightnesse and sincerite. ib. 48.
Was verie well beloved. 110,
2. Is revoked. ib. 12.
Belinus his sonne claimed Ire-
land by descent. 49,20
Bingham sir Richard cheefe
commissioner of Connagh
his great victorie upon the
Scots. 182,15
Bingham buried. 17,13
Bignozke archbishop of Du-
blin. 69,25. He doth erect an
universitie in Dublin. ib. 28.
He keepeth termes and com-
mentments. ib. 34
Birmingham sir Walter slue
six hundred men. 73,68.
Birmingham John generall of
the field against the Scots.
68,48. He vanquisheth them,
and killeth Edward Wuse.
63,9. Made baron of Ath-
erie, and created erle of South,
16,10. Is made lord iustice,
ib. 55. Is slaine. 70,30
Birmingham William a scourge
to the Scots. 65,13. He was
hanged. 70,10
Birmingham Richard over-
throweth the Irish in Con-
nagh. 68,28
Birmingham Moller Aleith
Cathell Chamber. 74,17
Bishops and bishops in Ire-
land. 31,1,59,15
Bishops married were onlie
made archbishops. 55,4
Bishops of Limerike commit-
ted to ward. 166,44
Bogh or Bogh what it sig-
nifieth. 13,30
Borgh or Bourke earle of
Clanricard. 37,25. warres
betweene him and Mac Wil-
liam Caghiter. 112,61,118,
46. Submitteth himselfe to
sir Edward Fitzon lord pre-
sident. 131,63. His sonnes
rebell and wage Scots. 135,
45. He is prisoner in the ca-
stell of Dublin. ib. 50. He pro-
miseth upon enlargement to
reclaime his sonnes. ibid. 55.
He performeth nothing. ib. 63
His sons spoile all Connagh,
140,15. They breake out a-
gaine into rebellion. 141,14.
The erle consenteth thereunto.
ib. 18. They slue. 142,26.
He is committed to close pris-
on in the castell of Dublin.
ib. 35. They rebell againe and
doe retaine Scots. 142,6.
They besiege Balle Bogh.
ib. 13. They present not. ib.
12
Borgh Richard earle of Ath-
ler besiegeth Athlone, in
which

The third table for the

Which is Theobald Vernon, 63, 51. Is taken prisoner, 63, 35. Is distressed of his lands in Connagh, ib. 49. Is discharged, ib. He entreateth into to Scotland, 64, 58.
Burke lord William lue de kelle and lue thousand Irishmen, 79, 25. He is lord deputy, 65, 32. Heers Gaueston is recommended unto him, ib. Is taken prisoner, 63, 35. He lue he hundred Irishmen, 67, 25.
Burke sir William and his lons do follow James Fitzymonis for a pzeie, 156, 72. They encounter with him, and kill him, 157, 38. Theobald is slain, ibid. 37. Sir William is made baron of Connell: hath an yearlie pension of one hundred marks, 158, 3. Foundeth for iole, ib. 6.
Burcher George is in commission with sir John Perot for Mounster, 134, 60. His parentage, ib. His valiantnesse and good service, ib. 20. Is arrested againe, ib. He arriveth into Ireland with a supplie of Denonshire souldiers, 158, 8. He is dubbed knight, ib. 11. He is sent to lie in garrison in Kilkallene, 159, 17. He is assigned to serve under the earle of Desmond, 164, 18. He maketh a rode into Connell, ib. 68. Is colonell of Mounster, 165, 55. His service upon Delmon, 163, 23. A mutinie among the souldiers, 168, 43.
Bonnelle lord John is slain at Athie, 69. Is buried at Athie, ib.
Bourat castle destroyed in Desmond, 70, 30.
Bosse servant to the earle of Kildare his pzeie request, 83, 28. His danger: Intragh, to late good boye, 95, 70.
Bonagh a wicked Irish impostition, 78, 56.
Burke lord William brings eth sir Walter de la Hays and his wife to Dublin, 96, 10.
Brendon the abbat, 54, 72.
Bren Obyen in Mounster discomfited, 70, 38.
Brennus king of Brittain called unto Ireland, 49, 10.
Brenham the name of the chiefe Irish lawiers, 45, 14. What matters he doth determine, ib. 20. The Hyehans law given over.
Breton sir William arriveth at the South in Ireland with 250 souldiers, 94, 72. He summoneth the castles of Mahonh 95, 25. He scaeth and entereth the castle and serveth by the kings standard, ibid. 3. He is made custos and keeper of Dublin, 96, 27. He is made lord justice, 102, 10. He tunadeth Denonhous countie and discomfitheth the Irish rebels, ib. 20. He cometh them to submission and to put in pledge, ib. He is made lord marshall of Ireland, ib. 35. He is sent to fetch in the earle of Desmond, ib. 33. He die by the waie and was buried at Rathcraige, ib. 40. He is killed with Fitzgibbon, 96, 55.
Brethzen at disfection, 45, 68.
Brian sir Francis lord justice, 110, 14. He marryeth the countesse of Desmond, ib. 22. He died and was buried in Waterford, ib. 110, 26.
Brian mac Cahil Cavanagh breaketh out in wars against Wexford men, 134, 40. They

follow & pursue him, ib. 40. He submitteth himself, 135, 2. His parentage, ib. 10. He marryeth the daughter of Hewen mac Scham, ib. 24. His strength and power, ib. He is a follower to sir Peter Carew, ib. 27. He was a wise man, ib. He died, ib. 35.
Britaine inhabited with the Brits, 50, 40. It is halfe bigger than Ireland, 9, 24.
Britons when they first inhabited Ireland, 49, 10.
Britaine erle of Richmond and lord warden of Scotland commanded to suppress the templers, 64, 4.
Bride of Witged base daughter to Dubtactus, 54, 16. She is delivered to a Detor, a magician to be trained by, ib. 20. Is instructed in christian religion by Patrike, ib. 25. His great judgement and estimation, ib. 28. His answer to the king, ib. 50. She professeth virginittie, ib. 53. She died and was buried at Down, ib. 58. The concordance of the four evangelistes found amongst his monuments, ib. 60.
Broughton sir Thomas considered with Parkin, 79, 55.
Bruce Edward brother to the king of Scots invaded Ireland, 66, 56. Proclaimeth himself king, burneth Dumbake, ib. 68. Spoileth the countie, ib. Discomfitheth the English men, ib. He and his companie banquished and slaine, 68, 72.
Bruce Robert king of Scots landed in Ireland to aid his brother, 67, 3. He giveth Craig fergus, ib. 10.
Burkens of Kilkennet and spoile the countie, 74, 37. They are discomfited, ib. 42.
Burnell of Balgriffen considered with Kildare, 96, 1. Fleeth into Mounster, ib. Is taken prisoner by the viscount Charles, ib. Is sent into England and executed at Tiburne, ib. 4.
Burnell Henrie a student at the lawes, 154, 57. A counsellour and agent against the earle, ib. Passeth over into England unto the court, ib. 64. Is sent to the fleet, 146, 6. Remoued to the tower, 147, 20. Submitteth himself, ib. 40.
Butler sir Edmund dubbed knight, 37, 48. Made lord justice, 66, 20. He dubbed 30 knights, ib. 50, 37, 50. Discomfitheth the Irish at Crieslebermon, 68, 24. He died, ib. 37.
Butler sir Edmund breaketh out into rebellion, 118, 20. He misletheth the English burgesses, 120, 10. Great complaints against him, 129, 68. Refuseth to come before the commissioners, 130, 1. His castle of Cloghirnam taken, ib. 27. He take out from thence, ibid. Submitteth himself, 131, 11. He accuseth the lord deputy of hard dealing, ib. 23. Committed to the castle of Dublin, ib. 36. Is committed againe, ib. 36. Pardoned, ib. 36.
Butler James lord justice, 37, 70. Dubbed knight, 73. He married the earle of Herfordes daughter, ib. Is earle of Cypozaria, ib. He begeth the earle of Desmond, 71, 21. Created erle of Desmond, 37, 1. He is lord justice, 72, 15, 74, 51. Died, ib. 70.
Butler James earle of D-

mond, lord lieutenant, 76, 51. He summoneth a parliament at Dublin, ib. 77. In his government, the summe staid his course three houres, ib. 72. His notable services in taming and banquishing the Irish, ib. 72, 77, 11, 17, 77, 29. He kept by negotiation sundrie parliamentes, 77, 27. His sonne and his boy, 77, 44. Lieutenant to king Henrie the first, 77, 37, 48, 57. Godfather to George duke of Clarence, 77, 63.
Butler James earle of Desmond his contention with the earle of Kildare, 82, 18. He re-lieth to the house of Lancaster, ib. 28. He is a deepe reaching man, ib. 37. He marcheth to Dublin with a puissant army, ib. 44. He pzeith to purge himself, ib. 6. The citizens of Dublin fall at large with him, ib. 25. He is in danger to be killed, ib. 29. He is rescued by the erle of Kildare, ib. 40. They are reconciled, ib. 50. The description of him, ib. 83, 12.
Butler James earle of Desmond marryeth the ladie Margaret Fitzgerald sister to the earle of Kildare, 83, 70. His barbare brother James intrudeth by on the erldoms of Desmond, ib. He gave charge upon his brother & killeth him, 84, 20. Was lord deputy, ib. 41. The sword taken from him, ib. 72. He was founder of a free school in Kilkennet, 23, 28.
Butler lord James, lord treasurer, 87, 47.
Butler Thomas pzeior of Kilkennet serveth king Henrie the first in France, 76, 42.
Butler Thomas earle of Desmond his troubles with the earle of Desmond, 114, 47. His countie spoiled, 130, 50. Submitteth himself to the queenes order, 114, 60. His affection to his byethzen, 130, 56. He offereth to serve against them, ib. 7. He arriveth at Waterford, 131, 22. He repareth to the lord deputy at Limericke and offereth his service, ibid. 10. He pzeith and pzeitheth his brother sir Edmund unto him, ib. He undertaketh for him and for his appearance at Dublin, ib. 15. His grave behaviour in place of counsell, ib. He serveth upon the earle of Desmond and driveth him out of the lands, 133, 50. He was governour of Mounster, 162, 6. He hath the outgoings of the pong lord Gerald fowle to the earle of Desmond, ib. He and the baron of Hyper Dillone are reconciled, 163, 24. He is sent to the earle of Desmond to persuade him to submission, 163, 3. He submitteth to the proclamation against the earle of Desmond, 164, 7. He maketh a tourne into Connell, 164, 70. He meeteth with the major of Youghall, ib. 34. He carrieth him to Youghall and hangeth him before his owne doore, ib. 40. He causeth the towne to be inhabited and new peopled, ib. 52. He besiegeth the castle of Strangallie, ib. 64. He taketh their castle & putteth a ward in it, 165, 6. His service under the lord justice, 116. He receiveth the submission of Fitzmoyses baron of Lismaw, 167, 20. He is at

the siege and taking of the castle of Carghlie, 167, 30. He returneth home to Kilkennet, 167, 72.
Butler lord Thomas is slaine by Cogaghodon, 70, 57.
Butler Theobald, lord Butler fled out of Dublin, 63, 33. Died, ib. He founded the abbe of Wetherham, 61, 64.
Calrops call upon the ground to annote the Danes, 57, 60.
Canute what it is, 4, 10, 42, 10.
Canute alias Knought the Dane is slaine, 57, 37.
Canon Robert secretarie to sir William Sherington an enemy to Kildare, 89, 2.
Canon Richard the kings lue, 68, 4.
Canon sir James and Canon sir John slaine, 68, 55.
Canon sir David beheaded Harcod Ballough, 64, 38.
Carew baron of Carew lord justice, 72, 10.
Carew marquesse of Cork, his revenues in Ireland two thousand two hundred pounds, 75, 8.
Carew sir Peter lord of Devon 46, 30. Sueth for a licence to recover his lands in Ireland, 118, 16. He recovereth so much as he had in lute, 118, 18. He serveth in the Butlers wars, 130, 20. He was in danger to have bin murdered, ib. 30. He giveth a hot charge upon the enemy and hath the victorie, ib. 60. His service in Ulster, 138, 68. His service in the Butlers wars, 138, 45. His parentage, 137, 62. His title to great dignities in Mounster, 138, 70, 46, 4. His manie and most excellent vertues and qualitties, 137, 6. A short discourse of his life, 137, 60. He died at Woffe and was buried at Waterford, 137, 56.
Carew sir Peter the younger, his being in Ireland, 137, 38. Is placed in Leighton, 138, 40. He arriveth at Waterford with a band of Denon souldiers, 158, 55. Is dubbed knight, ib. 10. He receiveth the lord justice at Waterford, 166, 46. Is slaine, 170, 10.
Carew George his being in Ireland, 137, 38. His service against Koye Dye, 148, 50. His arrivall at Waterford with a band of Denon souldiers, 158, 55. His service against sir John of Desmond, 159, 60. He lieth in garrison at Wex, 161, 62. Is besieged there, ib. 60. Is set on by the Desmonds and Spaniards, 162, 30. He receiveth sir William Delham, lord justice at Waterford, 166, 46. He taketh the view of Carghlie, 167, 30. He besiegeth and taketh the castle of Balle Lougham, 167, 40.
Cardinals sent to king Henrie the second, 24, 38.
Caranus maketh peace betwixen the Scots and the Picts, 52, 23.
Caraticus king of Brittain hated of his people, 55, 40.
Carke, 11, 47.
Catherlow alias Carlow or Clavill, 47, 8. By whom it was builded, ib. 48, 28, 27, 37.
Catalog of Irish lawiers, 54, 5.
Of learned men, 39, 50. Of noblemen, 33, 10. Of bishops, 31, 10. Of the bishops of Kildare, 33, 60.
Cathallan archbishopricke, 0.
Chawcocke

Chawcocke is bishop of Cnanus made bishop Cesar neederly into Cesse denued Christian
Christes church, 63, 6. restored, ib. by the D
Churches in Spelled, Cetus mona
Cities first b
Chepsob, Cullie in
Claricard, Cogan Whil
Cathallan faulteth I
it, 15, 3. V
the citie, ib
ged there, ibid. 65. I
cutter of the
is made l
mic and c
44, 73. H
stephans of C
the first cr
ibid, 6. H
Cogan Whil
Cogan R
Whiles, h
hallanc
meth to l
paine to l
place,
Clowne det
Colomat,
Claricard,
Clare Tho
daughter
mois, 62
roth king
51, Hc di
Colier capt
the Butle
at cattle
Clare sir R
the earle
66, 4. H
galloway
ucth hold
legiance, 6
arme aga
10 He w
Cloutars sic
Comin arch
founder o
church, 61
made to k
cond that
Combate, 76
two one
Counties o
Comtelle of
Combinator
Commission
the mact
erles of
dare,
Colton Jol
Ardmagh
Colme king
Contention b
bishops of
him, 65, 70
burgesses,
Con Oncl
before the
Created e
20, He kept
Kellere a
had no rig
but for his
Conereth a
land,
Connawaie su

description and chronicles of Ireland.

Carrooke lord charcellor made
bishop of Armagh, 64.25
Cenanus of a warrior was
made bishop, 54.70
Cefara niece unto Moah arri-
ueth into Ireland, 47.20
Ceffe denied & trauesed, 144.10
Chriftian bishop of Lifemore,
59.30
Chriftes church in Dublin bur-
ned, 63.6. New redified and
restored, ibid. First builded
by the Danes, ibid.10
Churches first builded, 53.60.
Spoiled, 140.54
Cirus monarch of Persia, 18.5
Cities first builded, 58.53
Chepstow, 4.60
Cianluc in Ireland, 10.60
Cianricard, ¶ See Bourgh.
Cogan Mho with others at-
taulteth Dublin and taketh
it, 15.3. Hath the custodie of
the cite, ibid.20. He is be-
sieged therein by Haulculphus,
ibid.65. He taketh him and
cutteth off his head, ib.34. He
is made lieutenant of the ar-
mie and constable of Dublin,
44.73. He and Robert Fitz-
stephens haue the kingdome
of Cozke giuen to them, ib.60.
He first entereth into Conagh,
ibid.6. He is laine, 45.4
Cogan Mho is taken prisoner,
62.24
Cogan Richard brother to
Mholes, his good seruice and
bailantnesse, 16.4. He com-
meth to Cozke with a com-
panie to supplie his brothers
place, 45.40
Clowne deriued of the word
Colon, 10.50
Clanricard, ¶ See Bourgh.
Clare Thomas married the
daughter of Mhois Fitz-
mois, 62.43. He slue Mhois
roth king of Thomond, ibid.
41. He died, 63.47
Colier capteine his seruice in
the Butlers war, his seruice
at castle Dooagh, 142.41
Clare sir Richard discomfitteth
the earle of Ulsters power,
66.4. He slue sir hundred
gallowglasses, ibid.9. Gi-
ueth hostages to assure his al-
legiance, 66.60. He leueth an
arme against the Scots, 68.
10. He was laine, 68.33
Cloutars field by Kilmahinane,
59.75
Comin archbishop of Dublin,
founder of saint Patrikes
church, 61.47.22.20. Sute
made to king Henrie the se-
cond that he should be bishop,
ibid.25
Combate, 76.55.60.45. Be-
twene two Donchys, 180.70
Counties of shires in Ireland,
0
Countesse of Ulster, 71.75
Combination of traitors, 134.
74
Commissioners for examining
the matters betwene the
earles of Ossioe and Kil-
dare, 84.70
Colton John archbishop of
Ardmagh, 44.5
Coline king of Leinster, 54.20
Contention betwene the arch-
bishops of Ardmagh & Du-
blin, 65.70. Contentation about
burgesses, 120.10
Con Oncle beareth the sword
before the lord deputie, 84.74.
Created earle of Ciron, 112.
20. He kept Alton the wife of
Kellene a smith, 113.10. He
had no right to the countrie
but for his life, ib.37
Conereth a sauage people in Ire-
land, 54.73
Connewaie sir John lord pre-

sident of Ulster, 54.11
Concordance of the four e-
uangelists found among 54.60
Hides monuments, 54.60
Conhor Obzen name, 62.12
Constable John sent for Lacie,
47.67
Connell holden at Ardmagh,
15.12. At Cashill, 23.10. At
Waterford, 35.30. At Lath-
ran, 48.13. At Grenocke, 62.
58. At Dublin, 44.50
Conquest implicth threethings,
11.20
Countesse of Ulster married to
Kafe Mfoz lord iustice, 71.
68. She perswadeth hir hus-
band to extremitie, ibid.70
Cope Allan his wrong iudge-
ment, 14.40
Cozke cite the fourth cite of
Ireland, 35.14. An ancient
cite builded by the Eskerlings
21.71.34.60. The gouerne-
ment of it, 22.12. It is euill
neighbourd, 25.17.75.71.
They march in mariage a-
mong themselves, ibid.8. The
kingdome of Cozke giuen to
Fitzstephan and Cogan, 44.
60. The boundes of the coun-
trie, 45.68. They receiue the
lord deputie with all honour,
140.31. The Cozkemen and
their prince discomfited and
their countrie preied, 33.25
Cozbie neuer christened, 74.18
Cozmake Dlegham riseth a-
gainst his father to expell him
out of his kingdome, 40.2. He
is subdued, ibid.15. He is be-
headed, ibid.24
Cozmake mac Dermont mac
Kioie pursueth Odonell, 62.
40. He banquisheth him, ib.45
Cozmake mac Tieg knight,
thiriffe of Cozke, 168.37. His
seruice vpon sir James Del-
mond, ibid. He taketh him pri-
soner, ibid.70. He is well ac-
cepted of the queene and of the
lord iustice, ibid.10. He is a
pounger house vnto mac Artie
Righe, ibid. He is fidelitic and
loialtie, ibid.33. He is dubbed
knight, ib.48. He offereth to
acknowledge sir Peter Can-
rew to be his lord, 138.28
Cow the name of a ship, 97.47.
The prophesie of the Cowes
bellie, ibid.51
Coweie Robert an aduersarie
to the earle of Kildare, 89.7.
Bailiffe in Dublin, ib. He
ster of the rolles, ibid. Died at
London, ib.10
Coine and liuerie not to be
used, 23.6
Coiners in Connagh, 149.8
Cragfergus yelded vnto the
Scots, 67.10. It is inclosed
with a wall, 152.66
Christening not knowne nor
used in some places in Ireland,
140.48
Crome priuat of Ardmagh lord
chancelor, 87.48. His oza-
tion, 90.40. His grauitie, 89.
60
Crofts sir Hugh slaine by the
Lacies, 68.65.
Crofts sir James lord deputie,
110.37
Curcie John arriueth into
Ireland, 40.47.15. In com-
mission of lord iustice with
Fitzaldclime, 42.70. Inua-
deth Ulster, ib.25. Banqui-
sheth Odonell, 43.70. His
bailantnesse, ib.20. He mar-
rieth the king of Mpanus
daughter, ib.24. 61.51. The
description of him, 43.70.61.
30. Careles to serue God, ib.
65. He keepeth the whole
land in quiet, 60.47. His irre-
uerend speeches to the king,

60.6. Is accused and procle-
med traitor, 60.20. He foiled
the lord iustice at Downe, ib.
24. Is taken and committed
to perpetuall prison, ib.32. He
answereth the French com-
bat, ib.57. The French king
requesteth to see him, 61.10.
He is let at libertie, & dieth,
61. He left no lawfull issue, ib.
58.29
Curcie of Kilderton his reue-
nues, 72.17
Cusake Adam his seruice in
Connagh, 62.17
Cusake sir John serueth the
Scots, 68.52
Cusake sir Thomas lord iustice,
110.42.
D.
Darcie John lord iustice sent
into Ireland, 70.34. Re-
ceiued great humings of the
king, ib.44. He subdueth the
rebels in Ulster, ib.70. He
inuaedeth Scotland, 71.3. He
maketh a great slaughter vpon
the Irishie in Mounster,
70.40. He onely was the first
that ventured vpon the Scot-
tish isles, 71.1e. He is made
lord iustice for terme of his
life, 71.28. He causeth libe-
ties and franchises to be called
in, 71.33. He calleth a parlie-
ment for the same, ib.40
Darcie Robert lord iustice, 71.
62
Darian erle in Mounster, 53.
44. He fauored Patrike, and
gaue him a dwelling place,
called Bort, ib.46
Danes or Norwegians arriue
into Ireland, 55.30.42.
They inuaed it the second
time, 56.10. They made
sundry inuasions at sundrie
times, 57.7. They besiege
Dublin, 57.48. They winne
it, ib.57.55. They roue the
ocean seas for inlarging their
conquests, 58.67. They traf-
fike with the Irishie, 58.
40. They build towne and ca-
stles, ib.50. They are mingled
in blood with the Irish, ib.60.
They become lords, ib.67.
Danes Eskerlinges Norwe-
gians and Moxmans are all
one nation, 59.4
Dauids Henrie, a gentleman of
Deuon, 155.70. His training
vp in the wars, ib.3. His
comming into Ireland, ib.10.
He is sent to the earle of Del-
mond, 154.50. He doth per-
suade the earle to resist the
rebels, ib.60. His counsell is
refused, ib.70. He departeth
homewards from the earle,
he is murdered in his bed by
sir John and sir James Del-
mond the earls bretheren, 155.
50. His state and conditions,
ib.72. He is skill in the seruice
of that countrie, ib.13. His
loue to his countrie, 155.20.
His notable good vertues, ib.
The credit of his word, ib.
40. His credit with the erle of
Omond and with the But-
lers, ib.64. His fast friendship
to sir John of Delmond, ibid.
156.10.
Dela his sonne a Grecian con-
quered Ireland, 48.20
Dela Hinc sir walter troubled
for conspiracie, 96.10
Dela Hinc James a chiefe cos-
selloz to Thomas lord Fitz-
giralde, 89.31. Sent to Du-
blin to intreat for a submissi-
on, 94.37. Fled into Scot-
land and died, 97.10.
Dermont king of Cozke sub-
mitteth himself to king Hen-
rie.

rie the second, 21.38.
Dermont mac Brethe prince of
Delmond is ouerthrowen by
Reimond, 35.20. Is aided
& restored by Reimond, 40.12
Dermont mac Kioie inuaedeth
Ulster, 62.41
Dermont mac Brough king
of Leinster, ib.8. An opposelloz
of his people, ib.20. He accom-
panieth Omalaghins wife,
ib.40. He is hated, ib.6. He
seeketh to king Henrie the
second for aid, ib.35. He recei-
ueth allegiance to the king, ib.
40. Hath the kings letters of
protection, ib.43. The crymo-
logie of his name, 2.6. He
commeth to Wistow, 3.23.
His acquaintance and compo-
sition for a marriage with the
Strangbow earle of Chers-
low, ib.38. He returneth in-
to Ireland, 4.17. He com-
poundeth with Fitzstephans
and Fitzmois for their aid,
4.5. He is honorable recei-
ued at Fernes by the clergie,
ib.24. He is inmanitie and cru-
ell nature, 6.24. He is set vpon
by Rothorike of Conagh,
7.30. His stature and contin-
ons, 8.43. He inuaedeth Ossioe
6.53. He perswadeth, ib.16.
His oration to his souldiers,
9.20. He besiegeth and taketh
Dublin, 15.4. Is threatened
by Mhois king of Conagh,
15.30. He inuaedeth Mhois,
ib.20. He is reconciled with
Rothorike of Conagh, 10.30.
His eldest sonnes eies are put
out, 6.60. He dieth, 16.18.
Buried at Fernes, ibidcm.
Delmond the earle, ¶ See Gir-
ald Fitzgiralde.
Delmond sir John spoileth the
earle of Oymonds countres,
114.70. Is sent into Eng-
land, and offereth to serue a-
gainst Omeale, 116.8. Com-
mitted to the tower, 117.57.
Is committed to the castle of
Dublin, 117.57.144.60. He
putteth awaie his wife, ib.70.
He cometh with James
Fitzmois, 154.6. He mar-
threth Henrie Dauids, 155.
55. His brags and haunts for
the fat his slaughter, 156.50.
He is pardoned by the popes
legats for the same, 16.70. He
supplicth James Fitzmois
his rooine, 157.17. He incam-
peth at Shulougher, 158.2.
He lieth in ambush at Geter-
bze castle, ib.45. He priuile-
stealeth awaie at Connell,
158.68. He encountereth with
the lord gouernour, 159.68.
Hath the worst side and death,
ib.12. He giueth the battell to
the gouernour, 159.12.10. He
fleeth to the vicount Wal-
tinglasse for aid, 169.13. Is in
danger to be taken, ibid. He
intreateth a peace betwene
Barrie and the Seneshall,
175.57. He is killed and then
hanged, 175.3
Delmond sir James cometh in
the rebellion with James
Fitzmois, 154.6. He is one
of the murderers of Dauids,
155.55. He is pardoned by
the popes legats for the same,
ib.70. He fleeth the castle
at Bdare, 161.60. He fleeth
his siege and departeth, 162.4
Taketh a priue and is taken
prisoner, 168.60. Is drawen
hanged and quartered, 168.4
Delmond Girald Fitzgiralde
the earle of Delmonds sonne
is deliuered for a pledge, 158.
63
Delmond Girald earle of Del-
mond

The third table for the

thond his wars with the erle
of Dymond, 112. 40. 58. He
is in England, 114. 47. The
quarrels between him and the
erle of Dymond referred vnto
the quenes order, 116. 60. He
incampeth himselfe, 116. 40.
Repareth to the lord deputie,
ibid. 57. Serueth and offereth
to serue against Denele, 116. 2.
Is committed to the castell of
Dublin, 117. 57. Is carried
into England and sent to the
Cowze, 118. 5. Breaketh
prison at Dublin, 126. 45. He
submitteth himselfe and post-
deth all his to the lord deputie
140. 30. He will not permit
the lord president to interme-
dle within his liberties, 141.
70. Is set vpon by the lord
president, 142. Complained
to the lord deputie against him
142. 1. His disagreement with
the earle of Thomond, 144. 40.
Repineth against the cesse, ibi.
50. Cometh to the lord de-
putie to Kilkennie, 149. 50.
He and the lord president are
reconciled, ibid. 64. Discou-
ereth the treacherie of James
Fitzmorris, ibid. 2. He is per-
force made to submit himselfe
151. 10. Dischargeh his
workemen vpon the arriual
of James Fitzmorris, 154. 10.
He pretendeth to serue against
him, ibid. 8. Refuseth it, ibid.
70. His chiefe men turne to
James Fitzmorris, 156. 18.
Cometh to the lord iustice at
the campe, 157. 50. Is com-
mitted and submitteth him-
selfe, ibid. 60. His sonne is de-
liuered for a pledge, 158. 60.
The gouernor sendeth for
him, 159. 28. Dissembleth,
ibid. 34. 160. 20. He sheweth
himselfe an open rebel, ibid. 39
53. He is perswaded to pay
himselfe and will not, ibid. 52.
He fortifieth his castles, ibid.
63. Is sent for to come vnto
the lord iustice, 162. 50. The
articles demanded of him, 163
10. His treasons, ibid. 10. He
is proclaimed traitor, 164. 10.
He is in danger to be taken,
ibid. 6. Lieth in ambush, 165. 13.
His castles at Careggorie and
Alketten taken, 167. 10. Sup-
posed to be dead, 177. 70. Res-
peth his Chastlmas in a wood
178. 3. Is forsaken, 178. 58.
Is in danger, 179. 40. He is
slaine, 180. 30.
Deuereux earle of Essex his ho-
nor, vertues, and nobilitie, 143
20. 136. 30. His life & deht, 143
Dillon Lucas the quenes at-
turne sent to the parlement
house, 120. 56. Made baron of
the ercheke, 133. 63. Grant-
neth vicount Balinglasse of
complaints, 150. 5
Dirrie and all the bittelles and
munitions burned, 115. 48.
Dissention cause of confusion,
49. 58. 51. 6. 55. 57. 2. 7. 55. 8
Dissention betweene Kildare &
Dymond, 82. 24
Donat bishop of Dublin repa-
reth Chrys church in Du-
blin, 62. 10
Donat Dyren murdered by
his men, 66. 10
Donegan, Dowill taken priso-
ner at Limerike, 66. 35
Donald prince of Doria a mo-
tall entine to Dermot Mac
Morogh 6. 57. He putteth
out Mac Moroghs sonnes
etc, ibid. 60. He and his
countrie are pursued, ibid. 67.
They are ouerthrowen, ibid.
10. Submitteth himselfe, ibid.
29. He attendeth Keimond

at Limerike, 39. 66
Donald Dyren prince of Lime-
rike his reueling and rebelli-
on, 36. 70. He is crie and him-
selfe besieged, ibid. 45
Donald Ruffe king of Des-
mond slaine, 64. 10
Donald prince of Thomond be-
siegeth Limerike, 39. 43. He
desireth a parley, ibid. 57. He
submitteth himselfe, ibid. 67.
Is the kinga baron and sub-
iect, 40. 1. Giueth his oth and
hostages for the safe keeping
of Limerike, 40. 2. He most
traitorously setteth the cite
on fire, 40. 13
Dondonolfe the place of Kei-
monds arriual, 12. 30. 48
Dowdall shiriffe of Louth slaine
74. 36
Dowdall priuat of Ardingagh,
40. 52
Dowdall captaine arrieth vnto
Waterford, 158. 58. He is ap-
pointed to lie in garrison in
Kilmallocke, 159. 18. Maketh
a fornicatio into Conilo, 164. 70.
Attendeth the lord gouernor
to Cashill, 164. 34. Serueth
at the fort, 170. 27. Maketh
spiall vpon the Desmonds,
175. 41. He accompanieng
capitaine Touch toke and kil-
led sir John of Desmond, 175
30. Entereth into David
Barries campe and spoileth
his people, 176. 10. He assai-
leth and discomfitteth Fitz-
morris, 176. 70. Hath the
whol charge of Kerrie, 177.
22. Surpriseth the earle, 179,
10
Droone a cite, 43. 64. Spoiled,
102. 46
Drake John maior of Dublin
due foure thousand Irish
outlawes, 74. 24
Droghda of Drogheda, 25. 26.
They enter into Scotland
and spoile it, 74. 57
Dyames, 26. 60. 27. 33. 32. 22.
Of Basilia, 40. 40. Of Pa-
ris, 2. 12. Of Giffith, 26. 61
Dyunkennes, 16. 50
Dyurie sir William arrieth in-
to Ireland, 140. 72. Is lord
president of Hounster, 141. 40
His gouernment, ibid. 47.
The earle of Desmond repi-
neth at him, ibid. 71. Entereth
into Kerrie and executeth ius-
tice, 142. 30. The earle resis-
teth and complaineth of him:
ibid. 2. The earle and he are
reconciled, 149. 65. Is made
lord iustice, 150. 50. His go-
uernment, 153. 27. His tour-
nie into Hounster, 154. 44.
157. 20. His painefull ser-
uice against James Fitzmo-
ris, ibid. 5. Fallett sicke and di-
eth, 158. 57. 160. 72. His
vertues and conditions, 161. 1
His seruices at Willeine, at
the seas and in Devon, ib. Is
dubbed and made generall of
the armie for the seruice in
Scotland, ibid. 45. Taketh
Cendborough, ibid. 60
Dublin an ancient cite, 15. 50.
The name of it, 20. 44. Built
by Diuelanus, ibid. 68.
The situation of it, ibid. 8. In-
habited by Brittolians, 21. 57
The parish churches in it, 22.
20. The castle builded, 23. 30.
Besieged by Fridric king of
Denmarke, 57. 48. Ser on
fire, ibid. 58. Taken by the
Danes, 57. 33. 57. Besieged
by Knought the Dane, 58. 2.
Builded by Inuozus, ibid. 54.
Rebellet against Mac Mo-
rog, 14. 50. It is taken, 15. 16
Besieged by Hasculphus, 16.
40. It is kept, 19. 32. Earle

Strangbow paldeth it vnto
king Henrie the second, 20. 53
It is besieged by Doriake
king of Metch, 21. 42. It is
burned, 63. 4. Restored and
beaurified, 63. 10. Interdic-
ted by the pope, 83. 26. In an
hypocrite against the earle of
Dymond, 82. 44. They do pe-
nance, 83. 46. They are dis-
comfited, 62. 4. Besieged by
Thomas Fitzgiral, 92. 41.
They enter in league with
him, ibid. 20. They breake
league, 93. 40. It is besieged
by Thomas Fitzgiral, 93.
20. Intreateth for peace, 94.
41. Giueth his pledges, ibid.
30. They haue aid out of Eni-
gland, ibid. 45. Their bidge
fell, they haue a maior ap-
pointed to be their gouernor,
75. 46. They haue the sword
borne before the maior, ibid.
The king sendeth them his
letters of thanks, 93. 30. 95. 5.
They haue a mint, 109. 18.
The castell is repaired, 152. 60
They innade Dyrens coun-
trie, 73. 27. They innade
Scotland and Wales, 75. 65.
They discomfit Fitzgiral,
94. 10. Their children are ta-
ken prisoners, 93. 3. They
haue a mint, 109. 19
Dubtactus a capteine father to
saint Biziget, 54. 16
Duffe Adam an heretike bur-
ned, 69. 50
Dundalke taken and burned by
the Scots, 66. 68
Dunnes and Dunesses whie so
called, 9. 48

E.

EARTHQUAKE, 63. 2
Easterlings traffike mer-
chandise in Ireland, 58. 32
They build townes and ci-
ties, ibid. 50. What people
they are, ibid. 15. 50. The
Danes.
Edward the first king of that
name writeth his letters vn-
to the Irish lords for their
seruice into Scotland, 63. 70
Edward the second writeth his
letters into Ireland for aid a-
gainst the Scots, 69. 58. He
sendeth thither Dars Gane-
ston, 65. 32. Sendeth his
letters for the apprehending of
the Templers, 65. 68
Eleanore ladie Fitzgiral daugh-
ter to the earle of Kildare vi-
dow to Mac Cartie Keogh,
98. 2. Married to Dondell,
ibid. 20. She succoreth and
helpeth Girald hir nephue, 98.
22. Conueith him to France,
ibid. Giueth him one hun-
dred and foure portugies,
ibid. 28
Emulation hindereth ail good
seruices, 35. 30
Englishmen reuoked from out
of Ireland, 15. 50. Are made
bondmen vnto the Irishie,
15. 31. Are manumitted and
set at libertie, ibid. They ob-
taine a great victorie, 19. 30.
English lawes currant through
out Ireland, 181. 50. The no-
ble men submit themselves to
it, ibid. 70
English of blood and English
of birth, 71. 35
English pale how far it stretch-
eth, 10. 30. They repine a-
gainst the cesse, 144. 4. True
to the crowne, 147. 37. They
milike English burgesses,
120. 10. In great prosperitie,
Epistle.
Erie of Kildare when he was
first created, 37. 10. Serueth

honorable at Calis, 71. 74
Eustace sir Rowland treasurer,
lord chancelor and lord depu-
tie, 79. 7. Founder of the ab-
bie besides Kilkollen, ibid.
Eustace sir Rowland vicount
Balinglasse is against the
cesse, 149. 53. 145. 48. Com-
plained against sir Nicholas
Bagnoll, ibid. 60. His com-
plaints be true, 150. 26
Ereter Richard lord iustice of
Ireland, 62. 18. Died, 63. 48.
Examples which be cull are
sone followed, 47. 43

F.

F. Aill destine vpon the goner-
nors of Ireland, 110. 56
Faires and marketes not to be
kept vpon holie daies, 25. 60
Faith not to be kept with tra-
itors, 93. 45
Feare must be tempered with
loue, 1. 27
Ferand William a valiant man,
12. 10
Ferns 4. 40. 20. Builded by
Madocke bishop thereof, 54.
12. Burned by the Irish, 70.
Fidelitt: of the English pale,
147. 50
Fingall the fertilest soile in Ire-
land, 10. 48. Whie so called, ibi.
53. Inhabited onlie by En-
glishmen, ibid. Their lan-
guage English, ibid. Spoiled
91. 65
Finglas Allan chiefe baron
toke the castell of Dublin,
91. 7
Fitton sir Edward president of
Connagh, 13. 161. His go-
uernment, 132. 17
Fitzalbine William sent into
Ireland, 40. 56. Lieutenant
to the king, ibid. Taketh all
the cities and townes into his
gouernment, ibid. 70. Enueth
at Keimond & Fitzstephans,
41. 8. Is graue and courteous
ibid. 20. His hard dealing
with Fitzmorris, ibid. 30. 35.
Taketh from Keimond his
possessions, ibid. 60. His de-
scription, 42. 27. Is a depe
dissembler, ibid. 34. He was
ancestoz vnto the Burks in
Kent, ibid. 57. Is sent for in-
to England, 44. 40.
Fitzgiral Bartholomew ser-
uant to the archbishop of Du-
blin, 92. 44. His seruices,
ibid. 48. 50
Fitzdunmads seneschall of Fe-
molelie, & see Seneschall.
Fitzgeffere sir John lord ius-
tice, 61. 53
Fitzgiral Girald of Kildare
lord iustice thre and thirtie
yeares, 82. 16. A dissention be-
tweene him and the earle of
Dymond, ibid. 26. He appoin-
teth a meeting at saint Pa-
tricks, ib. 30. They are recon-
ciled, ibid. 50. The descrip-
tion of him, 83. 15. He is accus-
ed to the king, ibid. Return-
neth from the king, lord depu-
tie, ib. His policies in war, ib.
He vanquisheth the Irishie,
ib. 15. Is made knight of the
garter, ibid. 18. He deceaseth,
ibid. 20
Fitzgiral Girald sonne to Gi-
rald of Kildare is lord depu-
tie of Ireland, 83. 53. He gi-
ueth his sister in marriage to
the earle of Doria, ib. 70. He
is accused and sent for into
England, 84. 30. Is sworne
lord deputie, ib. 74. He is ac-
cused for diuerse disorders,
85. 12. Is called before the
lords of the councill, ibid. 58.
The

description and chronicles of Ireland.

The cardinal is against him, ibid. He interupteth his speech, ibid. 48. He is banished, 86. 40. He is of new accused and committed to the Tower, ibid. 64. A mandatum to execute him, 87, 1. The king countermandeth, ibid. 15. He is deliuered out of troubles, ib. 24. He returneth home and is honourably received, ib. 28. He serueth upon the Wrooles, ib. 60. He made lord deputie, ib. 45. He serueth against Dearell and is hurt, 1. 68. He is a new accused, 88. 1. He is committed to the Tower, ib. 62. His aduersaries who they are, ib. 47. He died for thought, 97, 25. His conditions and qualities, 100, 36.

Fitzgiralde Girald earle of Kildare second sonne, aged, thirtene years, 1420, 97, 40. He is conuicted in France, 98, 34. He serueth the Dolphin, ib. 57. The king his ambassadours doe require him, ibid. 60. He cometh to the emperours court, ib. 36. The emperour giveth him a pension of a hundred crownes, ib. 47. Cardinal Wolseley sendeth for him to Rome, ib. 55. He is brought up in learning, 99, 3. He serueth against the Turke, ib. 20. He returneth rich and serueth under the duke of Mantua and Flegens, ib. 38. He falleth into a perillous pit and is recovered by means of a dog, ib. 60. Restored to his earldome, 97, 58. Suspected of conspiracie, 172, 64. Committed to ward, ib. 70. Sent to the Tower, ibid. 40. Died, ibid.

Fitzgiralde Girald earle of Desmond, his warres against Desmond, 112, 40. They submit themselves to the queenes order, 114, 60. He is in campe, 116, 40. Suspected to be conuined with Dele, ib. 56. He serueth against Dele, ib. 60. He is committed to the castle of Dublin and sent into England, 117, 58. He breaketh out of prison at Dublin, 136, 45. He cometh to Cozke to the lord deputie, 140, 40. He denieth the queenes officers to intermeddle within his palatine, 141, 70. He resisteth the lord president, 142, 38. He complaieth against the lord president, ib. 29. He is false out with the earle of Desmond, 144, 40. Denieth to paye cesse, ib. 50. He cometh to Kilkennie and is reconciled to the lord president, 149, 48, 65. He denieth James Fitzmorris his practises, ib. 2. He pretendeth to serue against him, ib. 20. He refuseth to doe it, ib. 70. His chiefe men toise with James Fitzmorris, 156, 20. He cometh to the campe and is committed, 157, 51. He humbleth himselfe and sweareth fidelitie, ib. 64. His sonne is given in pledge, ib. He is sent for and cometh not, 159, 30. His deepe dissembling, 160, 20. He is in open rebellion, ib. 39, 56. He will not be persuaded to submission, ib. 23, 54. He is proclaimed traitor, 164, 15. He is in danger to be taken, ib. 10. He is in an ambush, 165, 17. He giveth an onfet upon the Englishmen, ib. 50. His proud letters to the lord iustice, 166, 26. He sendeth his wife for peace, 169, 6.

Is in danger to be taken, 169, 40.

Fitzgiralde James of Desmond putteth Irish impositions of Quins and such like upon Englishmen, 78, 54.

Fitzgiralde James killeth Robert Talbot, 84, 56. He is sent to London and executed, 97, 18, 70.

Fitzgiralde John the first earle of Kildare, 34, 63.

Fitzgiralde of Lifford lord justice, 85, 20.

Fitzgiralde sir John taketh the archbishop of Dublin, 92, 60. He is carried into England and executed, 97, 10, 20.

Fitzgiralde Eleanor widow to mac Artie Keogh, 98, 2. Is married to Odonell, ib. 17.

His brother-in-law to his nephew Girald, ib. 28.

Fitzgiralde Margaret espoused to the earle of Desmond, 83, 70. Grieved with the murder of Robert Talbot, 84, 56. She languisheth being with child, 84, 10. She is a woman of great wisdom, ibid. She adorneth her husbands government, 85, 34.

Fitzgiralde Morris lord iustice of Ireland, 34, 53. The first earle of Kildare, ib. 64. A contentioun betwene the lord Kellie and him, ib. 66. He poseth in to England, 35, 22. His speeches to the king, 32, 28. He challengeth the combat of Kellie, ib. 63. He is rewarded with the gift of Westfords lands, 37, 6. He is eldest sonne baron of Ophalie, ib. 32.

Fitzgiralde Morris promisseth to aid Macmoghogh, 4, 5. He and Fitzstephans are promised to haue the gift of the towne of Westford, ib. 6. He arriueth at Westford, 10, 68. His constancie, 11, 2. He accompaneth Macmoghogh to Dublin, 11, 20. He cometh to waterford, 14, 21. He is troubled for the distress of Fitzstephans, 17, 30. His oration, ib. 47. He discomfitteth Kotherike king of Conaugh, 19, 10. He saucth Hugh de Lacie from murdering, 26, 50. He died and was buried at Westford, 41, 25.

Fitzgiralde Morris lord chiefe iustice of Ireland, 62, 5. He aideth the king against the wellshmen, 62, 32.

Fitzgiralde Morris of Desmond drowned between Wales and Ireland, 62, 12.

Fitzgiralde Marie sister to Morris and her brother Girald Fitzgiralde, 97, 70.

Fitzgiralde the archtraitor at the Glennes, 169, 60. A draught made upon him, 177, 10. His bad practises, ib. He is hanged, 177, 37.

Fitzgiralde Oliver partaker to the murdering of the archbishop of Dublin, 92, 16. He is carried into England and executed to death, 97, 70.

Fitzgiralde chiefe of Wales binder the king, 3, 47. He conspireth against the king, ibid. 64. He and Fitzstephans are cousins germane, ib. 69.

Fitzroger William, prior of the Temple taken, 61, 37.

Fitzmorris James conspireth against the queene, 130, 5. He siegeth Kilkennie, 130, 8. He rebelleth, 133, 16. He seeketh for peace and crauech pardon, 134, 22, 135, 40, 55. He dieth into France, and offereth all Ireland to the French king,

153, 60. His practises are knowne, 146, 50. He seeketh to king Philip to the pope, 154, 2. He hath good intertainment, ibid. 16. His acquaintance with Sanders and Allen, ibid. 21. He is furnished with all things needefull, ib. 28. He arriueth at S. Marie Weke alias Smeeweke, ib. 40. The Desmonds and the countie repare vnto him, ib. 3. He persuadeth the Spaniards to patience, 156, 35. He pretendeth a pilgrimage, ib. 44. He taketh a prize and is followed, ib. 65. He persuadeth the Burkes to rebellion, 157, 15. He is slain, ib. 38. His contrivings, ib. 50. His head and quarters set upon the gates and walls of Kilmallocke, ib. 66.

Fitzmorris Girald earle of Desmond lord iustice, 72, 64. Slaine by Obyen, 73, 10.

Fitzmorris Thomas earle of Kildare lord iustice, 78, 35.

Fitzmorris Patrick put in trust with the carriage, 84, 66. He is accused, ib. 71. The lord lieutenant chargeth the matter for him, ib. 2. Fitzmorris cleareth the matter and answereth for himselfe, ibid. 9. The lieutenant asketh him pardon and rewardeth him, ib. 16.

Fitzmorris Robert maior of Dublin serueth against the Omozes, 84, 55. His answer to the bishop of Obyen, 87, 71. He vittellith the castle of Dublin, 92, 35.

Fitzmorris Thomas recorder of Dublin his oration, 87, 30.

Fitzmorris walter bishop of Dublin lord chancelor, 41, 30.

Fitzstephans Robert constable of a bertelle, 3, 56. He arriueth into Ireland, 4, 60. He landeth at the Banne, ib. He besiegeth Westford, 5, 43. He is the knight bypartite, ib. 46. His oration to his foundlings, 10, 23. He is besieged in the Carike, 17, 25. He is seduced and taken by stateerie, 19, 40. The description of him, ibid. He is deliuered to the king, 21, 22. He is handlocht, ibid. 35. He is released, ib. 66. They that betrayed him are executed to death, ibid. 71. He and Fitzmorris are constables of Dublin, 24, 13. The kingdom of Cozke is given them, 44, 60. They divide it betwene them, 45, 10. He is shut vp in Cozke, ib. 25. His practises, 52, 54.

Fitzstephans Rafe is traitor to the king, 62, 69.

Fitzthomas Girald dieth, 64, 64.

Fitzthomas and Morris his sonne slaine, 62, 69.

Fitzthomas Morris earle of Kildare lord deputie, 63, 60.

Fitzthomas Morris earle of Kildare lord iustice by turnes, 72, 10. He hath a pererle pension of five hundred pounds, ib. 34.

Marrieth the earle of Ulsters daughter, 66, 27.

Fitzthomas Morris earle of Desmond is lord iustice for terme of life, 72, 70. He is put in prison, 70, 60. He is taken prisoner, 70, 2. Is set at libertie upon suerties, ib. 20. He putteth in suerties to appeare in England, 72, 4. He died lord iustice, 72, 72.

Fitzthomas John lord of Ophalie giveth an overthrow to

the Scots, 66, 58. Is created earle of Kildare, 67, 20. Is taken prisoner, 63, 34. Is released, 71, 65.

Fitzwater Thomas Rascalle lord deputie, 110, 63. Is lord lieutenant, ib. 20. His troubles with Dele, 5.

Fitzwater Theobald slaine by Mac Artie of Desmond, 53, 60, 54, 12.

Fitzwaren earle of Surrie killed Allen de la Roche, 62, 54.

Fitzwilliams John slaine at Kencies by Obyen, 73, 7.

Fitzwilliams killeth the gunner which shot to the erie of Surrie, 84, 34.

Fitzwilliams sir William lord iustice, 11, 66. Lord deputie, 134, 46. The plot of his government, 135, 10. His distresses and great troubles, 136, 6. He is reached, ibid.

Foster children, 44, 58.

Fough of pegg, 13, 34.

Fribble king of Denmarke invaded Ireland, and by policie taketh Dublin, 57, 48.

Froth king of Denmarke, 57, 60.

G.

Gallowale towne in great decay, 140, 11. Their charter and liberties, 165, 22.

Galus archbishop of Ardmagh consenteth to the synod holden at Cashell, 23, 55. Fied with the milke of a white cow which he carried with him, ib. 57.

Gallowglasses the best souldiours, 45, 42. His weapon and conditions, ibid. 46.

Gandius and Genandius the sonnes of Memodius arriue in to Ireland, 48, 27. They possesse and divide the same, ibid. 37.

Garbaneles invaded Ireland, 48, 30.

Gathelus the sonne of Mele a Grecian arriueth into Ireland, 49, 57. His skill in languages, ibid. He calleth that land Gathela after his owne name, ib. 68, 9, 29.

Gauelson Deers arriueth in Ireland, 65, 24. He hath all royalties assigned vnto him, ib. 40. His buildings and proceedings, ibid. 48.

Gegathus a noble man serueth king Huglet, 57, 12.

Genaul lord of Obyen, 10, 25.

Recommendeth to be a frier and is buried at Crim, ibid.

Gentlemen named in Latin Miracles, 5, 54.

Gentillie of Ireland, 44, 27.

Geffrey earle of Brittain, sonne to king Henrie the second, 47, 72. Rebellet against his father, ibid. 26, 20. He died, 48, 10.

George duke of Clarence bozne in Dublin, 77, 59. His godfathers, ibid. Is lieutenant of Ireland, 78, 26.

Giants the offspring of Adam rod arriue in Ireland, 47, 38.

They are fought with, 48, 20.

They preuaile upon the sons of Memodius, 48, 12. They are deliuered, ibid. 30.

Girald William lord chancelor, 140, 72.

Giraldines their ancientelle, 33, 10. Magned and yet advanced, 62, 5. Favourers to the house of York, 33, 11, 78, 36.

Giraldines thorne and with, 29, 47.

Giraldus

The third table for the

Giraldus Cambrensis attendeth king John in Ireland, 52, 41. His descent, 52, 10. Writeth the hystorie of Ireland, 52, 4. He is berie inward with king Henrie the second, 54, 10. **Girald Fitzgirald**, *q. d. e. Fitzgirald*. **Gilbert** sir Humfreie his arrival into Ireland, 13, 27. He served in the Butlers wars, 130, 20. He is at the taking of Cloghgrinam, ib. He hath the boward of the battell at Kilkennie, ib. 57. His noble service upon the enimie, ibid. He is made colonell of Mounster, 131, 50. His noble service there, ibidem, 70. He maketh the earle of Glanecar to scape and submit himselfe, 132, 9. He is dubbed knight, ibid. 56. His descent and description, ibid. 1. His vertues and qualitties, ib. His death, 133, 34. **Glanduill Reginald** lord cheefe Justice of England attendeth king John, 52, 41. Gouernour of Sandwich castell, 29, 20. God no religion, 114, 20. **Glibes**, 54, 5. **Glinnes fastnesse**, 169, 25. **Gratfullnesse** of the ancient writers, epist. **Greie** Leonard lord deputie of Ireland, 96, 46. Incountreth with Thomas Fitzgirald, ib. 47. He holdeth a parlement 99, 30. He certifieth O'Neles rebellion, 101, 30. His service against O'Nele, 101, 64. He is accused, 102, 20. He is beheaded, 102, 60. **Grete** lord Arthur his arrival to Dublin, 169, 50. His tourneie upon the Brinnes, 169, 4. He maketh a tourneie into Mounster, 171, 50. He be siegeth the Spanishe fort, 171, 12. He taketh it, 171, 57. He taketh the erle of Kildare and sendeth him into England, 172, 34. He returneth into England, 177, 40. **Griffith**, nephue unto Moryris Fitzgirald his deame, 16, 60. Forcemeneth Hugh de Lacie, ib. He is troubled with his deame, ib. 8. He is watchfull to forsee the harmes, ib. 8, 35. He pearseth through Moryris with his staffe and killeth him, ib. 66. **Gurgunius** king of Britaine met the Spaniards at seas, 49, 50. Placeth them first in Ireland, and taketh feelde of them, ib. 42. **Gurmo** a heathenish king, 57, 57. He marieth Citra king Etheldreds daughter, ib. 60. His sonnes invade Ireland, ib. 73. His sorrow for losse of his sonnes, ib. 58, 10. He dieth for sorrow of them, ib. 39. **Gurmundus** an archpirat, 55, 40. Is sonne to the king of Morwaie, 56, 62. He helpeth the Saxons against the Britains, ib. 44. He maketh a boieage into Ireland, ib. 50. He buildeth forts and castles, ib. 55. He conquereth the land, 57, 18. He landeth in Wales, 58, 20. He saileth into France and dieth, 55, 56.

H

Haco a Dane, he arriueth into Ireland, 57, 4. He is killed, ibid. 21. **Hamerton** a captaine of 80. foulers, 94, 48. Their valiantnesse, ib. They are all slaine,

One of them hurted **Thomas Fitzgirald**, ib. **Harold**, sonne to Godmo, invadeth Ireland, 57, 62, 72. His slaine, 58, 2. His father lamenteth his death, ib. 30. **Harington**, sir Henrie taken prisoner, 148, 18. Is hurted, ib. 40. Delivered, ib. 49. Is made kinesthall of the O'Brinnes, 166, 21. **Hastings** Philip, gouernour of Wexford, 24, 17. **Haulphus** captaine of Dublin escapeth out of the towne, 15, 7. He seeketh to be reuenged, 16, 34. He besiegeth Dublin, ib. 66. He fleeth, and is taken, for his intemperat speeches is beheaded, ib. 37. **Hauen** townes in Ireland, 27, 60. **Hauerings** deame, 32, 35. **Henrie** the emperour his euill successe, 3, 11. **Henrie** duke of Bawer, 1, 16, 3, 9. **Henrie** king the second receiveth Dermot Macmough to his protection, 1, 43. Proclaimeth libertie to all his subiects to aid him, ib. He taketh his oth for his allegiance, ib. 40. He releaseth his licence, 15, 55. He mislieth the earle Strangebowes his successe, 16, 10. He is sent for into England, 21, 49. He meeteth the king, and is reconciled, ib. 50. A composition betwene them, ib. 50. The king arriueth into Ireland at waterford, 21, 20. FitzStephen is presented vnto him, ib. 30. He receiveth submission of all the kings, 21, 22. He feasteth them all, 22, 50. He commandeth a synod to be kept at Cahill, 23, 24. He practiseth to weaken the earle, 24, 20. His owne sonnes conspire against him, ib. 35. He returneth into England, ib. 10. He appointeth gouernours ouer the land, ib. He arriueth into Wales, ib. 20. He is reconciled to the pope, 25, 36. A vision appeared vnto him, ib. 38. A dissention betwene him and his sonnes, 28, 32. He sendeth for his garrisons in Ireland, ib. 54. His victories, 29. The description of him, ib. 54. His excellent gifts and qualitties, ib. His life with Mofamunda, 31, 38. He sendeth to the popes Alexander and Adrian for confirmation of his priuileges, 35, 17. His saying concerning the conquest of Ireland, 40, 20. He giueth the kingdom of Cork betwene Robert Fitzstephen, & Philip Cogan, 44, 58. He giueth north Mounster to Philip de Wexle, ib. 66. He sendeth his sonne John into Ireland, 48, 32. His answer to the patriarch of Ierusalem, 49, 30. His sonne Richard resisteth against him, 50, 25. The variance betwene him and the French king, 51, 10. **Heracius** patriarch of Ierusalem seeketh aid, 48, 30. **Herbert** Francis of Dublin sent to the king, 92, 27. He is dubbed knight, ib. The king giueth him Cusace of Balincolins landes, ib. He returneth with comfortable letters of the kings, 93, 27. **Hermion** killeth his brother Morys, 49, 70. He nameth the land Ireland, 50, 5. He diuideth the land into fine kingdoms, ib. 20. **Henrie** de monte Morysco arri-

ueth into Ireland, 4, 75. Is endowd with two canons of land, 5, 28. He was uncle and spie to the earle, ib. 4. His oration, 13, 23. His opinion well liked, 14, 36. The description of him, 39, 68. He professeth himselfe a monk at Can-turburie, 45, 58. **Herue** George his seruice vpon O'Nele, 115, 3, 16. He returneth by land to Dublin, ib. 60. He passeth in great perils, ib. **Hilozes** must let doo true truth, 39, 30. Use of hilozes, the definition of a hilozie, Epist. **Hoker** John the supplier of the Irish hystorie, Epistola. He translateth Cambrensis, ib. He is a buggele of the parliament, and his speeches in the same, 120, 33. His perils for the same, 121, 30. He giueth and writeth out the orders of the parliament, 121, 20. He was agent in all sir Peter Carews causes, 118, 1. **Holland** Robert, lord iustice of Chester, 65, 9. He receiveth a writ to apprehend the Templers, ib. **Holland** petit captaine to Salisburie, 95, 70. He falleth into a pipe of feathers, ib. His valiant seruice, 95, 10. **Hospitalitie** in Dublin, 21, 26. **Hosages** giuen to king Edward the second for his assurance of their loialties, 66, 60. **Hosles** in Ireland, first out of Spaine, 20, 30. They are of sundrie kinds, ib. 13. **Howard** Thomas arriueth lord lieutenant into Ireland, 84, 35. He is pledge for the earle of Kildare, 86, 38. He resisteth the Hozes, 84, 53. His good countenance to a poore souldier, ib. 10. Is sent for into England, ib. 37. His commendation, ib. 40. **Hudie** John, seruant to Richard, lord Birmingham, 67, 7. Persuaded by Dickie to leane his master, ib. 20. His valiantnesse and killing of Dickie, ib. 38. He is dubbed knight, ib. 48. His successe in barons of Caltrim, ib. 50. His slaine, 76, 18.

I

Icke Cade, 77, 67. In Irish man borne, ib. **Idlers** not to be suffered, epistola. **John** of Rokes bishop of Dublin, resisteth Ioice Rowland archbishop of Ardmagh, 65, 70. **John** the kings sonne arriueth into Ireland, 48, 30, 5. Is made lord of Ireland, ib. He buildeth castles, 53, 50. Killeth his nephue Arthur, 61, 66. He maketh Ireland tributarie to the pope, 61, 30. He subdued the Welshmen, 61, 18. He is absolved, ib. 26. He dieth, ib. 57. **John** de saint Daule, bishop of Dublin, finished Christes Church, 63, 13. **Inconueniences** of euill gouernment, 44, 27. **Inunctions** of the pope to the king, 25, 65. **Impost** of wine granted, 120, 27. **Ireland**, the dignes thereof, 9, 28. The names of it, ib. 53, 28, 49, 70. Inhabited by Spaniards, ib. 1, 49, 26. By fine brethren, 10, 60. By Cesara next to Moah, 47, 20. By Bercon son to Neptune, 47,

40. By the offpying of Joseph, ib. 48, 12. By the Spaniards, 53, 34. By the Christians, ib. 23. By the Christians, 48, 70. By Brennus and the Britains, 49, 10. By the Hozes, 50, 45. Diuided into hies and prouinces, 10, 30, 50, 20. The nature of the soile, 13, 43. The cities and townes in it, 20, 44. The land diuided by lots, 10, 661, 48, 4. The diuersities of speeches, 10, 65. Waterish and full of fouds, 13, 44. The sweet aire, and hath no benem in it, 13, 28. Replenished with cattell and bees, 13, 15. Did homage at Wexchester to king Arthur, 49, 57. Subiect to England many waies, 55, 36. Full of iron mines, 50, 4. Ruled by one chiefe monarch ouer the whole, 50, 24. Instructed in christian religion by saint James, 52, 40. By Galladus, 52, 68. By Patrike, 53, 20. Why it cannot be conquered, 53, 34, 54, 30. How it is gouerned, 55, 10. How to be reformed, 16, 20. Number of cities & townes, 20, 43. The nobilitie, 31, 5, 35, 10. The learned men, 39, 55. The reuenues of the land, 52, 25. Ireland is a storehouse of nature, 31, 50. The broken state of Ireland, 12, 2, 8, 118, 36. **Irish** men were Glibes, 54, 5. They forsake king John, 54, 10. They serue against the Scots, 64, 1. They invade Scotland, ib. They are in open rebellion, 66, 60, 70, 37. **Irish** would Irish English, 66, 68. **Irish** boine & Ireland boine, 10, 123. **Irish** boine to beare no office, 72, 26. **Irish** laites, **Irish** maners & dispositions, 44, 13. **Irish** mere Irish, ib. **Irish** prophets, 33, 10. **Irish** Frankelins, **Irish** diets, 55, 2. **Irish** hofes, 20, 14. **Irish** positions, 78, 56. **Irish** marriages and chisteninges, 45, 26. **Irish** infants, 44, 70. **Irish** gentries, 44, 27. **Irish** souldiers and seruitors, 44, 13. **Irish** weeping, or to wepe Irish, 44, 50. No Irish man borne to beare office, 72, 20. **Certe** Irish marcher to dwell vpon his owne house, ib. Irish language, by whom it was first inuented, 12, 50. The difficultie of the tongue, 13, 14. No Irish word for a baner, 12, 44. Justice against rebels, epist. The nature of an Irish man, 133, 17. 168, 28.

K

Karicke castle two miles from Wexford, 11, 15. Builded vpon a roche, ib. 47. **Karows** a thocherhod of places at cards, 45, 53. **Kennerike** maior of Dublin, a benefactor, 72, 20. **Kernes** and Kihernes the rakers of Ireland, 45, 14. **Kettell** Alice accused for witchcraft, 69, 1. Is burned at Kilkennie, ib. 17. **Kueneaghs** tenants to sir Peter Carew, 118, 10. Submit themselves to his deuotion, 132, 28. **Kuolles** sir Francis sent into Ireland, 144, 16. **Kozmake** Olegghan, *q. d. e. Kozmake* before. **Kilkennie**, why so called, 27, 60. **Kilkennie** walls builded by Robert

bert Carbo besieged by rice, brought, *q. d. e. Wane*. *q. d. e. Dublin*. *q. d. e. Kilkennie* a cap slaine, Knight of the is spoiled, bell, Knight bipa

Lacie wait 61, 17. daughters

Lacie Hugh 49, 30. He and other description in suspition for into C made lord slaine, 49, 3, all, ib. 46. Submission monarch at Lacie Hugh the realm 56. He traueileth disguised, and restorpe, ib. 14. He is 2500. li. at Cragfer daughte Walter de Lacies do the med traite Lacie John ned to beat Laignia arri with Celse 79, 34. L Dublin, 79 pardoned, Laurence ar lin intreate sent at the

Legats from

Legues not traistors, Lemster the land, 2, 3, 3

Lcontoes k overcomm great mon Lernes men o Letters from to the earle

Letters from rald to the i Letters from to Thomas Leighton, 46. a wall, Leuonle C fer to the c 63. His ca 34. He is p ith house L liberties call

Limerike bu cus, 58, 4. White fo nan 73, 34, 60. C ribe submit 45. It w Csterlings aged & take ged by Don conerd, ib.

Lionell king C his sonne, m

description and chronicles of Ireland.

bert Talbot, 76, 52, 27, 20.
besieged by James Fitzmo-
rice, 130, 8
brought, sonne to Gurno a
Dane, slaine at the siege of
Dublin, 57, 72
became a captaine of Irishmen
slaine, 5, 70
knight of the ballie, his countie
is spoiled, 162, 15. He is a re-
bell, ib.
knight bipartited, 5, 45

L.

Lacie walter lord of Meth,
61, 17. Dieth, 62, 21. His
daughters and heires married,
ib.
Lacie Hugh sent into England,
49, 50. He buildeth Leighline
and other forges, 46, 6. The
description of him, 47, 1. Had
in suspicion, 46, 20. Is sent
for into England, 48, 20. Is
made lord deputie, ib. He is
slaine, 49, 3, 60, 38. His bur-
iall, ib. 46. He receiveth the
submission of Kothoz, the
monarch at the Schen, 22, 23
Lacie Hugh the younger keepeth
the realme in quietnesse, 60,
56. Is banished, 61, 71. He
travellith into France, and is
disguised, ib. 2. He is pardoned
and restored to his earldome,
ib. 14. Is percieved reuenges,
2500. li. Dieth and is buried
at Cragfergus, 62, 27. His
daughter and heire married to
Walter de Burgh, ib. 28.
Lacies do rebell, 68, 63. Renolt
to the Scots, ib. 71. Procla-
med traitors, ib.
Lacie John arraigned and
senced to death, 68, 46
Laigra arriveth into Ireland
with Clarea, 47, 35
Lambert the counterfeite sonne
to George duke of Clarence,
79, 34. Is crowned king at
Dublin, 79, 4. Is taken and
pardoned, 69, 15
Laurence archbishop of Dub-
lin intraceth for, and is pre-
sent at the synod at Cashill,
23, 49
Legats from Rome, 44, 50, 51,
55, 83, 33
Legues not to be kept with
traitors, 93, 4, 96, 8
Lemster the fist part of Ire-
land, 2, 3. In a miserable state,
112, 30
Leonides king of Sparta
ouercommeth Herres the
great monarch, 93, 40, 96, 8
Lerned men of Ireland, 39, 50
Letters from the duke of York
to the earle of Salisbury, 78,
12
Letters from Thomas Fitzgi-
rald to the lord Butler, 91, 23
Letters from the Lord Butler
to Thomas Fitzgiral, ib. 33
Loughlin, 46, 30. Inclosed with
a wall, 109, 45
Lurouse Thomas schoolma-
ster to the earle of Kildare, 97,
63. His care of the earle, 98,
34. He is placed in the Eng-
lish house at Rome, 98, 68
Liberties called, 71, 33, 144,
146
Limerike builded by Satri-
cus, 58, 4, 54, 22, 50, 24, 70.
Whie so named, 24, 73, 27, 44,
73, 34, 60. The king of Lime-
rike submitteth himselfe, 21,
45. It was builded by the
Cisterlings, 22, 50. It is be-
sieged & taken, 37, 36. Besie-
ged by Donald, 39, 40. Re-
covered, ib. 47. Set on fire,
40, 14
Lionell king Edward the third
his sonne, marrieth the daugh-

ter and heire to the earle of
Ulster, 70, 58. He arriveth
into Ireland, 72, 41. Is lord
justice, ib. Dubbeth knights,
ib. 54. He remoueth the chee-
ker to Catherlough, ib. 57
Lismore an old ancient towne,
22, 25, 27, 45. The king lieth
there, 22, 25. A bishoppe, ib.
United to Waterford, ib. 27.
Spoiled, 33, 47
Logan John his seruice against
the Scots, 67, 17. He taketh
Sir Allen Steward prisoner,
ib. 38
Lords of Ireland give assu-
rance for their loialtie, 66, 60.
They answer for their fol-
lowers, 140, 50
Loue must be tempered with
fear, 1, 27
Louell, lord Louell captaine of
the conspiracie against king
Henrie the seventh, 79, 55

M.

Mac Adam Gilmore a
common spoiler and bur-
ner of churches, 174, 18
Is therof called Cope, ib. 24
Mac Artie Keogh married
the ladie Clonoz Fitzgiral,
98, 3
Mac Artie Moze an ancient
Irish gentleman, 114, 70. He
surrendereth his lands and ta-
keth it anew, 14, 9. Swore
reth allegiance, ib. 2. Is made
baron of Valencia and earle of
Clancar, ib. 18, 37, 22.
Shane Oneile scoffeth at
him, ib. 20. His coming
to Cork, 140, 40. His re-
duness to serue against foreyn
power, 15, 4, 20. Departeth
home, ib. 37, 46, 10, 45, 7.
His pride and insolencie, 118,
3. Joineith with the But-
lers, 13, 4. Submitteth
himselfe, 132, 10, 140, 40. In-
uadeth the lord Roches lands
118, 36
Mac Artie Dermont is in open
rebellion, 45, 5
Mac Walter burned the castle
of Kennun and the towne of
Conroulie, 65, 17
Mac Eughter William his
countie spoiled, 142, 30. He
is a good subject, ib.
Mac Carle plaieith the duell in
Desmond, 62, 60
Mac Cozmake Oconhor in re-
bellion, 147, 66
Mac Coghan captaine of the
Scottish ships is taken, 74,
55. Killith Dmalaghlin king
of Meth, 63, 57. Discomfi-
teth William Burgh, ib.
Mac Holan Ophalen prince of
Mozie submitteth himselfe
vnto king Henrie the second,
22, 17
Mac Coghganie, what he got
his posteritie lost, 78, 69, 63
56
Mac Gillmore was slaine in
the church at Cragfergus
whiche before he had burned,
75, 38
Mac Mozogh. I See Der-
mon, 39, 70. Is taken pri-
soner, 76, 28
Mac Mahon preleth the coun-
trie, 77, 23, 18
Macworth captaine entred first
the Spaniards fort, 167, 1
Mac Mozice baron of Kerrie
and Lernaow, 38, 24
Mac William the rebell taken
& all his companie at Knock-
tow and slaine, 79, 57
Madocke a noble man of bur-
gh, 54, 5. He died bishop of
Fernes, ib. 14

Man the Island, whether En-
glish or Irish, 13, 45
Margaret ladie Fitzgiral of
Kildare married to the earle
of Mozic, 83, 70. She lon-
geth for home, 84, 9. Her
soutnesse, ib. 22, 56. Her
wisehome and policie in go-
uernment, 83, 33. Her grie-
fe for the murthering of Cal-
bot, 84, 66
Marcus Antonius bewitched
with his wife Cleopatra, 2,
63
Marius the noble Roman, 19,
69
Mariages made for increafe of
loue and amitie, 75, 78, 34, 70
22, 60, 66, 25
Marie Tagh Oconhor king of
Malia & his companie slaine
by Jordan Cumu, 64, 69
Markets not to be kept vpon
holie daies, 15, 60
Malachias a noble man borne at
Armagh, 54, 40. Gouernor
of Bangor, ib. 60. Bishop
of Armagh, 55, 1. His
soutnesse with the follozors,
ib. 17. He died at Clara-
uell, ib. 48
Malbie sir Nicholas ferneth
with sir Peter Carew in the
Butlers warres, 130, 21.
His seruice at Kilkmarie, ib.
63. He is commended by the
quene, 142, 70. Is dubbed
knight, 143, 8. Sworne one
of the priuie councill, ib. 20.
Made colonell of Connagh,
ib. 2. He serueth in Hounster
vnder sir William Dzuric lord
justice, 157, 31. Is gouernor
of Hounster, 158, 38. His
seruice there, 159, 5. He send-
eth to and for the erle of De-
mond, ib. 28. He incommen-
teth with sir John of De-
mond, 159, 55. Discomfiteith
him, ib. 19. He writeth to
the earle of Desmond for his
submission, 160, 22. He dis-
solueth his armie, ib. 34.
Subscribeth to the proclama-
ing of the erle of Desmond to
be a traitor, 164, 10. He mar-
rieth sir William Delham lord
justice at Limerike, 162, 66.
Presenteth him with Ban-
ders letters, ib.
Malcontentis against the celfe,
144, 5
Malchus a monke at Winchel-
tes, 55, 50. Is bishop of Limer-
more, ib. 54
Manners and dispositions of
the Irish, 44, 10
Marreuar Thomas baron of
Sertin is taken prisoner by
Oconhor of Meth, 76, 44
Maupas the leader of a thou-
sand three hundred twente
and foure men encountereth
with the Scots, 68, 55. He
is found dead vpon the dead
bodie of Wuse his enemye,
69, 2
Maundersill lord of Barnackol-
lie his yearelie reuenges one
thousand and two hundred
pounds, 75, 21
Maundersill sir John is recon-
ciled to the lord Butler, 66,
74. Is slaine, 67, 59
Maundersill sir Thomas his
god seruice at Glenfield,
64, 20. Doth great enter-
prises vpon the Scots, 67, 53
Is slaine, ib. 10
Martyrs in Ireland, 55
Matterston Thomas in great
danger, 135, 66
Mellertus nephue to Fitzfit-
phans, 6, 41. Is ambitious,
ib. 43. His seruice, 11, 42.
Arriveth at Waterford, 24,
33. The description of him,

38, 25, 47, 28. His ballantine
39, 43. 41, 1. Hath no issue,
44, 37. Letre is giuen vnto
him for Kildare, 47, 14
Men eat men for want of bit-
tels, 68, 40
Mecynouth Strongie sworded 95,
14, 11. Is besieged, 11, 21.
Summoned ib. 25. Betray-
ed, ib. 50. The betrayer be-
headed, 96, 8
Merlins prophesies, 14, 64, 21, 5
22, 40 24, 47, 42, 20, 51, 20, 53
11
Meth in Latin Met is, 48, 55.
It is appointed for the king
dieth, 28. It is the fist part of
Ireland, 2, 3. It contineth
fiftene cantreds, ib. 46. It
is invaded and spoiled, 15, 23.
It is vnder Dmalaghlin, 56
25. It is giuen vnto Hugh
de Lacie, 24, 10
Meth in what sense it is to be
taken, 5, 54
Meth of saint David lieuten-
nant of Limerike, 38, 23
Milo Cogan. I See Cogan.
Monarch of Ireland, 59, 25.
His authoritie, ib. 4
Mozis alias Dmoris vp in rebel-
lion, 84, 51. 147, 66. They
burne the Pass, 148, 8. They
burne Leighlin, ib. 47
Mozis a runnagate priest made
archbishop of Cashill, 118, 50
Like to be killed, ib.
Mortimer Roger lord of Meth
arrived into Ireland, 65, 48
Is discomfited by the Scots
60, 38. Is lord iustice, 68, 13
He chafeth the Lacies out of
Connagh, 68, 70. Proclameth
them traitors, ib. 2. Is lord
lieutenant, 73, 60. Is slaine,
73, 10
Mutinie in the parliament house
110, 10
N.
Nas burned by Rozie Og,
148, 8
Names of all the noble houses
in Ireland, 60, 33, 13
Nauiculare litus, 47, 38
Nelle the great or Sigellus the
monarch of all Ireland, 53, 30
Nelle Donell taken prisoner, 77,
45
Nelle Onele. I See Onele.
Nemodus with his foure sons
arriue in Ireland, 48, 2
Nero his wicked life and end,
2, 52
Nesta the noble ladie mother to
the conquerors of all Ireland
47, 47, 45, 48, 13
Noble men of Ulster glad of
Onels death, 117, 10
Noble men to attend the king,
63, 70. To answer for their
men, 140, 50. To attend the
lord deputie, 141, 40
Nozwegians invade Ireland,
55, 30. Expelled, 56, 58. Be-
sieged Dublin, 57, 35. They
were first merchants, 57, 55.
They build townes, ib.
Notingham Robert maior of
Dublin taketh and impriso-
neth the earle of Ulster, 67,
50. Spoileth saint Marie ab-
bie, ib.
Nugent baron of Deluin, a
malcontent against the celfe,
145, 50. He with others com-
mitted to ward, 147, 5. He is
suspected to be one of the con-
spiracie of Desmonds rebel-
lion, is committed to prison,
He is sent into England, and
then to the Tower, ibidem,

O.

Owen king of Thomond
64, 8
Owen

The third table for the

Dizen Donat flaine by his own men, 66.10.
Dizen Dhorogh baron of Inesteklen, 39. 39. He killeth John Fitzjohn, 73.12
Donher of Dphalia his victories, 64.6
Donher king of Conagh flaine, 67.4.34.40
Donher mac Rellie flaine in Conagh, 67.23. His victories, 75.72.76.42
Donher Cathelo flaine, 74.17
Donher of Ulster rebelleth, 102.14. His countrie is invaded and burned, ib. 25. He submitteth himselfe, ib. 30
Donher hostages, ib.
Donell anoicht the kings subjects in Ulster, 62.44. He is vanquished, ib. Restored to his possessions, 116.25
Donempe discomfitteth Donher, 64.7. Subdueth Dizen, 65.45
Donon, 55.58
Donle in Lemster, 7.37
Donaghlin king of Metch, 56.26. In credit with Turgeiss, ib. His policies to beguile Turgeiss, ib. 40. His persuation to his countreim, 56.25. His daughter married to Doroike, 1.26. He is flaine, 63.58
Donoes rebell, 135.35
Donle was chaled in battell, 62.65. He is flaine and 352. men with him, 62.57. He payeth tribute, ib.45
Donle Con beareth the sword before the earle of Kildare, 84.75. Maketh insurrection against the earle of Dloric, 86.46. He invadeth the English pale, 101.20. The first earle of Eiron, 112.16. He had two sonnes, ib. His first sonne baron of Dunganon, ib. 24.
Donle and all the North was quiet, 110.5. He is taken prisoner, 110.25
Donle Shane by blood and murder perswaded, 112.8. The proudest man, ib. 8.15.40. 151.74. The causes of his rebellion, ib. 20. He blaspeth the name of Donle, ib. 40. He breaketh into rebellion, ib. 50. He payeth the lord deputy to be his godson, ib. 65. His objections against his elder brother, 113.6. He promisseth to be quiet, 113.3. He is persued by the earle of Eiler, ib. 12. He become a tyant, ib. 20. He is a dyonhard, ib. 30. He is buried in the ground to recover his dyonkenesse, ib. 38. His force and garr, ib. 53. He travaileth by his pelantes in warres, ib. 55. He taunteth at the earle of Clancar, 114.17. He besiegeth Dundalke, 115.12.116.62. He is discomfited, ib. 30. His cowardnesse, 116.12. His friends forsake him, 116.70. His countrie is persued, 117.10. He is distressed, ib. 26. He is flaine, ib. 56. His head lett upon the castle of Dublin, ib. 65. His sonne committed unto the castle of Dublin, ib. 34
Donle would speake no English, 123.10
Donlan one of the Dhemurghes and his companie were taken and discomfited, and carried awaie prisoners, 74.36
Donlan of Donald of Dloric, 39.6
Donlan of Rodozike king of Persia, 57.46
Donlan of Donacighlin, 56.46
Donlan of Rodozike, 8.7

Donation of Mac Morough, 920
 Donation of Fitzstephene, 1020
 Donation of Richmond, 25. 13. 6.
 1737. 10
 Donation of Herute, 1324
 Donation of Wopis Fitzgiralb, 1747
 Donation of woplic lord chan-
 cellor, 85. 6
 Donation of Fitzgiralb earle of
 Kildare, 85. 48. To his
 sonne, 88. 21
 Donation of Thomas Fitzgi-
 ralb, 89. 70. 91. 34
 Donation of wesson lord Chan-
 cellor, 119. 30
 Donation of Stanhurst, 119.
 1
 Donation of Sir Henric Sidneie,
 119. 56
 Order of a parlement, 121. 10
 Orpous, 55. 58
 Orpous there be two, 7. 40
 Orpous is oucrun, 6. 56
 Orkeint, 34. 47

P.

P^r Hadrian archdeacon of Rome
arriveth into Ireland, 52.
72. Appointed to preach, ib.
30. He travaileth into Scot-
land, ib. 20
Pall what it is, 31. 47. 49. 24
Pangs of griefe, 26, 10
Parkin was becke raised by to
be a king, 79. 30. He is ta-
ken, 79. 40
Parker Nicholas, valiantlie de-
fendeth himselfe, 166. 6
Parker John heutenant to cap-
taine Furke, slaine in the
Glinnes, 169. 44
Paris Chyffopher betrayeth
Mynouth, 95. 50. His pro-
mised reward is paid, ib. 57.
15. Beheaded, 96. 10
Parlement at Dublin, 70. 50.
71. 40. 72. 15. 76. 59. 87. 58. 74.
16. 74. 40. 119. 15. 99. 30. At
Killemne, 71. 69. 25. 35. At
Baldowle, 72. 73. Parlement
order, 121. 10. At Crim, 76. 70
Patriarch Heraclius commeth
to king Henrie the second for
aid, 49. 60. Intreateth the
king to go into the holieland,
ib. 56. He thzareth the king
for denying, ib. 64
Petrake his life, 53. 40. Where
he was borne, 53. 33. His
purgatorie, 28. 28. 53. 58
Made an archbischop, ib. 8. He
baptiseth Ruanus 2041. years
old, 48. 45. He converteth
all Ireland to christianitie,
53. 25.
Pellam. Sir William is dubbed
knight, 158. 44. Is chosen lord
justice, 162. 5. He dubbeth sir
William O'Grado and sir Tho-
mas Perot knights, ib. 70. He
maketh a tourne into Moun-
ster, ib. 20. He sendeth for
the earle of Desmond, ib. 50. He
sendeth the earle of Desmond
unto him, 163. 2. He procla-
meth the earle traitor, 164. 14.
He commeth to Limerike
and then to Gallowaig, and is
honorablely received, he ma-
keth a second tourne then to
Mounster, 166. 38. As verie
honorablely received at Water-
ford, ib. 60. He sendeth the
chancellor of Limerike to
ward, and the bishop he com-
mandeth to his own house,
66. 144. He besiegeth & taketh
the castle of Caregfoile, 167.
40. 10. He taketh Bluetten
castle, 167. 30. He createth sir
William Burche baron of
Connell, 168. 20. He delive-
reth the sword to the lord
Orke, 170. 36

Det signifieth a *Wharfedale*, 54.
 20
 Det sent for *Lacie*, 48. 80
Piers *Gaueston*, & *See* *Gaue-*
ston.
 Perot sir *John* lord president of
Howndes, 133. 2. *His* state
 & conditions, *ib.* *James* *fitz-*
moris rebelyth at *his* go-
 uernment, *ib.* 14. *His* govern-
 ment, 134. 424. *His* seruice a-
 gainst *him*, *ib.* 12. The peace
 of the countri-, *ib.* 40. *His* al-
 listance, *ib.* 56. *He* reformeth
Irish maners, *ib.* 30. 151. 4.
Admirall of the *Queenes*
ships, 158. 1. *He* is lord vepu-
 tic, *he* subdueth the *Scots*,
He maketh the land all *his*
 ground.
 Perot sir *Thomas* is dubbed
 knight, 158. 46
Defiance in the *English* pale,
 136. 20
Philip of *Worcester* sent for
Lacie, 48. 40. *His* governe-

little is necessarie in a gouernour, 13.50.
 Piers arrive into Ireland, 40.
 Into Scotland, ib.44.
 They make with the Irish, ib.68. Inhabite in part of Britain, 51.56. The amitie betweene them & the Scots, ib.67. They fall out and are reconciled, ib.26.70. They be rooted out, ib.50.
 Pope cardinal sendeth to Rome for Girald Fitzgiralde, 98.55. He carefullie dingeeth him by 99.1. Giveth him a pence-les pension, 98.47. Increaseth his pension, 99.39.
 Pope Celestine unetheth the trike archbishop of Ardmach, 53.6. He sendeth Gallarias into Scotland, 58.20.
 Pope despoileth the Templers, 64.63.
 Popes legats assaile king Henric the second, 25.36. They intine him penance, 25.1.
 Pope Alexander his privileges to Ireland, 35.25. He demandeth tennys and Ideler pence, 64.45.36.55.36.22.
 Pope Adrian his privileges, 35.48. He keepeth a synod at Dublin, 44.30. He maketh peace, 42.40.
 Popes favour vnto Thomas Stukelle, 149.40. He giveth him titles of honour, ib.47.
 Pope sendeth aid with James Fitzmoris, 154.15. Appointeth doctor Sanders to be his legat, ib.31. The fruites of his religion, he sendeth forzen aid into Ireland, 154.30. His banner is displayed, 159.6. Dispenseth with murder, 156.68. His wretched pacatife, 183.48.
 Poper Dominick sent to Charles the emperour for aid, 97.70.
 Presentineth him with hawkes and hories, ib.70.3. He hath the kings pardon, ib.7. He hath the emperours pension, ib.8.
 Poper Arnold accused of heresie, 69.72. He died, 70.30. He was seneschall of Bilkennie, 69.24. Hee killed the lord B. de Ruill, 65.57.
 Poper Eustace innabeth Scotland, 94.59.
 Poper Eustace vicount Walsinglas complaineth against the crosse, 145.42. His letters to the earle of Desmond, 149.54. Complaineth against sir Nicholas Wagnoll, 150.1. His complaints found untrue, ib.25. He was baron of Kilcolme, 38.7. He dwelt in the Glimes, 169.

3. Is wearie of his life, 180.
56. He did miserable, 16. 70.
Dor baron of Craghmore, 39.
Dor William feneshall of Waverford, 47. 36.
Dor Roger, his service in Ulster, 43. 3. 4. His race and progenie, 43. 36. Concerning at Leighlin and in Droghda, 16. 38. 47. 3. 4. Blaine in Droghda, 52. 16. 5. 4. 3.
Dor Robert, feneshall of Waverford and Wexford, 4. 4. 51. 46. 60.
Dor Thomas Fitzjohn, baron of Donicle, sweareth to serve the king, 156. 68.
Doers were at the first chonographers, Epistola
Droghda of Ireland, 53. 11.
Dolls fet betwene England and Ireland, 114. 5.
Droghda, 3. 30. 1. 4. 60. 22. 4. 29. 30. 2. 4. 50. 4. 2. 38. 47. 50. 51. 20. 53. 10.
Drouerbe, To late quod Droues, 95. 68.
Droghda Droghda arched into Ireland at the Banne, 5. 4. Droune in Wales, 16. 5.
Droghda William Droune, 66. 29.
Droghda for sinnes make a quiet common wealth, 141. 68.
Droghda of a king, 140. 4. 145. 65. 20.
Droghda made moniks, 60. 35.

Q.
Questions concerning gouernment, 70. 50.
Quinn, Lucie and other Irish impostitions, 78. 56.
Quinn, Fulco spoiled and robbed, 130. 18.
Quinn Elizabeth his continuall care for Ireland, 111. 20.
Quinn, the nature of it, 133. 57.

R.
Ralegh Walter. Is the first that entred into the Spawmarke fort, 171. 70. Complaceth for the too much bearing with the traitors, 172. 45. His conflict with the feneshall, 173. 10. Is commissioner of Bountier, 173. 17. His service vpon David Barrie, 175. 27. He toketh the lord Roch, 174. 24. His service at Reckell, 170. 63. His pedagogue, Epistola. His care for the common wealth, 176. The blessing of his armes, Epistola.
Ralph Fitzstephens sonne, 26. 73.
Randolph captaine and cozynell arrineth into Ireland, 115. 30. He prepareth to fight with the Duke, 16. 2. He is slaine, 16. 23. His monument, 62. 28.
Randall castle destroyed, 63. 26.
Ranned, 66. 17.
Rebellion first attempted in Ireland, 58. 65. Of Bilibere, 91. 60. In the whole land, 112. 30. Of Duke, 112. 50. Of the Butlers, 130. 13. Of James Fitzmoyle, 133. 14. 154. 40. Of Moore, 135. 35. In Connegh, 135. 42. Of the McDonnoughs, 135. 67. Of Clenricke, 141. 12. 142. 6. Of Roche, 147. 68. Of James of Desmond, 157. 15. Of the earle of Desmond, 160. 42.
Rebellion against gouernours, 48. 4.
Reimond le grosse arrineth into Ireland, 12. 35. He is assailed by the men of Waterford, 16. 60. 115.

He mutuall
 of Cooke, r
 by Whac A
 mond & d
 29. The pass
 upon the o
 William J
 The retur
 Basilica th
 34. 67. The
 10. Heru
 him. 35. 68
 taketh Li
 orations i
 37. 10. 68
 fign, 38
 by Heru
 The king
 60. The re
 60. The pa
 of Comm
 39. 58. The
 tie of Com
 sonne, 39
 mit them
 70. The
 at werch
 struction
 His land

Richard the
land ar
73.59. U
the secon
to water
meth to
prisoneth
sters and
sters fom
the retur
and is de
Richard bu
ter to the
Richard a
upon a b
bishopric
Bedshank
and Dic
Religious

Religion
Reuda ga
Riddefdal
Raine,
Robert D
outlawe
Rouks a
46. Wel
The scow
keth an
64. The
Rocke
Cerna
into E
gainst t

Rekeble
 8nce, 72
 increa
 engs,
 Roch, 102
 pereile

Roch, 102
 of dislo
 ken in
 Kalcig
 ib. 1. 1
 174. 4
 his for

Rodozike
 the 10
 land, 5
 the 10
 Scotie

Rozie D
 137. 2
 65. 25
 Leigh
 His dy
 148. 2
 keth
 prison

description and chronicles of Ireland.

He persuadeth against the men
of Cork, ib. 10. He is allied
by Mac Artie prince of Des-
mond & discomfitteth him, 31.
20. He passeth over into Wales
upon the death of his father
William Fitzgiral, 34. 10.
He returneth and marryeth
Hestia the earles daughter,
34. 67. He winneth Wexh, 35.
10. He cruie conspircly against
him, 35. 68. He besiegeth and
taketh Limerick, 39. 30. His
ozations and his description,
37. 10. 60. His coloune in re-
ligion, 38. 51. He is accused
by heruie to the king, 38. 38.
The king sendeth for him, 38.
60. He resisteth Limerick, 39.
60. He parlyth with the kings
of Conmagh and Thomond,
39. 58. He resisteth Mac Artie
of Desmond against his
sonne, 39. 73. The kings sub-
mit themselves unto him, 39.
70. He meeteth Fitzaldeme
at Wexford, 40. 63. His de-
struction is practised, 41. 57.
His lands taken from him,
41. 62.
Richard Strangbow arriveth
into Ireland, 4. See Strang-
bow.
Richard the second R. of Eng-
land arriveth into Ireland,
73. 59. He returneth and passeth
the second time and arriveth
to waterford, 73. 70. He com-
meth to Dublin, ib. 30. He im-
prisoneth the duke of Glouc-
sters sonne at Trim, 73. 42.
He returneth home by Wales,
and is deposed, ib. 45.
Richard duke of York, his let-
ter to the earle of Salisbury,
78. 10.
Richard archbishop of Dublin
upon a vision pasceth by his
bishops, 64. 54.
Redhankes mixed with Scots
and Picts, 52. 3.
Religious houses in Ireland, 51.
60.
Religion reformed, 140. 63.
Ruda gaineth the countrie of
Kildale, 51. 57. He is
slaine, ib.
Robert Hood and lile John,
outlawes, 24. 45.
Roukes a pirat and a rebell, 92.
46. He besiegeth Dublin, 92. 50.
He scoweth the seas, and ta-
keth an English barke, 94.
64. He is hanged, 96. 7.
Roche Ralph chiefe justice in
Conmagh, 133. 57. He is sent
into England to informe a-
gainst the earle of Thomond,
ib.
Rebelbie sir Thomas lord in-
flic, 72. 10. His interestment
increased, ib. 13. His wife sai-
engas, 62. 5.
Roch lord of Poole castle, his
petrie revenues 10000. 75.
30.
Roch, lord Roch had in suspition
of disloyaltie, 174. 6. He is ta-
ken in his castle by capitaine
Kilcraig, and caried to Cork,
ib. 1. He acquitteth himselfe,
174. 40. The good service of
his sonnes, ib. 44.
Rodozike a Scithian, king of
the Picts, arriveth into Ire-
land, 50. 45. His ozation to
the king, 50. 57. Is sent into
Scotland and slaine, ib. 42. 67.
Roze Og submitteth him selfe,
137. 20. Rebelbie, 147.
65. Burneth the houses and
Leighlin, 148. 4. 44.
Is owne to rume awaie,
148. 2. He traitoroullie ta-
keth capitaine Harrington
prisoner 148. 15. A draught is

made upon him, ib. 30. He bur-
neth Carhertough, ib. 51. He
laireth a bait for the lord of
hyper Dhoie, 148. 70. He is
slaine, 149. 22.
Roscoman castle destroyed,
62. 23. Heo received, 62. 3. 6.
Taken by the Irishie, 62. 56.
Roske towne a haven towne in
Leinster, 25. 32. Inclosed
with a wall, 25. 6. Interdicted
by the pope, 26. 41. Decayed
and impoucrished, ib. 46. A
long controuersie betweene
them and the rine of water-
ford for libertie, 339. 60.
Rothozike Dronhor monarch
of Ireland, 7. 24. 8. 7. Sum-
moneth a parlement, ib. 30.
Declameth against Wer-
mond Macmorough, ib. 35.
Ruadeth Leinster, 7. 37. His
ozation, 8. 15. Sweth for peace,
10. 25. Is sworne to be true,
10. 48. Breaketh with mac-
Morrough, 15. 37. He behea-
deth Dermonds sonne, 15. 48.
Besiegeth Dublin, 16. 66.
Submitteth himselfe, 22. 20.
Swareth allegiance, 22. 27.
Ruans baptised by saint De-
trike, 48. 47. He liued 1041.
yeres, 48. 4.
Ruine of the ecclesiasticall state,
140. 40.
Ruthranus one of the posteritie
of Memrod, 48. 28.
Ruthurgus arriveth into Ire-
land, 47. 20. He is pole, ib. 23.
Rumer catcheth fetters, 17. 10.
S.
Sagundus one of the posteritie
of Memrod, 48. 28.
Salmon leape, 51. 12.
Savage sir Robert fortifieth
his house and castle, 72. 27.
His sonnes and were, ib. His
liberalitie to his souldiers, ib.
50.
Savage Patrike taken priso-
ner, pasceth his ransom, and
is slaine, 75. 24.
Saint Paule archbishop of
Dublin, 72. 18. 33. 6.
Saints of Ireland, 53. 6.
Saint Patrike, 4. See Patrike.
Saint Patriks church in Du-
blin, 32. 33.
Sanford John, archbishop of
Dublin, 63. 37. Is lord iustice,
ib. 49.
Sarcelfield maior of Dublin, 24.
44. His hospitallite, ib. 46.
Shaling unknowne betwee P-
as flood, 0.
Satanus one of the first finders
out of Ireland, 0.
Salisbury capitaine arriveth in-
to Ireland with 200. ar-
chers, 94. 70. His service at
the siege of Wainouth, 95. 40.
Scithians driven into Ireland,
50. 45. A seditious people, ib.
47. 4. See Picts.
Scorch biden archbishop of
Dublin, 61. 56. Whie slaine,
ib.
Scoria the first name of Ire-
land, 9. 52. named also Gathe-
ia, 9. 29. It is invaded by
the citizens of Dublin, 74. 64.
Invaded by the Irish people,
64. 33.
Scotus the great scholemann
borne at Downe, 9. 40.
Scots vnder Wuse invade and
spolie Ireland, 66. 55. Refuse
to be of the Hytanes race, ib.
35. Live in friendship with
Picts, 51. 60. They fall out,
ib. 72. They are expelled out
of England by the Picts, ib.
47. They make title to Ire-
land, 51. 4. Their king
landeth at Carrigfergus, 67.

4. They are slaine, ibid. 28.
They are banquished, 68. 74.
They disguise with Dneile
and kill him, 717. 46. Duer-
thowen in Conmagh, 0.
Scald brother a theefe, 24. 10.
His cause, ib. His swiftmelle,
His theurie & his death, ib.
Scrope lord deputie to Tho-
mas of Lancaster, 73. 67. Is
exclaimed for his extorsion, ib.
70. His wife procureth his
amendment, 74. 10. He inua-
deth upon Macmorough, 74.
32. He returneth into Eng-
land, ib. 50.
Selfe will canseth rebellion, 141.
50.
Seneshall of Imokellie Fi pe-
muns entreteth into Youghall
164. 55. A principall with
James Fitzmorris, 131. 35.
His castle of Wale martyr be-
sieged and taken, ib. He tra-
leth secretly awaie by night,
ib. He lieth in wait for capitain
Kilcraig, 173. 10. His coward-
nes, ib. He is challenged to the
fight and refuseth, ib. He pre-
ceth upon Lismore, 173. 6. He
and the lord Barre at vari-
ance, 175. 30. A spial made
on him by capitaine Dordall,
175. 43.
Serpents none benecious in
Ireland, 13. 28. They be
being brought thither, ib. 36.
They are killed with the wa-
ter and earth of that land, 14.
24. Whie there be none there,
14. 30.
Sentleger sir Anthoine sent in-
to Ireland, 99. 25. His go-
uernement there and his reuo-
cation, 109. 1. Is sent backe
lord deputie the second time,
110. 30. Is lord deputie the
third time, ib. 45. Is lord de-
putie the fourth time, 102. 35.
He sendeth an armie to Wul-
line, 103. 55. He sendeth aid
to the lord Lenour, 103. 33. A
quarrell betweene him and the
earle of Dymond, 104. 34.
They are both sent for into
England, 104. 64. They are
reconciled, 104. 75. He retur-
neth lord deputie, 106. 10.
Sentleger Warham made pro-
nost marshall of Ireland, 162.
13. Is one of the priue coun-
sell, 181. 77.
Shape in Ireland, 120. 3.
Shenit river, 22. 67.
Shires of counties in Ireland,
10. 45. 181.
Simne cause of all overthows,
52. 70. Being neuer so
great want no excuse, 50. 10.
Shward king of Denmarke, 47.
50.
Shoneir sir Henrie treasurer at
warres, 110. 77. 35. Is lord
iustice foure times, 110. 17.
A lord deputie, 110. And knight
of the garter, ib. 34. 15. 120.
A lord president of wales, ib.
45. His instructions, ib. 50. Is
honorable received into Ire-
land, 111. 2. Taketh his oth, ib.
11. Is eloquent ozation then,
ib. 15. Is godcept to Dneile,
112. 68. His iourne into Wil-
ster, 116. 6. He passeth into
England, 118. 6. His com-
ming to the court, ib. 8. Retur-
neth into Ireland, 118. 28.
Summoneth a parlement, 119.
20. His answer to the spea-
kers ozation, 119. 56. He Dub-
beth sir Humfreie Gilbert
knight, 132. 56. Returneth in-
to England and is honorable
received, 134. 40. Is lord de-
putie the third time, 136. 16. He
maketh a warnte into Ulster,
and the same wholie com-

meth to submission 136. 50. He
maketh an hostling through
the wholie land, 137. He is
present at the funerals of sir
Peter Carow 138. 50. The
earle of Ester his letters and
garter sent unto him, 144. 15.
The malcontents of the
English pale repine against
the earle, 144. 5. He deliuereth
the sword to sir William
Dunrie, 140. His satengas at
the entring into his ship, 150.
60. His parcentage and educa-
tion, 150. 30. 47. Is dubbed
knight, ib. 60. His ambassads
and gouernment, his religion,
151. 5. 30. 40. He caneth De-
neile, placeth presidents, refo-
meth the courts, and causeth
the statutes to be imprinted
and ozdred places for the
recorde, 152. 76. 35. 63. 71.
8. He repareth the castle of
Dublin, he reduceth the
Irish countreies into Aires,
he repareth sundrie decayed
townes, he buildeth the barge
of Shelton, and increaseth the
reuenues, 152. 51. 61. 73. 15.
His noble vertues, 152. 14.
His death and buriall, 153. 70.
14. He renewed Strangbows
monument, 62. 20. He erecteth
capitane Randolphs atchue-
ment, ib.
Siluer quicke his nature, 133. 57.
Silken Thomas, 91. 35.
Skeerington sir William, lord
deputie, 87. 22. He is very ho-
norable received, 87. 27. His
answer to the recordez oz-
ation, ib. 31. He recordez the
sword, ib. 56. His falling out
with the earle of Kilbare, ib.
50. He recurreth the sword to
the earle of Kilbare, 87. 51.
He passeth into England & re-
turneth lord deputie the second
time, 17. 50. 47. 3. He besiegeth
the castle of Wainouth, 95.
His rewarding of Peters the
traitor, his death, 97. 43.
Skirmish at Kilka, 33. 26.
Somme stood still for the space of a
daye, 74. 46. 77. 72.
Souldiers ere of three degrees,
5. 60. Kept in discipline, 135.
29.
Swoch & See Swoch, 24. 60.
Speaking stone, 24. 60.
Spaniards first arrival into
Ireland, 74. 4. 9. 77. 72. Their
intent, ib. 67. They come to
aid James Fitzmorris, 154.
40. They are beligered at
Carrigfoile, 167. 27. Their
proud brags, ib. 50. They are
taken and hanged, 167. 13.
They kepe their fort at saint
Marie weke, 170. 54. They
leane the fort and sic, ib. 57.
Their determinations, ib.
The lord deputie besiegeth &
taketh their fort, 171. 30.
Spanish brags, Epistola.
Stanke sir William, he lieth at
Abar, 161. 43. His good ser-
vice, ib.
Stanke sir Thomas, his good
service, 77. 41.
Stanhurst speaker of the parlie-
ment 119. 70. His ozation, ib.
His request, ib. 40.
Stanton Dhrup burneth castles
and prieth the countie, 63. 42.
Stanton Richard gaoler of
Newgate, 95. 45. A good fat-
lor and his service, ib.
Staples bishop of Wexh landeth
at Dublin, 87. 27. His quest-
ion of the Dublins, ib. 67. He
was fullie answered, ib. 12.
Statutes of Kilkennie confir-
med, 75. 15. They are impur-
ted, 152. 76.
Statute of an Irish man, 44. 64.
Stephan

The third table for Ireland.

Stephan de longe the lord in-
stice, 62.57. He killed Ouele,
ib. He died, ib.
Stephan of Watomore his re-
uerences by the pere eight thou-
sand pounds, 57.28
Stoke, 11.68
Strange and wonderfull things
in Ireland, 28.30
Strange le Thomas placed in
castle Ballyrogh, 142.15. He
is besieged, and his good ser-
uice ib. 20. He is knighted
and of the council, 181.66
Strangeweale of Chepstow
3.35. Promiseth aid to mac
Morogh, and to marrie his
daughter, ib. 37. He is sent for
into Ireland, 11.20. He with
the good leane of the king ar-
riue into Waterford, 11.60.
14.97 He marrieth Eua the
daughter and heire to mac
Morogh, 14.25. He mar-
rieth to Dublin, and taketh
it, 15.6. The king proclaime
th against him, 15.55. He ser-
ueth Ricmond to the king
with his submission, 16.6.
The description of him, 20.
68. He returneth into Eng-
land, 20.41. He hath peace
with the king, 20.45. He re-
turneth into Ireland, 33.8.
He died, 40.47. He is sepul-
cher in Dublin, 63.20.
Stratagems at Ardah and Le-
nole, 176.10.24.
Strife about a dog, 52.1
Strukelle Thomas in great fa-
uour with the pope, 149.40.
suspected to come to Ireland,
ib. 26. Great preparation a-
gainst him, ibidem. His titles
of honor given by the pope,
149.47
22.35

T.

Talbot Thomas is slaine,
73.7
Talbot John lord Furnivall
lord deputie, 76.48
Talbot Robert walketh in the
suburbs of Kilkennie towne,
76.55. Hatefull to the Girals-
dines, is slaine, 84.55
Talbot Richard giuen for an
hostage to the rebelles, 94.30
Talbot well learned, 43.50
Tale tellers, 45.63
Taragh hill, 30.14
Tenth demanded, 64.55
Thira daughter to king Ethel-
wood married to Gurmo, 57.
60. His issue, ibidem. 63. His
politic, 58.23. His lamentati-
on and mooring, ibid. 40
Thomas of Lancaster arriveth
into Ireland, 74.23. Is lord
deputie, 73.70. Putteth the

earle of Kildare vnder arrest,
75.22. Is hurt and wound-
ed, ibid. 28. Returneth into
England, 75.45
Thorneburie Walter lord chan-
celor, 66.40. Elected bishop
of Dublin, ibid. 15. Downed
ibid.
Timber turned to stones and
iron, 30.38
Tirrell Hugh serueth against
the Scots, 67.51. Is put to
ransome, ibid.
Trauers the John capteine of
the arme, 103.63
Triton sir Hugh serueth a-
gainst the Scots, 68.51
Turgeus, 55.58. Manquitheth
Clumding ibid. 68. A bitter
manie troubles 56.10. Build-
eth fortresses and castles,
ibidem. 18. Mastreth the Fi-
rish kings, 56.20. Demanded
Omalagh his daughter to
wife, ibid. 26. Is killed, 59.56

V.

Variance betweene the But-
lers and the Burghs, 69.70
Vetene the earle of De-
mond and the earle of Kildare
82.24. 114.50. Vetene
Uesse and Kildare, 63.70.
About a dog, 52.1
Verdon Philo a valiant cap-
teine, 68.51
Verdon Robert maketh a riot,
66.12. Submitteth himselfe,
ibid. 20
Verdon and Verdon marrieth
Margaret daughter to La-
cie, 62.20
Verdon Theobald is besieged
in the castell of Athlon, 63.53
Uesse William lord iustice, 63.
60. His variance with the
earle of Kildare 63.70. The
combat demanded betweene
them 63.25. Uesse refuseth
it, ibid. Flieeth into France, 63.
27.34.65
Wafford lord iustice arriveth into
Ireland, 71.66. Married the
countesse of Ulster, ibid. A
heauie friend to the earle of
Desmond, 71.37. Great re-
uolting at his death, 37.56
Unuerstie at Dublin, 69.24
Ulster the fift part of Ireland,
50.20. 10.35. Conquered by
Curric, 52.17. Giuen to
Hugh Lacie, 61.60. Spoiled
by Scots, 68.36. The townes
in the same, 27.30

W.

Wallop sir John ambassador in
France, 98.60. He requirith
to haue Fitzgiral, and is de-
nied, ib. 70. Aduertiseth the
king, ib. 9

Wallop sir Henric knight, trespas-
sors at armes, cometh to Al-
keten castle, 167.46. His com-
panie left in garison at Ther-
ten, ib. 66. Is made one of the
lord iustices, 177.46. His good
gouernement, ib. A combat
fought before him, 180.70. He
yeeldeth by the sword to sir
John Derot, 181.8. He is one
of the council, 181.57. He late
at Limerike, 165.20
Wales inuaded by the Dubli-
ans, 74.70
Waterford citie builded by Sita-
racus, 24.17. 12.55. A waies
faithfull to the crowne of Eng-
land, 24.56. The conquest of
it by Richard Strangbow,
14.10. The description of it,
138.70. Their variance with
the earle of Kildare, 139.12.
Their riuer & the commodi-
tie of the same, 139.26. Their
privileges, 139.1. An admoni-
tion vnto them, ib. 40. Their
honorable receiving of the lord
deputie, 138.57. They stand
vpon terms with the lord de-
putie, 131.65
Waterhouse sir Edward knight
one of the quenes priue
council, 181.67. Subscribeth
to the proclamation against
the earle of Desmond, 164.10
Warres betweene Lacie and
Marshall, 61.67
Warres betweene the countries
of Werth and Ofteril
waters of a strange nature in
Ireland, 30.30
Welsh Robert seruant to the
earle of Kildare, 98.70. Accom-
panieth the young earle into
France, ib. Returneth into
England, 98.70
Welsh John maketh a daughter
vpon the earle of Desmond,
178.35. His deuile to passe
ouer the riuer, ib. 53
Welton Robert arriveth into
Ireland as lord chancelor,
116.36. His bypighnesse, ib.
40. His oration to the parlie-
ment, 119.30. Is made lord
iustice, 117.60. His death, 134.
10. His vertues and conditi-
ons, ib. 15. His exhortation to
the council, ib. 30
Wexford towne, 26.64. It is
wonne by mac Morough and
by Fitzstephans, 51.30. The
cheefest towne in Leinster, 4.
16. Is giuen to Fitzstephans
and Moize Fitzgiral, 4.6.
The Wexford men by craft do
take Fitzstephans, 19.20.
They present Fitzstephans
to the king, 11.20. It is left
to the gouernement of Fitzal-
delme, 24.18. The marriage
betweene Ricmond and Be-

lie is celebrated at Wexford,
34.66. The Wexford Fitzgiral
died and was buried, 41.25.
Wexford men make warres
against William mac Rahir,
135.48. They are banquished,
ib. 60
White John his good seruice in
the rebellion against Fitzgiral,
91.8. Is dubbed knight,
ib. 11
White Henric made a boile in
Dublin, 87.16. He is pardo-
ned, ib. 55
Windsoze lord Windsoze the first
lieutenant in Ireland, 72.67.
He kept a parlement in which
a subsidie was granted, ib. 70
Wingfield Jaques master of the
ordnance is vertie careful for
the safete of his nephues, 170.
20. He is sent to the Spani-
ards fort, 171.46. The capteine
submitteth himselfe vnto him,
ib. 52. He presented him to the
lord deputie, ib.
Winter sir William biceadmerall
arriue into Ireland at the
Ventre, 165.58. He distru-
king no harme returneth into
England, ib. 3. He returneth,
and by water besiegeth the fort
at Smerewicke, 171.22. The
notable good seruice of him &
his mariners at that siege, ib.
56. He gaue protection to the
Irish rebels, 165.57.
Wonders of Ireland, 28.30
Wright Nicholas his good ser-
uice to his maister capteine
Raleigh, 173.50

Y.

Youghall towne taken and
spoiled, 164.36. The maior
hanged before his owne doore,
164.50. It is forsaken and
the people called home, ib. 55

Z.

Zoch aduertiseth sir William
Pelham lord iustice of the
lord Grete his arruall, 169.
50. He serueth vpon the Spa-
niards at Smerewicke, 171.
48. He is gouernor at Kerrie
and Desmond, 172.10. A
sickenesse fell in his campe at
Dingham, 174.48. He is go-
uernor of Dounler, 175.10.
He killeth sir John of Des-
mond, 175.30. He serueth
noble vpon Barrie, and re-
ceiueth him to protection, 176.
20. He maketh a iourneie vpon
Fitzmoyses of Lerma and prei-
eth his countrie, 176.50. He
receiueth a new supplie of
souldiers, 177.20. He retur-
neth into England, 177.4

Post mortem vita.

FINIS.



T

A What of Fe
40 Of Fe
403, 26. A
thred,
Abbeie of Chan
built,
Abbeies founde
840, 182, 26
183, 10, 19
unlawfull m
In English

Aberden town
English,
Aberdene wall
how built, 8
thwone,
Aberdene king
keth the nob
10, 20. A

Acho king of
in Abdon, 19
cause of his
Scotland, 19
demands &
people, 60. A
200, 60.
ships and m
into Diken
pareth to m
on, but diet
unfion was
Acon, 4. S
Ares besieged
Aba the daug
and wife to

Adelstan entre
b 50. Adulst
cruell procla
tunge his er
124, 810, 8
b 30. 4
Aders with

Adrian the en
to go into A
ter, findeth
the countrie
beginneth a
safeguard of
meth to L
b 10, 8. His
and merth
Agatha and C
the world,
Agreda. 9

Agriola inua
turneth to
eth his ente
Scots, 56. A
bedfull to
Adict, 65.
bidge, 8. A
host, and mo



The fourth table serving for the description

and historie of Scotland; containing iust directions to memororable

observations both of names and matters :

gathered by Abraham Fleming.

The first number noteth the page, the second the line,
a the first columnne, b the second.

A.

Abat of Ferne burnt, 376, a
40. Of Kilwinning slain,
403, a 26. Of Culric mur-
dered, 317, b 40.
Abbeie of Charterhouse monks
built, 265, a 50.
Abbeies founded, 193, b 60, 190
a 40, 182, a 60, 187, b 10, &c.
183, a 10, 198, b 10. Given by
unlawfull meanes, 282, a 10.
In Englishmens hands, 209
a 40.
Aberden towne burned by the
English, 236, b 60.
Abercromie wall and the manner
how built, 86, b 50. Over-
throwne, 87, a 10, 30.
Achatus king of Scotland, ma-
keth the nobles agree, 120, a
10, 20. Decealeth, 125, a
10, 30.
Acho king of Norwaye landed
in Albion, 198, b 30, 50. The
cause of his coming into
Scotland, 199, a 60, b 10. His
demands & exhortation to his
people, 60. His nephew slain,
200, a 60. The losse of his
ships and mariners, his flight
into Dykenie, b 10, &c. Pre-
pareth to make a new inuasi-
on, but dieth before his pro-
uision was ready, 200, b 60.
Acon, & See Acres.
Acres besieged, 191, b 30.
Ada the daughter of Aurelius
and wife to Conraus, 98,
b 60.
Adelsan entered into Deira, 123,
b 50. Pursueth Hungus, his
cruell proclamation, doth chal-
lenge his enemies, is slain,
124, a 10, &c. His buriall, 124,
b 30. & See Achelstane.
Aders without hurt, 192,
a 50.
Adrian the emperor prepareth
to go into Britaine, transpor-
ted, findeth nothing abode in
the countie of his enemies,
beginneth to make a wall for
safeguard of the Britons, com-
meth to London, 62, a 10, &c.
b 10, &c. His wall undermined
and overthrowne, 88, a 10.
Agatha and Chastine renounce
the world, 178, b 60.
Agueda, & See Edinburgh, 5
a 50.
Agricola inuadeth I. Eborac, re-
turneth to Brittain, pursu-
eth his enterprise against the
Scots, 56, a 20, &c. His name
ordfull to the Scots and
Picts, 65, a 10. Maketh a
bridge, &c. Passeth with his
host, and incampeth nere the

foot of the mountein of Gran-
berie, 58, a 20, 30. Commeth
to the succor of his men, 57, a
30. Discomfitteth his enemies,
40. Sendeth forth his name
of ships to discouer the fur-
thest point of Britaine north-
ward, 57, b 60. Subueth
Angus and wintereth there,
certified of the mischance of
his name, 59, a 30. He is sent
for to Rome, 50.
Aidan commeth to the king-
dome of Scots by sutender,
108, b 10. Appointeth les-
sons to be kept pearlie in three
parts of the realme, in wars
against Hudeus, 50, 60. Re-
proued, repenteth, 109, a 10.
His diligence to resist his en-
emies, 110, a 30. Departeth
this life, b 50.
Aire castell besieged and wone,
198, b 30.
Alarke, & See Achelstane.
Albian a noble man his oration,
121, b 20.
Albzen the sepulture of graue of
Danes, 164.
Albions and Saxons incommen-
ter, 98, a 60.
Al sold by weight, 192, b 60.
It and wine by the pound,
168, a 10.
Alleluia, & See Germane.
Alexander king of Scotland his
dalliance, 200, a 40. With his
wife came to London, 202, b
20. Goeth into England, 196,
b 60. Commanded of the
pope, 196, a 50. Married, 203,
a 50. To the daughter of the
lord Coude, 194, a 10. His
answer to a legats message,
202, a 20. His wisdom praie-
sed, 40. Taken by the Cum-
mins, 198, a 30. Set at libe-
tie, 50. In armes against the
Danes and Norwegians, b
30, &c. In battell against
king Acho of Norwaye, 199,
20, &c. His manhood, his
death and buriall, 182, a 10,
b 30.
Alexander the fierce crowned
king, note, 181, b 30.
Alexander the second crowned
king, 194, a 10. He passeth to
London, 40. He is accused, 60.
Returneth into his countie,
b 10. In armes against the
English, 30, 40, &c. Decealeth,
197, b 20.
Alexander the third crowned, an
interview betwixt the king of
England and him, 197, b 10,
60. His lawes, 204, a 10, &c.
His sudden and strange death
203, a 60.

Alexander prince of Scotland
married, 202, b 60. His death,
203, a 10.
Alexander of the Fles arrested,
263, a 50. Commeth to the
king and asketh pardon, 262.
Alexander Canon a valiant
man: note, 182, a 30, 40.
Alpine crowned king of Scots,
inuadeth Brittain, 126, b 10,
20. Refuseth anie treatie of
peace, 127, a 60. The incamp-
ing of his armie, b 50. Con-
strained by the nobles, maketh
vpon him to be crowned king,
125, a 50. Unwilling to re-
ceiue it, fled, 60. Tooketh re-
ceiued of Dargall, 60. His ex-
cuse, b 10. Taken by his en-
emies and after beheaded, 128,
a 10. His head stoned and so-
lemne buried with the bodie,
128, a 60.
Alured sent ambassadours to
king Gregorie about a peace,
142, b 10. & See Ethelred.
Ambsadours into Denmarke,
281, a 60, b 10. Into Eng-
land, 330, b 60, 378, b 40, 376
a 64, 457, a 60, 381, a 40.
Out of England, 409, b 30.
Into Scotland, 449, a 8.
Out of England into Scot-
land, 410, a 30. Out of
France, 410, a 30, 410, a 50.
Into England, 443, b 10.
Out of England into Scot-
land, 443, b 53. Into France
to consummate the marriage of
Marie queene of Scots to
the Dolphin, 371, a 30. From
and into France, 305, a 50.
Out of France into England,
374, a 50. Out of England
to Scotland, 374, a 60. From
the king of France, 383, b 40.
Out of England, 384, a 10.
Out of France, 436, a 40.
Out of Scotland into France
436, a 50. Into France, 318,
b 50. To the king of Romans
286, b 10. From Spaine, 189,
b 60. From Swethen, 380, b
60. Slaine, 164, a 30.
Ambition, & See Makbeth.
Ambreleth king of Scots
turned from vertue to licen-
tiousnesse, gathereth an ar-
mie, 116, b 30, 50, &c. His
death, 117, a 10.
Amphibius, 73, a 60.
**Anastass hath Northumber-
land** given him, 147, a 10.
Fled into Westmerland, rideth
the Ile of Man, and got him
into Ireland, 147, a 30. & See
Northwegians.
Anglesie inuaded by Sueton-
ius, 52, b 60.

Angus Erie commeth into Eng-
land 438. Returned into
Scotland, 446. Entereth
Strirling, 448, a 30. Sent into
Scotland, 330, b 30. Com-
mitted to ward, 333, b 20.
His dissimulation, 345, b 60.
Put to flight, 346, a 10. For-
saken and attained by par-
liament, 310, b 10. & See
Earle.
Angus the thane of Gallowaie
raileth a commotion, discom-
fited, besieged, perisheth, be-
commeth a canon, 186, b
20, &c.
**Angustanus with bright dea-
ling** purchaseth the more
friendship, vanquished, pro-
claimed king, 74, b 10, &c. 60.
He, Fethelmarius, and Ro-
marius long to three scutall
brethren pretend right to the
estate, 74, a 60. Sueth for
feare, 75, 60. In armes, b 10.
Slaine, 20.
**Anand deliuered into the go-
uernour**, 391, a 60. The church
undermined, 344, 30. Blowne
by with powder, 344, a 50.
Antoninus in hope to be emperor
concludeth a peace with the
enemies, 67, b 50.
Antwerpe, the Scotish house
there builded, 220, a 60.
Anwicke castell wone by the
English, 179, b 30.
Archbishop resigneth, 283, b 60.
Abused, depriued, put in pri-
son, 282, b 10, &c. Sent into
Rome, 284, b 50.
Archbishop of Glasgow dieth,
292, b 10, 30. Of S. Andrews
executed, 402, b 10. Decealeth,
308, a 20.
Archbishops strine for prehemi-
nence, 282, a 60. Of S. An-
drews their catalog, 455,
a 34.
Argadus is sent forth to appe-
hend rebels, 64, a 20. Created
lord president of the counsell,
10. Chosen to gouerne Scot-
land, by right, rebuked, confes-
seth his faults, permitted to
continue in his office, and a-
mendeth his former misgo-
uernment, 63, b 10, &c. Slaine
by ambush, 65, b 60.
Argathelia when first so named,
31, b 50.
Argile, for Argathile, 84, b 20.
The earle at dissention with
earle Huntlee, 374, a 10. In-
sulted by the Irland men, 65, b
50. & See Argathilia.
Argentine sir Gules knight
slaine in fight: note, 219,
b 60.
France

Historie of Scotland.

against him: note, 220, b 40.
 Smeith discomfited to re-
 bies, 216, a 22, &c. Recou-
 reth callis, 30, 62. Inuadeth
 England, 60. Offended
 with his brother, 216, b 50.
 His exhortatiō to his armie,
 218, a 10. His miserablē state
 in the beginning of his reigne,
 214, b 20. His wife taken, 40.
 His brethren put to death,
 50. His invincible hart in
 trouble, 60. Getteth oner into
 the fles, 215, a 10. Commeth
 to Siennesse, 20. Inuadeth
 England, 223, b 60. Bur-
 ning and waiting, 224, a 10.
 With an armie in Scotland,
 223, b 40. Inuadeth the north
 parts of England appo-
 ching almost to yorke, 224, a 50.
 His second marriage & issue,
 221, a 20, 30. Killeth an Eng-
 lishman, 219, a 60. Governeth
 by deputation, 225, a 60.
 He deceaseth, 226, b 50. His
 fame and praise amongst his
 enemies, 227, a 10. The ad-
 uise given by him to his no-
 bles before his death, b 10.
 His desire to haue his hart
 borne to the holie sepulchre,
 227, a 40. ¶ He Antwerp.
 Bute Robert the first crow-
 ned, 214, a 50. Discomfited at
 Bellen, 60. Married to Mar-
 tha daughter to the earle of
 Carricke, 202, a 60. King of
 Scotland, b 20. The occasion
 of the Scots overthrow at
 Dunbar, 208, a 40. Submitt-
 eth himselfe, 50. His succe-
 ssors, 204, b 40
 Bute and Cumine conspira-
 tors, their end, 213, a 30, 40,
 214, a 10, 20
 Bute Edward proclaimed K.
 of Ireland, 221, a 40. Slain,
 b 10. ¶ He Wallace.
 Buchanan hath the gentile
 cheeke and reppose, 260, b
 10, &c.
 Buckquhane, the reason of the
 name, 84, b 10
 Buriall of Scottish princes, an
 ordinance therof, 38, b 60.
 Of soldiors slaine, 78, a 60.
 Of one quicke, 51, a 60, 278,
 b 30
 Bute Jle taken, 335, b 40

C.

Cadwall of Galloway gener-
 nous, sent with an ar-
 mie into Ireland, 42, b 20, 60
 Rewarded for his good ser-
 uice, 43, a 10. Deceaseth, 43,
 b 10
 Cadwall banquished, refoz-
 oed to his kingdome, 111, b 10
 Caldozas a Baron reioiceth
 as well at the slaughter of
 his owne people as his ene-
 mies, 65, b 10
 Calen his grane counsil ta-
 keth place, 136, a 50
 Calis besieged by Edward
 king of England, 240, a 60
 Calphurnus is sent into Bri-
 taine, enreth into the bor-
 ders of his enemie, returneth
 to yorke, 64, b 40, 50, 60. Stu-
 dieth to reforme the state of
 Brittain, returneth to Rome,
 65, a 10
 Camelon besieged by Vespasian,
 surrendred, peopled with
 Romans, 48, 50, 60. Taken
 by force, 85, b 60. The citie
 throwne downe, 132, a 60.
 The gentelwomen there are
 preferred, 131, b 10. Require

truce for thre daies, b 30
 Candida Cala, 117, b 60, 312,
 b 40
 Cannus a Danish capteine
 landeth at the Red braes,
 marcheth through Angus,
 165, b 50, 60. Incourageth
 his Dances, he is slaine, 166,
 a 10, 50
 Canute brother to Swane ge-
 nerrall against the Scots, 166
 b 60, 167, a 10. His words to
 Edmund Ironside, 169, b 30
 Captiuitie right happie: note,
 256, a 50
 Car Thomas, 408, b 50
 Car Walter sent to defend Jed-
 worth, 409, a 5. Joineith with
 William Ruthwin, 409, a
 30
 Caratake chosen capteine of
 the Britons, 46, b 30. He
 claimed king of Scots, 402,
 in Carike, 45, b 20, 40. His
 answer to the Romane am-
 bassadors, 47, a 50. Alen-
 deth an armie, 49, b 60. The
 strength of the place where
 he was incamped, 60. He
 sembleth an armie, 48, b
 10. Escapeth, flieth vnto
 Dunstafage, vnterlie refuseth
 to become a subiect, 48, a 10,
 &c. b 30. Exhorteth his to
 fight, ouerthrowne, betrayed
 by his stepmother, sent to
 Rome, shewed in triumph, bi-
 eth, 50, a 10, &c.
 Carantius troubleth the estate
 of Britaine, 71, b 60. His wil-
 lie practise, 72, a 10. Offereth
 to come to make answer vnto
 such matters as he was
 charged with, requirith to be
 aided against the Romans,
 vsurpeth the kingdome of
 Britaine, hauing gotten the
 bishopric, diuideth the game in
 assigning to his confederats
 their due portions, 72, a 10, &c.
 b 10, &c. 60.
 Carausius, ¶ He Carantius.
 Carbarie hill, 387, a 50
 Carbane king of Denmark,
 137, b 60
 Cardinall Guilo summoneth
 the Scottish clergie, 195, a
 10. His auarice, condemned
 in a summe of monie, the
 Scots fore offended at him,
 his practise, 30, b 30, 40. Com-
 meth into England furni-
 shed with the popes authori-
 tie: note, 194, b 10
 Cardinall Hugh of saint Ang-
 lo the popes legat, 189, b
 60
 Cardinals onlie two in Scot-
 land, 452, a 20
 Carill wonn by the Scots, 194
 b 40. Repared, 184, a 30.
 Carmichellard, 402, b 39.
 Carolus Magnus in league
 with the Scots, 120, b 10
 Carron river runneth with
 blood, 83, a 10
 Cartandis queen of Scots, 78,
 b 60. Lamenteth hir infatu-
 nate estate, 79, a 10
 Cartmanbus buried quicke,
 51, a 60
 Cassels earle committed vnto
 ward, 401, b 50. Slaine, 314,
 b 10
 Cassibellane king of Britaine
 requirith aid of the Scots a-
 gainst the Romans, 43, b 60
 Castill of Blackenelle wonne,
 373, a 20. ¶ He Blackenelle.
 Castels surrendred and taken
 by force of the English, 312, a
 50, 60. Repared, 90, b 40. In
 pledge, 189, b 20. ¶ He their

proper names dispersed in
 this table.
 Castina lieutenant of Britaine
 4, b 60. Raised an armie, 85,
 a 10
 Cathnesse the earle passeth into
 Dikeme, 317, a 30. Slaine,
 317, a 30
 Catus procurator of Britaine
 sed into France, 52, a 30.
 wounded, 52, b 30
 Cawmils wonn by the English
 363, b 10
 Celius Placia entred with an
 armie into Galloway, 51,
 a 50
 Ceuline king of west Saxons
 slaine, 110, b 20
 Chaire of marble described,
 hath a fatali destinie, 30, a 60.
 Conuad into England and
 placed in westminster, 213, a
 10. Remoued from Bigile in-
 to Gowje, in the place called
 Scone, 132, b 50
 Challenge made of the lard of
 Grange, 403, a 50. Made by
 the lard of Grange, against
 the lord Gowje, 363, b 60
 Chancellor, the office, name, and
 originall thereof, 421, b 40
 Chancelors their catalog, 449,
 b 10
 Charanach king of Picts, 52,
 b 40
 Chatalon in Couraine deliue-
 red to the Scots, 258, b 30
 Chesholme John cometh out
 of France, 403, a 60.
 Christ Iesus his birth, 45, b 10
 Christians: ¶ He Constanti-
 us and Dioclesian.
 Christinas bankets resembling
 the festis of Bacchanalia, 102,
 a 40
 Chyonicles & other books bar-
 ned, 212, b 40
 Church intriched & the crowne
 impouerished: note, 183, a 50
 Cathedraill of Murrie burne,
 251, b 20
 Churches repared, 167, b 30
 Indowed by king William,
 193, a 60
 Churchmen fauoured, 90, b 50,
 107, b 10. Their liuings de-
 manded, 378, b 10
 Claudius emperor cometh in-
 to Britaine, 46, a 10
 Claudius temple builded, 48, b
 10. At Colchester, 212, b 60
 Clemencie of James the fourth
 vnto rebels and murderers,
 287, b 30
 Clerie sir John slaine in the ile
 of Dikeme, 364, a 20.
 Clergeman slaine and what
 seuer execution infard, 196, a
 50. ¶ He Churchmen, fere-
 doth, and Picts.
 Cneus Trebellian appointed
 in Agricola his place, 59, a 60
 Cobors capteine, 350, a 10
 Colius his subtiltie, entred in-
 to Scotland with an armie,
 slaine, and his armie discom-
 fited, 34, a 30, &c. b 20
 Coinc imbafed, 283, a 60
 Colchester, 48, a 60, b 10
 Colgerne a Saxon is sent for
 by Deca, 100, a 60. Landeth
 in Northumberland, b 10.
 Created duke of Northum-
 berland, 101, a 20. Reproueth
 Loth, is run through by his
 aduersarie, 102, b 40, 60
 Colman conuerted the Saxons,
 114, b 50. Created a monaste-
 ric, 115, a 60. Governor of
 Merre, a wise counsellor, his
 opation before king Athanas:
 note, 120, b 60
 Colmekill, 84, b 30

¶ j.

Colmes inch Jle wome by the
 English, 343, b 30
 Combat in a case of iracion,
 180, b 10. ¶ He Juffs.
 Comit. ¶ He Waling star.
 Commissioners sent into Eng-
 land, 401, a 60
 Commotion against Trura-
 gus, 46, b 40. Betwene the
 carls of Murrie and Hunt-
 leic, 304, a 20. In Scotland,
 156, a 30: note the end, a 30,
 40. ¶ He Angus, Marianne.
 Composition brouise, 216, b 50
 Composella ¶ He Brigantia.
 Conanus cholen king of Scot-
 land, persecuteth offenders,
 renounceth the estate, 39, b 10,
 &c. Cinen to excellue glorio-
 rie, conspired against, com-
 mitted to close keeping, his
 officers punished, 63, a 10, &c.
 Dieth, 63, b 60
 Conanus Camber counelleth
 the Britons to seke peace
 with the Scots, and slaine a-
 mongst them, 87, b 20, &c. 50.
 Goeth about to persuaide his
 countrie to breake the peace
 with the Scots and Picts,
 89, b 60
 Concubine, ¶ He Dailie.
 Concupiscence, 118, b 20
 Confession of a murdering
 quene: note, 118, a 20
 Congall vpon conditions coue-
 nanteth to aid the Britons,
 96, a 50. Promised to aid the
 Picts, 93, b 20. His exhorta-
 tion to the Scots, 95, a 50
 wounded but pet escapeth,
 95, b 10. Deceaseth, 99, a 10
 Conranus generall of the
 Scots, 98, a 40. Married the
 daughter of Marcius,
 98, b 60. King of Scots main-
 taineth good order, present at
 assises, 99, a 10, &c. Murthe-
 red in his bedchamber by tre-
 son, 104, b 30
 Conscience guiltie of a tyrant,
 172, b 30. Troublesome, 70, b
 40. A hellish torment, 158, a 10
 &c. Accuseth a man, 151, a 50.
 Conspiracie of people against
 their king, 40, b 40. Of the
 Scottish lords against James
 the thirb, 286, b 40. Of lords
 against Robert Bute king:
 note the issue, 223, a 10. Of the
 commons of Britaine against
 their nobles, 90, a 60. Of
 Scottish lords against Ro-
 manus, 74, b 50. Against Ch-
 rane, 104, a 40. Against king
 Ethus, 140, a 20. Against
 king Constantine and the
 same executed, 137, b 30, 40.
 Of Perquhard: and note the
 end thereof, 37, a 60. Agreed
 vpon by indenture, 213, a 40.
 Discovered, 50. The parties
 examined, 60. Their end: note
 214, a 10, 20, &c. It and mur-
 ther, 62, b 50, 60. ¶ He Per-
 ries and Treson.
 Conspirators of king James
 the first his death, 266, b 10,
 &c. Search made for them,
 their execution, 267, b 10, 20,
 &c. Downed and otherwise
 reprochfullie executed: note,
 167, a 60. Put to a most horri-
 ble death: note, 147, b 10. Dis-
 couered and pardoned: note,
 177, a 20
 Constantie of the Picts when
 they were besieged, 131, b 60
 Constantine aspired vnto the
 crowne, 158, b 60. Crowned
 by force of freinds, 159, a 10.
 In armes against Mel-
 colme and Kenneth, 159, a 60,
 b 10

The fourth table for the

b10, 8c. Assembleth a mightie
armie, 138, a 60. **W**rothedeth
against his enemies, b 60. **I**s
saine, 160, a 10
Constantine crowned king of
Scots at Stone, 137, a 30.
He would saue recover his
predecessors losses, he deu-
seth a reformation of disor-
ders, 40, 50, 8c. Conspired a-
gainst, b 20. And the conspi-
rators executed, 40
Constantine placeth his soldi-
ers and encourageth them,
139, a 30. He is taken & mar-
tyred, 60, b 10
Constantine proclaimed king of
Britaine, 81, a 10. **S**aine,
81, b 60
Constantine proclaimed here
apparent and prince of **W**is-
taine, 105, a 60. Crowned
king of Britaine, 107, a 10.
Forsaketh his earthly king-
dome in hope of the heauen-
lie, entereth into religion,
107, a 40. **M**urthered, 50
Constantine the first, king of
Scots, nothing like his vn-
cle in noble conditions, 91, b
30, 8c. **S**aine by one whose
daughter he had rauished, 92,
a 10
Constantine the third, king of
Scots beginneth his reigne
145, b 20. **B**ecometh a canon,
146, b 10. His decease, 30
Constantius a monk elected
of Britaine, 92, a 40. **M**ur-
thered, 50
Constantius persecuteth the
Christians, 73, a 30. **S**aine
Dioclesian.
Contention about the intowen
of the see of saint **A**ndrews,
303, a 30. **B**etweene earles
and other states, 306, b 20,
307, a 30. **B**etweene kinsmen
for the crowne, 204, b 30.
Saine Discretion.
Conual elected king of Scots,
his deuotion to the crosse,
107, a 60. **T**owards church-
men, b 10. **A**nd churches, 20.
Decent, 108, a 30
Conual succedeth **A**chabius,
and is king of Scots, decen-
tely, 125, a 40
Corbeid king of Scots, 50, b
10. His three sonnes, 33, a 30.
Decent, 53, a 10. **S**aine
Gald.
Cormach bishop of Dublin
went to king **G**regorie about
peace, 144, a 10
Cornelius and his huge armie,
143, b 10. He is fore wound-
ed, 40
Cornwall castell woone, 344,
b 60
Corpus Christi feast first insti-
tuted, 198, a 60
Cotten capteine of **I**nsith,
350, b 50
Couetousnesse hath a pretense,
114, a 20. The rot of all mis-
chiefe, 175, a 50. **L**inked
with crueltie, 118, b 30
Council held at London, 92, b
60. **W**ithout the cleargie,
377, b 60. **C**alled by **C**on-
stantine the third, 146, a 60
Saine Parliament.
Counsell graue taketh place,
136, a 50. **G**od of graue men
despised, 128, a 30. **C**ull of
a wicked woman followed
with destruction: note, 150,
a 60, 8c. **F**ill of a woman to
revenge, 8c: note, 156, a 60.
God of capteins not regar-
ded, 300, b 60
Countesse of **L**encux bozne,

303, b 60. **S**aine Margaret,
and **L**encux
Crab a pirat and a recaller:
note, 232, a 10
Craftmen brought into Scot-
land to instruct the people, 8c,
39, a 10, 8c.
Cragmiller prouost of **C**en-
burgh, 387, b 50
Cranslane capteine ouer-
throwne, 437, a 20
Craithint cheefe conspirator
to the murdering of **D**onald,
procureth the nobles to op-
presse the seruants of **D**on-
ald, 70, b 60. **R**emoueth to
heare that **C**arantius was
alme, resolueith to aid him
and to certifieth him, cometh
to a communication with the
king of Scots, 72, a 40, 50,
60. **M**ade king of Scots,
his politike government, go-
eth to hunt, promisseth to ob-
serue the ancient amitie be-
twixt the Scots and **D**ixs,
71, a 20, 8c. **D**estroyeth the
temples of **G**od and man, 73,
a 30. **D**ieith, 50. **C**auseth a
commotion, instigated to re-
venge, 156, a 60. **T**aken and
executed, b 30, 40
Crichton william a Scot im-
prisoned in England, 436,
a 60
Crossingham Hugh regent of
Scotland, 208, b 50
Crosse called the **B**lacke crosse,
177, b 50
Crosse called the **R**otescroffe: note
187, a 40
Crowden what it significeth
note, 167, b 10
Crowne of Scotland changed,
35, b 60. **I**ntaled, 221, a 10. **A**n
act for the succession thereof,
225, a 60, 245, b 40. **S**aine **I**n-
gulfianus, **C**ontention, Scot-
land.
Crueltie of the Scots, 88, a 10,
132, a 50, 131, a 20. **O**f **S**um-
merleith, 185, b 50. **O**f **M**ak-
beth, 174, b 40. **O**f **B**ritons
extreme, 107, a 10. **I**n warre,
237, a 30, 40. **O**f a thele to a
widow, 263, b 60. **B**arbarous
and vnnatural: note, 278, b
30, 8c. **O**f one brother to ano-
ther, 205, a 10. **O**f rebels, 186,
b 50. **C**aused through feare,
174, a 40. **S**aine **B**ritons,
Danes, **M**akbeth, **S**wen-
o, **T**hous.
Culen crowned king, requirith
publike praiers to be had, his
oth, 151, a 20, 8c. **C**ontinued
not as his beginning was
152, a 30. His lewd and vice-
ked inclination, 40, 8c. He is
murdered, 60
Culen capteine taken, 403, a 20
Cumberland inuaded, 249, a 10
It & welshmerland do homage
vnto England, 147, a 60
Cumin **D**aud. **S**aine **E**rie of
Acholl, **B**zule.
Cumins kindzed when they
had their beginning, 182, b
30, 40. **C**omplained of and put
to the horne, 198, a 20. **G**reat
of power and honor: note,
198, a 30
D
Dacres lord warden of the
west marches of England,
309, a 60
Daisie the concubine of James
the third, 183, a 60
Dales their names changed,
131, b 10
Danes shot quarels and threw
darts, 139, a 60. **T**heir crueltie

in such places where they
came, b 40, 8c. **P**repare to bat-
tell, 141, a 10. **T**heir chafe ge-
nerall, 50. **F**led to their camp,
40. **T**heir apparill, weapons,
and propozition of vodie, take
flight, 138, b 10, 20. **T**he cause
that made them arrere warre
against England and Scot-
land, 137, b 10. **T**heir vile great
crueltie, 138, a 10. **S**aine he to
revenge old losses, 154, a 50, 60
Consult to go into England,
to saile into Kent, land at
Montrosse, come to the river
of **E**ise, b 10, 8c. **F**orsake the
fields, 155, b 30. **P**rocure war
against England, 148, a 30
Breakers of faith and pro-
mise, 164, a 20, b 50. **T**heir
crueltie, 164, a 10. **T**heir
bones seene in diuerse places,
166, b 10. **S**aine nere vnto
Ceminer, b 50. **D**ut to flight,
165, b 10. **S**aine at **B**urlema-
non, 166, a 60. **T**heir crueltie,
165, b 50. **T**heir bones of
great bignesse, 167, b 10. **D**ut
to flight by the Scots, 148, b
60. **T**o be baptised, 145, a 60
Discomfited b 60. **C**onceive
hope of god successe, 60. **C**lan-
quished and buried in saint
Colmes church, 170, b 40. **D**o
uercome with dinke fall a-
slape, 170, a 50. **S**laughter-
red, 170, a 60. **T**hey and the
Norwegians come to aid the
Scots and **D**ixs, 57, b 20.
They and the **D**ixs ioin
themselves together, fled into
Northumberland, their nobi-
lie saue at **B**erwike, 140,
b 60. **T**he order of placing
their armie, 139, a 10. **T**hey
and the **N**orwegians chased
by the Scots, 200, b 10. **S**aine
Acho, **E**nglishmen, Scots.
Darling, 203, b 60. **S**aine **W**on-
der.
Darrie sir **A**nthonie knight,
291, b 20
Darrie sir **A**rthur knight sent
to the borders, 318, b 10
Dardan king of Scots, 53, a 10
Falleth into all kind of vices,
beheaded, 53, a 40, 50
David king his liberalitie, in-
uadeth **N**orthumberland, 240,
a 20. **T**he borders of **E**ng-
land, 40, 60. **W**ith a great ar-
mie, b 60. His balliance, taken
by **J**ohn **C**opland, 241, b 10,
20. **D**ecaleth after he had re-
pentted him of his marriage,
244, a 60, b 60
David king conueied ouer into
France, 231, a 50. **T**he north
parts of Scotland obeie him,
236, b 50. **R**eturneth to Scot-
land, 239, b 30
David the fierce and the first of
that name king of Scotland,
182, b 60. His care for the
poore, 60. **A** builder of ab-
bies, 183, a 10. **I**nuadeth
Northumberland, 184, a 10.
Mortified from the world,
his ozation to his nobles, te-
stifying how patientlie he
toke the death of his sonne:
note, 184, a 60, b 10, 8c. His ex-
hortation to his nobles, his
departure out of this life, 185,
a 50, 60
David fauconer saue, 316, b
50
David **R**ichio the queenes se-
cretarie saue, 382, b 50
Ded of gift after the old forme
and fashion, 248, a 60
Deglaslon battell, 110, a 10
Deira waiked by fire and sword,

123, b 60
Denmarke and Scotland in a-
mie, 266, a 10. **A**ppuntion for
warre sent from thence, 295,
a 60. **T**he king thereof com-
meth into Scotland, restozed
vnto his kingdome, 291, a
30
Derth great, 198, b 30. **C**en-
treime and lamentable: note,
239, a 40. **E**xceeding, & after
that a plentie, 192, b 20
Derth and famine extreme, 216,
a 50. **A**nd how helped, 209,
b 40
Derth and deth, 185, b 30, 237, b
60, 238, a 10. **B**y pestilence,
268, b 60
Desire, **S**aine **B**zule.
Desse monseur fleth from
Bedworth, 350, a 40. **R**etur-
neth into France, 351, a 10
Deth of kings, 259, b 40, 50.
Of noblemen, 276, b 10. **O**f
great personages, 292, b 10,
8c.
Deth sudden, 36, a 30
Diana honozed of the Scots,
the goddesse of hunting, 36
b 10
Diet superfluous and excessiue
refrained: note, 137, a 50.
Fine cokerie banished, 63,
b 60. **D**elicat spoken against,
redressed, and when baked
meat began in Scotland, 264,
b 20, 8c, 60. **S**aine **S**urfer-
ting.
Dinnune burned, 336, a 30
Diocelesian persecuter of the
Christians, 73, a 10
Dionethus reputed for the se-
cond person in the realme, 86,
a 30. **J**oineth with the Scots
against the Romans, procla-
med king of Britaine, circa
peith slaughter, 85, a 20, b 60,
8c.
Disford amongst a companie
harteneth the enimie, 59, a 60.
Saine **C**ontention and **D**is-
sention.
Disloialtie, 223, b 60. **S**aine
Disobediencr.
Disobediencr in the Dow-
glasse, 268, a 50. **P**unished,
209, b 50
Dispensation from Rome, to
marrie with the lord **D**ernes-
leie, 381, a 50
Dissention betwene the earle
Morton and the lord of
Johnstone, 436, b 40. **V**ious-
geth the nobilitie, 423, a 50.
Betweene the pope and
king **J**ohn, 193, b 50. **I**n
England, 277, b 30. **A**ppre-
sent destroyer, 322, a 50. **S**aine
Contention, Nobles.
Dissimulation and deitling in
lies, 175, a 60. **C**raftie & clo-
ked, 40, b 40, 60
Diuorle betweene the queene
and the earle of Angus, 313,
b 18
Dobegnie lord dieth, 292, b
10
Dogs of Scotland commended
71, a 60
Dolphin of France mainte-
neth warre against the Eng-
lish, 258, b 20. **M**arieth **M**ar-
garet daughter to **K**. James,
266, a 20
Domitian the emperour enuie-
th the prosperous successe of
Agricola, 59, a 60
Donald **B**ane usurper of the
crowne, fled into the **F**les, re-
fozed to the crowne, 180, a 50,
8c, b 50. **S**tudious to main-
teine his subiects in peace,
conuerted to the christian
beliefe,

beliefe
Donald
king of
Donald
Lochq
eth, his
to the
complie
Donald d
ken, di
Donald a
death w
Donald o
robber:
257, a 1
mitteth
Becom
by a m
Donald
Scotlie
letterth
Taket
is mur
Donald b
to rebu
little, &
gentiun
to peill
condit
ned, 69
murth
a 10. **I**
a 20, **I**
Donald d
of bill
nished
30: 8c.
are sen
10. **T**
135, a
bices
136, b
Donald
a god
144, t
cie.
Dongall
his pol
seuerer
tors, r
rebels
Dongall
the **D**
his g
Dongar
acts at
90, b 3
Donwal
a 20, **I**
tition f
concer
king, 1
150, a
fact, b
bler, 6
151, a
ecuted
Dowus
Scoti
to reb
uouere
Dowadi
louer c
in hun
Dowage
uermot
miscit
344, b
352, b
to the
60. **S**
nour, 3
nour b
thir oz
b 40. **S**
Dowglas
prison

Historie of Scotland.

bricks 67, b 60. He dieth, 8, a 30
 Donald brother to Findocke
 king of Scots, 70, a 60. Dieth
 a 30
 Donald Balloch inuadeth
 Lochquhaber, 263, b 20. Flie-
 eth, his head sent as a present
 to the R. three hundred of his
 complices hanged, 263, b 30
 Donald discomfited, chased, ta-
 ken, dieth in prison, 181, a 10
 20, &c.
 Donald apprehended and put to
 death with his complices, 118
 a 60
 Donald of the Isles mainteineth
 robbers, 118, a 30. Rebellet, h
 257, a 10. Flieeth, b 10. Sub-
 miteth himselfe, 279, a 50.
 He commeth mad, 60. Slaine
 by a murtherer, 260.
 Donald of the Isles inuadeth
 Scotland, 70 a 60. Suddenlie
 setteth vpon the enemies b 10
 Taketh vpon him as king, &
 is murthered, 40, 60
 Donald king of Scots studieth
 to reduce his subjects to ciuili-
 tie, promisseth to aid ful-
 gentius, 66, b 50, 60. Whereby
 to payd himselfe vpon certain
 conditions, but is not recei-
 ued, 69 b 60. Deuileth how to
 murther king Findocke, 70,
 a 10. Rebellet, 145, b 10
 Donald the fourth k. of Scots,
 of dissolute behauiour, admo-
 nished of his nobles, 134, b 20
 30: &c. He with the noblemen
 are sent home againe, 136, b
 10. Taken with the nobilitie,
 135, a 60. Falleth to his old
 vices againe, laid in prison
 136, b 60. He killith himselfe,
 137, a 10
 Donald the fift king of Scots,
 a god iusticer, and religious,
 144, b 60. ¶ See Conspira-
 tie.
 Dongall made king of Scots.
 his politike rule, 92, a 30. A
 seuerer punisher of malefac-
 tors, raised an armie against
 rebels, 125, a 50, 60, b 10
 Dongall his displeasure with
 the Pias answer, 126, a 40
 His good counsell, 91, b 60
 Dongard king of Scots, his
 acts and deeds, his vertues,
 90, b 30. Slaine, 91, a 50, b
 10
 Donwald king of Scots, 113,
 a 20. Downed, b 20. His pe-
 tition for rebels receied, but
 conceiueth hatred against the
 king, is counselled to kill him,
 150, a 40: &c. Committeth the
 fact, b 10: &c. A verie disem-
 bler, 60. Taketh his flight,
 151, a 50. Taken prisoner, ex-
 ecuted, b 20, &c.
 Douglas setteth vnto certaine
 Scottish lords to moue them
 to rebellion, 69 a 20. His fa-
 uourers put to death, 30
 Douglis king of Scots, a
 lover of peace and delighted
 in hunting, 36, b 30
 Dowager laced vnto by the go-
 uernour, 344, b 10. She pre-
 smeth aid out of France,
 344, b 20. Saileth to France
 352, b 60. She commeth vnto
 the English court, 354, a
 60. She seeketh to be gouer-
 nour, 355, b 60. Made gouer-
 nour by parliament, 357, a 10
 Her oration to the nobles, 373,
 b 40. See Marie & Queene.
 Dowglasle Anthony taken
 prisoner, 254, b 60. Inoptus-

nate in battell, 255, a 10, 20
 Gouverneur elected, 232, a 60
 In armes against Edward
 the third, 232 b 50. Wam-
 shed, 317, b 10. Arrested and
 put in prison, 264, a 40. In-
 uadeth England, 254, a 50
 Prisoner, 243, a 60.
 Dowglasle earle James deca-
 ser, 250, a 30
 Dowglasle James, his vail-
 antnesse against the Turks,
 landeth in Spaine, slaine by
 the Saracens, how oft he had
 gotten the butoie, 228, a 40
 &c.
 Dowglasle Jone conuict of trea-
 son, 320, a 50
 Dowglasle Margaret hir birth,
 life, death and buriall, 414, b
 40, 415, a 10
 Dowglasle William of Liddef-
 dale prisoner, 232, a 20. Ran-
 somed, 235, a 60. Created
 earle of Dowglasle, 240, b
 40. Claimeth the crowne,
 245, a 30. Honoured for his
 promisse, 248, b 10. Chosen
 admerall by the lords of
 Hartzcn, he is slaine, 252, a
 20
 Dowglasle earle sent vnto an
 abbie, 284, b 30. Goeth into
 Italie, 273, b 20. And into
 England without licence of
 the king of Scots, 60. Su-
 ereth for pardon, 274, a 10. En-
 uiet those that beare rule a-
 bout the king, 20. His great
 port, 268, b 50. Made duke of
 Couraine, 260, a 60. His va-
 liantnesse, 249, a 10, &c. b 42,
 50, 60. Decaleth, 247, b
 30
 Dowglasle earle marrieth his
 brothers wife, 275, b 10. His
 companie shyneth from him
 276, a 20. He with Douglas
 into England, he is discom-
 fited, 276, a 40. Inuentereth
 the k. of Scots ouerthrowe
 lie, and is slaine, 274, b 30
 Dowglasles forsalet or attain-
 ed at parliament, 275, b 20, 30.
 Of puillance and authoritie:
 note, 276, b 40, 50. While they
 beate the bloodie hart, 227,
 b 50. How they came by
 the carle dome of Hartzie,
 245, b 10. A name beloued
 of the people, 274, b 20.
 They beate all the foraine
 and home, 271, a 30, b 30. Of
 great aliance: note, 274, b 10.
 Their rising to honour, 215,
 a 40, &c. b 30
 Dowglasle giuen in spoile
 vnto the men of warre, 275, b
 50
 Downe castell payded, 401, a
 50
 Downgarg besieged, 143, b
 60
 Downke castell besieged, 115,
 b 60
 Drazan castell payded, 392, b
 60
 Downelof lands, 170, b 10
 Druides and their authoritie,
 40, a 50, 60
 Drumlanrig lord warden of
 the march, 393, a 40. Writ-
 teth letters, 344, b 70. Secour-
 ged by holmen, 345, a 30.
 They barrie his countrie,
 345, a 30. Pursueth the Eng-
 lish, 345, a 50. Put to flight,
 345, a 60
 Dunsken king of the Pias,
 128, a 60. Inuadeth
 his enemies, 129, a 40. Com-
 meth to seise his people,
 129, b 60. Persuadeth vnto

peace, 130, a 10. Imbolde-
 neth his people, 60. Escapeth
 by flight, 129, b 10. Slaine,
 130, b 30
 Dublin besieged, 143, b 50
 Duchmen arise in Scotland,
 52, a 50
 Duke king of Scots crowned,
 goeth to the westerne Isles,
 purgeth them, 149, a 20.
 He sailleth sicke, a 60. His
 regard to iustice execu-
 ted, b 10. Restored to health,
 150, a 10. Rewards his
 friends, b 10. His seruantes
 cut his throte, his buriall, b
 30, 40. His bodie taken vp
 out of the ground, and ho-
 nourable buried, 151, b 20,
 50
 Duke Alexander of Albame
 taketh the sea, 280, a 30. Re-
 turneth into Scotland, 307,
 b 10. Visitteth the borders,
 the second person of the
 realme, 305, a 10, 20. His
 arrivall in Scotland, 303,
 a 60. Returned into Eden-
 burgh, 60. Blamed, 284, b
 40. Confirmed tutor by par-
 lament, 302, b 20. Flieeth
 to Dunbar, 284, b 10. Com-
 meth into England, 283,
 a 40. Received and recei-
 ued into his countrie, b 30
 Warre denounced against
 him by an English herald,
 307, b 60. Returneth into
 France, 312, a 30. Goeth
 ouer into France, his request
 and being drag, hee retur-
 neth into Scotland, 309, b 10,
 20, &c. Imprisoned, 282, b 20
 Escapeth, 30
 Duke of Chalterault gathereth
 a power, 400, a 10. He returneth
 to Glasco, 400, a 30. He belie-
 geth Glasco, 400, b 10. For-
 salted, 403, b 30
 Duke of Lancaster commeth
 with an armie vnto Eden-
 burgh, 247, b 20. His disloa-
 tie, 223, b 60
 Duke of Lennox hath the earle
 Moytons lands, 434, a 10.
 Banished, 434, b 30. ¶ See
 Lennox.
 Duke of Yorks and other peeres
 arrested, 262, b 10. He and his
 sonnes are beheaded, 262, b
 50
 Duke of Northfolke and the
 Scottish lords mete at Yorke
 393, b 60
 Duke of Northlate and the lazie
 Anne de la Poile married,
 285, b 50. His insolent out-
 rage, 233, b 60. Commit-
 ted to prison, 254, a 20
 Duke of Summerfet entreth
 Scotland, protecor of Eng-
 land, 341, a 50, b 60. He bur-
 neth a peece of Leith, 343,
 b 40. He brudeleth the Scots,
 345, b 40. A digression con-
 cerning him, with prophesie
 touching his rising and fal-
 ling, 434, b 40, 50
 Dukes first created in Scot-
 land, 425, b 50, 252, b 20
 Of other countries bring
 Scots their catalog, 428, a
 20. None in Scotland nor
 England, 434, b 30. Their
 catalog, 426, b 50
 Dunbar stronglie situated, 402,
 a 40. Delivered after the
 death of Richard the third,
 286, b 10. The castell in
 the Englishmens hands, 285,
 a 20. Rendered to king Ed-
 ward, 208, a 30. Rased, 391,
 a 40

Dunbar in Angus, and Dun-
 bar in Louthian, 106, b 30
 Dunbar familie, 131, a 60
 Dunbarton whie so named: note,
 how called before, 136, a 10. An-
 cientlie called Alcluth, &c. 56, a
 20. Burnt, 262, b 20. The castell
 taken, 303, a 20. Taken by po-
 lice, 402, a 10
 Duncane king of Scotland, of a
 soft nature, 168, b 10, 20, &c. Be-
 stirreth himselfe in assembling
 an armie, 169, b 60. His small
 skill in warlike affaires, 169, a
 10. Fled to the castell of Ber-
 cha, 170, a 20. His wife whose
 daughter, his death enforced, and
 buriall, 171, a 30, 60
 Duncane the base sonne of Mal-
 colme crowned king, lacketh
 skill in ciuill gouernement, he
 is slaine, 180, b 20, &c.
 Dundee and whie so named, 192,
 a 20. Abandoned of the Eng-
 lish, 348, b 20. Fortified by the
 french men, 348, b 40. The
 men craue aid of file, 409, b
 70
 Dunkild castell, 108, a 10
 Dunfermling church builded, 179,
 b 10
 Dunse burnt, 362, b 50
 Dunstan castell builded, 174, a 50
 Dunstafage builded, 41, b 40
 Durham abbey spoiled, 241, a 20
 The bishoppe burnt by the
 Scots, 223, b 40. The church
 by whom built, 179, a 60
 Durstus chosen king of Pias,
 besieged of Romans, brought
 prisoner to London, 80, b 10, &c.
 Durstus king of Scots conspired
 against, 40, b 30. Besieged and
 slaine, 41, a 10. His two sonnes
 slaine, 41, b 60
 Durie rode, 259, b 60
 Duddere set on fire, 346, a 10
 E
 Eclipse of the sunne terrible, 265
 a 40
 Edisterd king of Northumber-
 land, 109, a 40. Lost one of
 his eyes, 109, b 60. His dis-
 pleasure, 110, b 60. He is slaine,
 111, b 20
 Edinburgh recovered to the go-
 uernour, 332, a 10. The pro-
 uost lendeth to the eric of He-
 reford, 334, b 20. Entered by
 force, 334, b 50. Burnt, 334,
 b 60. Delivered to the lord of
 Erskine, 337, a 10. Kept by
 the lord of Grange against the
 regent, 402, b 20. Edinburgh
 mis broken, 410, a 10. The
 castell taken by the regent and
 the English, 412, a 20. Whie cal-
 led the Maiden castell, 414, a 10.
 The names and building there-
 of, 414, a 10. The whole towne
 in a tumult, 308, a 30. The
 castell, or the castell of Haldens
 left of the Pias, 132, a 60
 Besieged, 310, a 50. Forti-
 fied by the earle of Angus,
 313, a 10. A session there in-
 stituted, 317, b 50. Besieged,
 282, b 30. The prouost and the
 bailiffes thereof depoled, 307,
 b 20. It and Strimling cas-
 tles wonne by the English,
 208, a 60. ¶ See Agnedatou-
 ching the name.
 Ederus king of Scots burneth
 his enemies ships, 43, b 30, 50
 Decaleth, 44, b 60
 Edgar crowned, 181, a 40. His
 vision, 20. The first announ-
 ced king of Scots, 50. As
 ther reuerenced than dreaded,
 his death, 181, b 20
 Edgar

The fourth table for the

Edgar Etheling of treason, 180, b 10
 Edmund Ironside, & See Canute, 363, a 60
 Ednam burnt, 363, a 60
 Edington taken prisoner, 363, a 30
 Edward of Carnarvan, of England commeth into Scotland, 216, a 40. Taketh by foul play, b 50. Out of what countries he had aid, 60. His promise, 217, a 20. Thinketh himself sure of victory, 40. His exhortation to his army, 218, b 10. Entreats Scotland, put to flight, 221, a 40. He is deposed, b 60. Sendeth a name into Scotland, 227, b 40. Escapeth the hands of the Scots: note, 219, b 40
 Edward Longshanks meaneth to make some conquest of Scotland, 204, b 10. Dieth, his cruelty, 215, b 50, 60
 Edward king invadeth Scotland, 210, a 50. Commeth to Berwick, he hath homage done to him, 206, b 10, 50. Burdened with cruelty & tyranny by the Scottish writers, 208, b 60. His great preparation to invade the Scots, 212, a 30. Maketh peace with the Danes, 199, b 40. Sendeth ambassadors into Scotland about the election of a new prince, 157, a 10
 Edward the third crowned king of England, 225, a 10. Invadeth the Scots by land, 235, b 60. Had two kings prisoners at once, and how he sat at the table with them, 243, b 10. Purposeth to subdue the Scots, 232, a 20. Envieth the felicity of the Scots, 229, a 20. His purpose to destroy Eric Thomas: note, a 40. In arms against the Scots, 225, b 10. Breaketh by his campe, 226, b 10
 Edward prince of Scotland deceaseth, 179, b 60
 Edwin a right christian prince, 111, b 30. Slaine, 113, a 20
 Eganus murdereth his brother, 125, b 30. Lieth in leare, 40. Strangled of his queene: note, 50
 Egghed chased into Northumberland, getteth aid from the Scots, 162, b 60. The battell betwixt him and Sweno, escapeth by flight, 163, a 10, 20, &c.
 Egfred king of Northumberland, his answer to an ambassage touching restitution, 115, b 10, 40. Slaine, 116, a 10, 60
 Eglington eric committed to ward, 401, b 50
 Elgarine yielded foris unto the Danes, 148, a 40. Taken prisoner, a 60. Drowne in peeces, b 10
 Ella. & See Osbert.
 Eltham slaine by his brother, 237, a 40
 Emperour commeth into England, 308, a 40
 Emulation. & See Strife.
 England divided betwixt Canute & Edmund Ironside, 169, b 40. Frenchmen & Scots banished from thence, 308, a 40. Invaded, & diverse places burnt & wasted, 224, a 10, &c. The names of the kings thereof mistaken in Scottish writers, 147, b 30. An armie of Frenchmen and Scots enter into it, 248, a 10. Divided into seven severall kingdoms, 109, a 30. & See Cumberland. Dilection, and Northumberland.
 Englishmen and Britons loine their powers with the Danes, 134, b 60. Invade Northumberland, 183, b 40. Fled into Scot-

land, 177, b 20. Invade Northumberland, 135, b 10. Manie of them drowned, 40. Slandered of the Scots, 310, b 60. Thirtie thousand horsemen overthrowne in trenches, 219, a 40. Discomfited, 221, b 60. Aland at Leith, 334, b 10. The order of their armie, 340, a 60. Their fleet, 341, b 10. Their captives taken, 342, a 20. Their horsemen beaten backe, 343, a 30. They retorne home, 343, b 40. Horsemen overthrowne, 347, a 20. Repelled at St. Annets, 347, b 40. Put to the sword at a skirmish nere Haddington, 348, a 20. Make a rode into Scotland, 362, b 40. Put the Scots to flight at Hattwell Sweire, 363, b 50. Burne the Isle of Arrane, 364, a 60. Desirous to reuenge the injuries done unto them, 56. Inclosed in a cellar to kill it. Robert Bruce, 220, b 40. Put to flight by the Danes, 163, a 10. Their miserie vnder the bondage of the Danes, 163, a 50, 60, b 10, &c. Their cruelty, 208, a 10. Their armie passe through Scotland from the south parts to the north, 212, a 40. They & Danes fall out & fight, 147, a 20. Their haris begin to faint, put to flight, 219, b 30. Chased & lose whole countries, 241, b 60. Intrapped, put to flight, taken prisoners, 242, a 60. Invade the Scottish border, a, slaine and drowned, 246, b 20, 30. Discomfited in fife, 247, b 30. Their offer to haue Scots toine with them in league, 205, a 60. Make war vpon the Scots, and whie, 322, b 40. Fetch a bowtie out of Scotland, 298, a 10. Their cruell dealing towards the Scots, 259, b 40. Their policy, 233, a 10, &c. They lie in wait for the Scottish fleet, encounter a fleet of Spaniards, 266, a 30, 40. Foiled & slaine by the Scots, 273, a 60. Fetch bowties out of Scotland, 272, b 40. Invaded Scotland, 60. Thanke God for victory against James the first, 301, a 30. Invaded Scotland, discomfited, 311, b 40, 50. & See Britons.
 Enurloch builded, 43, a 50
 Enuernefle builded, 43, a 60
 Enue & spite causing murder, 246, b 60. At others honoz, 274, a 20. & See Hatred.
 Epiake cite toine by the Romans, 54, a 20. Taken & burned by Moabicia, 54, b 10
 Eric of Angus commeth into England, 312, a 40. His request, 312, b 60. Feareth the sentence of forfeiture, banished, 307, b 40. He & the queene his wife at mutual hatred, 306, b 20. He and others receiued into fauor, 304, b 30
 Eric of Arrane in the kings displeasure, 280, b 40. Lieutenant to James the fourth, 291, a 40. Reuolteth from the gouernour, 304, a 50. He & Angus at dissention, 306, b 60. Stealeth away, 304, a 10. Declareth to the gouernour the minds of the lords, 308, b 40
 Eric of Atholl gouernour of the Ballioll in Scotland, 234, b 60. Fleeth into the mountains, submitteth himselfe, 235, a 60. Slaine, 236, b 10

Eric of Crawford vpon submission pardoned, deceaseth, 275, b 10, 20. In exile, 246, b 60. His pardon begged, 247, a 10
 Eric of Cumberland heire apparent to the king of Scots, 146, a 10. Of Hereford invadeth Scotland, 338, b 40. Of Huntie hath lands giuen him, 275, a 40. Of Lencur in ward, 305, a 30. & See Lencur. Of Mar slaine in his bed, 230, b 50, 60. Of Mentith poisoned, 198, a 50. Of Murrie &c. cleasat gouernour, 235, b 10. Taken prisoner, 236, a 50. Sent into France, 232, a 30. & See Murrie. Returneth out of France, 235, a 40. Of Namure commeth into England with an armie, 235, b 60. Of Northumberland made lord warden of the whole marches, 309, b 10. Lieutenant of the north, 241, a 30. Of Dmont generall of the Scottish armie, 272, b 60. Ethopeth his people, 273, a 20. Eitigious, 273, b 10. Taken prisoner and beheaded, 176, a 40, 50. Of Rutland generall of the English forces in Scotland, 351, a 40. & See Rutland. Of Sainburie, exchanged for the eric of Murrie, 240, a 10. Of Shewelsburie invadeth Scotland, 308, a 40. Of Sharrete sent into the north, 289, b 30. Lieutenant vnto Henrie the eight in Scotland, 299, b 50. Invadeth Scotland 309, b 60. With an armie of 40000 men, 311, a 60. Made warden generall, 309, b 10. Of Souller entred into Scotland, 364, a 40. Of Sowerland. & See Sowerland.
 Eric Cochran of Mar and others hanged, 283, a 60, b 10. Dauid of Huntington, 189, a 50, 191, b 20. Entirely the cite of Acon, 50. Taken prisoner, redeemed, 192, a 10. Deceaseth, 195, a 40. Dowglas. & See Dowglas. Duncane Stewart of Lencur beheaded, 262, b 40. & See Lencur. Randall gouernour of Scotland, 228, b 10. Richard of Gloucester, 178, a 10. Thomas the gouernour poisoned, 228, b 20
 Eric of Bothwell, 250, a 60. & See Bothwell.
 Ericdome of Rolfe, giuen vnto William Rolfe, alias Lelle, 202, b 40. Transferred to the Stewards, 257, a 40
 Erilston a prophetier of rumer, 203, a 60
 Erthquake 192, b 40. Terrible, 192, b 60
 Erthus the sonne of Ethodus begot Fergule, 81, a 20
 Ester, strife about the celebration of it, 113, b 50
 Etanges taken prisoner, 349, b 10
 Ethelbert baptised, 110, b 60
 Ethelred with his two sonnes Alured & Edward, 169, b 50
 Ethine king of Scots a peaceable prince, deceaseth, 118, a 10, &c.
 Ethodus king of Scots requieth restitution of his subiects goods, exhorteth the R. of Picts to war against the Romans, 64, a 10, &c. Shone wounded, & committed to the cure of surgeons, 78, a 60. Confined into Denmarke, 79, a 60. Brother to Eugenius

us interceded in Denmarke, 81, a 10. Dearthoweth the Picts, 77, b 60. Witheth his country to the iustice maintained, giueth himself to hunting, murdered by a mulctian, 66, a 20, &c.
 Ethorus the second, king of Scots courteous, slaine of his own seruants, 68, a 30. & See Eugenius.
 Ethus king of Scots saued by flight, 139, b 10, &c. Surnamed Lightfoot, 140, a 10. Neglected opportunitie, conspired against, 20. Tressed with his fauourers, 30
 Etius lieutenant of the Romans in Gallia, 85, a 60. Refuseth to aid the Romans, 87, b 10
 Euan a conspirator disquieteth the R. and realme, 137, b 10. Lieutenant of Drakstaf, 20. He is executed, 137, b 40
 Euers Rafe knight, invadeth Scotland, 336, b 60. Defaceth the monuments of the Dowglas, 337, a 10. Slaine, 337, a 60. His seruice against the Scots, 337, b 10
 Eugenius and Ethodus the sonnes of Fincomarke, 74, a 60. Conueied into the Isle of Man, b 40
 Eugenius king of Scots, 86, a 40. Dieth, 90, b 20
 Eugenius inuested R. of Scots suspected of his predecesors death, 104, b 40, &c.
 Eugenius rewardeth his soldiers, 106, b 10. Inuested R. in arms against the Britons, 76, a 60, b 10, &c. Discomfited, 77, a 10. Breaketh by his campe, 20. Prepareth an armie to defend his country, 60. Comforteth his people, b 10. Slaine, 78, a 10
 Eugenius his humilitie to his people, 105, a 10. Agreeable to the Picts requests, b 60. Ransomer, 107, b 60. Governeth his people with clemencie, 107, a 10. Deceaseth, 60
 Eugenius the fourth, king of Scots alouer of peace & quietnesse, a sharpe iusticer, 111, a 50, 60
 Eugenius the fifth R. of Scots, his commandement, gathereth an armie, 115, b 10, &c. 50. Dieth, 116, a 60
 Eugenius the first R. of Scots, 116, a 60. Deceaseth, b 10
 Eugenius the seventh king of Scots crowned, suspected of murder, causeth his ancestors histories to be written, 117, a 10, &c. Deceaseth, b 10
 Eugenius the eighth inuested king of Scots, peruered with sensuall lust, murdered, 118, a 60, b 10, 40. & See Morvied.
 Ewin chosen king of Scots, 41, a 40
 Ewin the second, chosen king, 42, b 60. Resigneth the state, his decease, 43, b 10, 20
 Ewin the third, king of Scots of that name licentious, 44, b 60. Pursued & forsaken of his subiects, condemned to perpetual prison, strangled, 45, a 40
 Ewin his lawes abrogated or rather altered, 179, b 10
 Excommunication how to be vied, 390, b 60. Of a king, 114, a 20
 Execution with severitie, 196, a 40. Without respect, 223, a 60: note, 240, b 60
 Fable

Fable of a Tale.
 Factions of the named.
 Fairies. & See
 Fame often truth, 217
 Familiarit queene: note
 Famine exte
 ble, 239, a
 Fall castell
 Fawktirke
 Fealtie.
 Swearith
 Feneoch
 Fenella, a
 reuenged
 Feare the
 nobles, 4
 enemies
 home,
 Feare & tim
 Crueltie
 Feredeth
 gle their
 Slaine,
 60,
 Fergale t
 Gatha a
 40. Retu
 to Denm
 the Sc
 rth him
 20. He h
 in M
 forthlic
 ed into
 uested h
 fall his
 ning of t
 60. Wh
 Gahan
 the confu
 Disuade
 Roman
 land in
 rth ch
 30, &c.
 10. balia
 Durkin
 bodie bu
 Colmek
 Fergule t
 of Scot
 118, b 6
 wife,
 Fergusus
 landed i
 32, b 40
 great po
 Colius,
 reland, a
 Ferthar
 35, b 20
 solemn
 dead,
 Ferleign
 Ferrius
 French
 Ferquhar
 a 40. M
 102d, in
 10. He
 Ferquhar
 Scots,
 berall, r
 cated, 1
 he was
 leth sick
 confello
 ghoft,
 Ferquhar
 and bal
 60. & S
 Ferthima
 bed, 76, a
 nus.

Historie of Scotland.

F.
Fable of a fox, 175, a 40. **¶** See Tale.
Factions of Scotland several-
 lie named, 423, a 50
Fairies, **¶** See **Phrophecie**.
Faine oftentimes exceedeth the
 truth, 217, a 10. **¶** See **Report**.
Familiaritie of a subject with a
 quene: note, 230, a 20, **¶** See.
Famine extreme and lamenta-
 ble, 239, a 40. **¶** See **Derth**.
Fast castle wone, 343, b 50
Fawltre battell, 424, a 20
Fealtie, **¶** See **Honage** and
Swearing.
Fenedocht the thane of Atholl,
 126, b 20
Fenella, a malicious woman &
 revengefull: note, 158, a 60, b 10
Feare the force thereof euen in
 nobles, 42, a 20. **¶** Outward
 enemies causeth quietnesse at
 home, 186, b 10
Feare & tumult, 95, a 20. **¶** See
Crueltie.
Feredeth taketh from the cler-
 gie their priuileges, 124, b 60.
Slaine, 126, b 40. **¶** He is bur-
 ed, 127, a 10
Fergus is sent to aid the
 Goths against Rome, 80, a
 40. Returneth from Italie in-
 to Denmark, 60. Sent vnto
 the Scots dispersed, prepara-
 rth himselfe to war, 81, b 10,
 20. **¶** He with his ships arrived
 in **W**arwicke first, received
 ioyfullie of the **P**icts, connect-
 ed into **B**rigle and there in-
 uested king, purpooth to as-
 saile his enemies in the draw-
 ing of the daie, 82, a 10, **¶** See: b
 60. **¶** Married a daughter of
Graham, 83, a 60. **¶** Inuadeth
 the confines of **B**ritaine, b 10.
¶ Disuaded to fight with the
Romans, 40. Disuadeth the
 land in parts, 84, a 60. **¶** Repa-
 rith churches, castles, **¶** See: b
 30, **¶** See. **¶** Exhorteth his people
 to valiantnesse, 85, b 10. **¶** He &
Durstan slaine, 85, b 60. **¶** His
 bodie buried in the abbey of
Colmeckill, 86, a 50
Fergus the third created king
 of Scots, a wicked prince,
 118, b 60. **¶** Strangled by his
 wife, 119, a 10
Fergus sent into Scotland,
 landed in **A**lbin, made king,
 32, b 40, 50, 60. **¶** Assembled a
 great power of Scots against
Coils, 34, a 60. Went into **I**-
reland, & is drowned, 35, a 30
Fertharis chosen **K**. of Scots,
 35, b 20. **¶** Inthronised, note the
 solemnitie, 50. **¶** Suddenlie
 dead, 36, a 30
Ferleus exiled, 36, a 30
Ferrihurst castle wone by the
French, 349, b 50
Ferquhard king in Ireland,
 32, b 40
Ferquhard king of Scots, 112,
 a 40. **¶** Maintineth cruell dis-
 cord, infected with the **P**ela-
 gian heresie, taken prisoner, b
 10. **¶** His desperat end, 113, a 10
Ferquhard the second king of
 Scots, first conetons, now li-
 berall, 113, b 60. **¶** Excommuni-
 cated, 114, a 30. **¶** Alies wherto
 he was giuen, 30, **¶** See. **¶** He sal-
 leth sick, 60. Sent for his
 confessor, b 10. **¶** Feideth by the
 ghost, 30
Ferquhard a Scot berie strong
 and valiant, aduanced, 202, b
 60. **¶** See **Conspiracie**.
Fethelmars murthered in his
 bed, 76, a 20. **¶** See **Angustia**
nus.

Fetherston sir William knight:
 note, 247, a 60
Fife sometimes a part of **P**icta-
 land now of Scotland, 76, a
 40. **¶** It with other countries
 in subiection to the Romans,
 55, b 10. **¶** Put to fire & sword,
 129, b 40
Fiacre giueth himselfe to liue a
 solitarie life in France, 112, a
 50. **¶** His pieter, b 40
Fincomarke king of Scots, be-
 ginneth his reigne, 73, a 50,
 60. **¶** Raileth his power, ioineth
 battell, b 20, **¶** See. **¶** Deceaseth, 74,
 a 50. **¶** His sonnes **E**ugenius
 and **E**thodius, 60
Findocke king of Scots, his
 vertuous disposition, maketh
 a lozie into the Isles to sub-
 due rebels, 69, b 20, **¶** See. **¶** Slain,
 70, a 20
Finnacoll the great hunter, 89,
 b 50
Finnan bishop, 114, a 40
Finnanus **K**. of Scots, a 40, a 40
Fire caused through wind, 203,
 b 30
Fishes like vnto men in shape,
 139, b 20
Fishing, a law made for it, 358,
 a 20, 281, b 40
Fleance desoneth the prince of
 Wales daughter, 171, b 60.
Slaine: note, 173, a 10. **¶** See
Banquha.
Fleming lord escapeth, 402, a 20
Fleming ladie honorablie in-
 treated, 402, a 50
Fleming Robert, a woorthie
 young gentleman, 213, b 40.
¶ Rewarded for his faithfull
 seruice, 220, a 50
Florence reedified, 123, a 60.
¶ The armes thereof, 123, b 60
Fozboile Arthur slaine, 408, a
 40. **¶** Put to flight, 408, a 50. **¶** A-
 lexander his house, great be-
 liced wife and his children
 burnt, 408, a 60. **¶** They receiue
 aid from the king, 408, a
 60. **¶** They follow severall
 leaders, 408, b 10. **¶** Goeth to
Aberdeen, 408, b 10. **¶** Duer-
 thowen besides **A**berdeen,
 408, b 20
Fozboile the master beheaded,
 320, a 60
Fozboiles the beginning of the
 name, 212, b 30. **¶** Disagreed, 408,
 a 10
Ford castle wone, 350, a 20
Fort builded at **A**berlathie, 351,
 a 20
Forth called the Scottish sea,
 136, a 10
Fortune battell, 135, b 60
Foster sir John, 361, a 60
Fothadus the great bishop of
 Scotland undertaketh to co-
 clude a peace betwixt parties
 at deadlie variance: note,
 160, b 40, 50, **¶** See.
Frase with bloudshed about a
 dog: note, 71, b 10. **¶** Among no-
 blemen being on hunting,
 108, b 60
France in old time Gallia, 45,
 b 60
Fratrie, 237, a 40
Frenchmen depart Scotland,
 372, b 40. **¶** Their gallies com-
 pas about Scotland, 347, a 50
¶ They seeke to make a peace
 betwene the quene and the
 lords, 387, b 10. **¶** Depart Scot-
 land, 375, a 10. **¶** Require a
 crowne matrimoniall, 365, a
 10. **¶** In miserable state in
 Scotland, 350, a 50. **¶** They &
 the Scots cannot agree, 248,
 a 20. **¶** They make a rode into
 England, 350, a 10. **¶** Returne

home, 352, a 60. **¶** Incampe at
Wulcelbozrow, 347, b 10.
¶ Come into Scotland, 346, b
 40. **¶** Whic they forbare to giue
 an assaile, 346, b 60. with them
 of **E**denbozrow make a trait,
 348, a 50. **¶** They giue a canoa-
 sado to **H**addington, 348, b 10.
¶ Sent into Scotland, 363, a
 60. **¶** What parts of christen-
 dome they possessed in old
 time, 122, a 40
French king taken prisoner,
 243, a 50. **¶** Sent to persuaue
 the king of Scots to warre,
 295, a 20. **¶** Requreth aid a-
 gainst England, 294, b 50.
¶ Sendeth monie into Scot-
 land, 409, b 50
Friers, foure orders of them, &
 a commandement againt be-
 using new orders of them,
 203, a 20. **¶** Blacke, their first
 coming into Scotland, 196,
 b 10. **¶** Carmelites first coming
 into Scotland, 198, a 60. **¶** **A**p-
 tons first coming into Scot-
 land, 196, b 30
Friers destroyed in **S**triu-
 ling, 367, a 10
Frontinus purpooth to pursue
 the conquest of the **A**lures,
 requirith to toine in amitie
 with the **P**icts, 54, b 40. **¶** **A**lex-
 ander with sickness returneth to
 Rome, 55, a 20
Fulgentius captiue of rebels,
 66, b 60. **¶** Incourageth them to
 sticke to their enterprise, 67, a
 40. **¶** Put to flight, b 10. **¶** With-
 draweth into **P**ictland, 20

G.

Glane king of **P**icts succor-
 reth the Scots, 92, b 30
Gald king of Scots punished
 such as disturbed the peace of
 the state, 53, a 60, b 10. **¶** **A**bo-
 reth to abrogat wicked laws,
 b 20. **¶** Determineth to fight
 with the Romans, 50. **¶** **P**ro-
 miseth to toine in league with
 the **P**icts, 56, a 10. **¶** The same
 of his puissance putteth the
 Romans in feare, b 50. **¶** Cho-
 sen generall against them 60.
¶ Setteth vpon one of his eni-
 mies in the night, 57, a 10.
¶ Commeth into **D**undee, con-
 sulteth how to proceed in his
 wars, b 40. **¶** Commeth to aid
 the **P**icts, exhorteth the peo-
 ple to fight manfullie, 58, a 40,
 50. **¶** By reason of the multitude
 thinketh to inclose his eni-
 mies, b 10. **¶** Pursueth the **R**o-
 mans, 60, a 20. **¶** Studieth to
 preferue his subiects in god
 quiet now after the wars en-
 ded, 60, b 60. **¶** Dec: leth, 61, a 10
Galgacus, **¶** See **G**ald.
Gallio Rauenna is sent to **B**ri-
 taine, pursueth the Scots &
Picts, causeth the wall of **A**-
 bircopne to be repaired, retur-
 neth into France, 86, b 30, **¶** See.
Gallowglasses, 143, b 20
Gallowate wherof so named, 61,
 a 10. **¶** Inuaded by the **A**rish-
 men, 142, b 30
Garlich the lard, 403, b 60
Garnard the king of **P**icts ioi-
 fullie receiueith **G**ildo, they
 assembled a counsell, deter-
 mined to rest all the winter &
 make frontier wars onlie, 57,
 b 40, 50. **¶** Inuadeth Scotland,
 116, b 50
Gathelus giuen to will & plea-
 sure went into **E**gypt, his
 doings aduanced, seekith o-
 ther countries, repelled from
¶ See.

Gilaine, landed in **P**optin-
 gale, 29, a 20, **¶** See. **¶** **B**uil-
 deth the citie of **B**achara, 30,
 a 20. **¶** Instituted **K**. of Scot-
 land, his lawes, 30, a 50, 60
Gawen in seruice with **K**. **A**r-
 thur, 102, b 10. **¶** Slain, 106, b 10
Gemilla wife of **A**rruagus be-
 ceaseth, 47, b 10
Gentlemen restored, 359, a 60
Germans coming to serue **R**o-
 mans rebell against their cap-
 tains & leaders, 57, a 60. **¶** **A** co-
 hort of them restored the **R**o-
 mans side nere at point to
 haue had the worst, 58, b 10
Gift of the pope to a Scottish **K**.
 192, b 40. **¶** **T**o **K**. James the
 fourth, 288, b 30. **¶** **O**f **K**. **W**illi-
 am to **K**. **R**ichard, 192, a 60
Gifts preuaile where as faire
 words faile, 78, b 20. **¶** **G**iu-
 en to king James by his wiues
 friends, 261, b 50. **¶** **R**equired
 as a lone, 114, a 10
Gilbert bishop of **C**athnes ca-
 nonised a saint, 190, a 20
Gilbert of Gallowaie rebelled,
 he is banquished, 189, b 30, 40
Gilcombe spoileth Scotland,
 maketh himselfe **K**. of **G**allo-
 waie, slaine, 205, a 60, b 10
Gilcriff declareth what he is,
 191, a 10. **¶** Murtheth his wife
 vpon suspicion of adulterie,
 190, a 60. **¶** Proclaimed a trait-
 tor, 60. **¶** His miserable estate,
 deliuing of clobs & turkes, as-
 keth pardon of the king in an
 unknown habit, 190, b 20, 50,
 60. **¶** Received into the kings
 fauor & restored to his lands,
 the disposing of them after his
 death, 191, a 10, 20, 30, **¶** See
¶ See **G**ilbert.
Gildo is kept off from landing,
 arriueth in **C**ate water, is
 received, 57, b 20, **¶** See.
Gilespie Rolfe a rebell behea-
 ded, 196, a 30
Gillequhalme the sonne of **D**o-
 nald, 119, b 60
Gillo captiue of exiles banqui-
 shed, 79, b 10
Gilpatrick and others spoile
 Scotland, 205, a 50
Gillus his craftie woothing, 41,
 a 60. **¶** Created **K**. for feare goes
 about to murther **D**othans
 sonnes, counterfeiteth a yeale
 to iustice, rebelled against, be-
 parteth secretlie to Ireland,
 purchaseth aid, 42, a 30, 40, **¶** See.
¶ Taken, beheaded, 43, a 10
Glames made lord chancellor,
 421, b 20. **¶** Conuict of treason,
 320, a 50
Glascoataken, 371, a 30
Glencarne erie his double dea-
 ling, 344, b 60
Glitrans neuer satisfied, 265, a
 10. **¶** See **D**iet.
Godredus, **¶** See **D**launus.
Godwine lands, 180, a 20
Gordon Adam, 408, a 30. **¶** En-
 treth Angus, 409, b 60
Gordon Alexander hanged,
 379, b 70
Gordon John and the lord **D**o-
 gilate fight, 379, b 40. **¶** He is
 imprisoned, 379, b 10. **¶** He esca-
 peth, 379, b 10. **¶** Summoned by
 the quene, 379, b 10. **¶** Accom-
 panied with a great number,
 379, b 20. **¶** Commanded to
 struelling castle, 379, b 50,
¶ He dislobered, 379, b 58. **¶** Be-
 headed, 380, b 40
Gordon lord married to the
 kings bastard, 295, a 10. **¶** Cre-
 ated erle of Huntie, 381, a
 60
Gordon erle of **S**outherland
 sojalled,

The fourth table for the

for salted, 380, b 60
Gordons and Foxboles do
fight, 407, b 40
Gonorrhea, 152, b 50
Geymond arriueth with a naue
in Northumberland, 145, a 10
Quethzowne by Alured, 40
He is baptised, 50
Gothed moneth a rebellion, he
is taken & beheaded, 193, b 30,
40
Goths make an expedition a-
gainst the empire of Rome,
80, a 40
Gouernement giuen by Iohs, 34,
b 60

Gouernoz of Scotland whyles
a new king was chosen, 42, b
20. Senbeth to France, 344,
b 20. He resigneth, 356, a 10
He agreth with the Dowager,
357, a 10. Made duke, 357
a 20. He Duke of Albaine,
Pardons, Scotland,
Gouernours appointed to the
kings person, 305, a 60. At
disagreement causeth ill dis-
posed persons to war bold in
doing mischief, 280, b 60, 281
a 10. Foure under king Eth-
sine, 118, a 20. Of Scotland
their catalog, 417, a 40
Gowthie erie beheaded, 443, a 20
Graham lord Montrose made
L. trefuoz, 443, a 30. Che an-
tiquitie of that name, 443, a 30
Graham and his lineage, 83, a 60
Graimes authoritie in orde-
ring the battell, 89, a 30. He
Graham.

Graimduke, 87, b 60
Gratian blaspeth the goner-
nance of Britaine, 81, b 60
Slaine by Maximus, 80, a 40
Grete taken at hart the losse of
life, 256, a 60, b 10. The cause
of death, 282, b 60, 187, a 10
Gregorie chosen king of Scots,
140, a 40. Giuen whole to
godlines, neuer married, sober,
his expedition into fife, b 20,
ec. His saing to his soldiors,
141, a 20. Suffered the inha-
bitants of Northumberland
to mote their lands, 60, b 10
wintered at Berwike, pre-
pared an armie against the
Britons, his consideration, b
20, ec. Requreth a resigna-
tion of Cumberland and west-
merland, 142, a 40. His deuse,
143, a 20. Auaith the Irish,
his mercifull ble of biopie,
50, 60. His wise & godlie an-
swer, 144, a 20. Received into
Dublin with procession, 40.
Killeth the crucifix, 50. En-
treth the castell, 60. His re-
turne to Scotland, b 10. His
death, 30. Buried in Colme-
hill, 40

Greie lord desireth to incounter
the Scots, 341, b 40. Entreth
Scotland, 372, b 10
Greie lord of Scotland taken
prisoner, 363, b 10
Greies a surname in Scotland,
262, a 20

Grime causeth himselfe to be
crowned king, his liberalitie,
against Malcolme & of great-
er force than he, 160, a 10, 20,
ec. He and Malcolme recon-
ciled, 161, a 40, 50. His altera-
tion from noble qualities to
detestable vices: note, 161, b
10, ec. In armes atreth a-
gainst Malcolme, discomfi-
ted, and miserablie ended his
life, 162, a 10, ec. 60
Guainoz king Arthurs wife,
106, b 10, 40

Gunderus the British king re-

bellet against the Romans,
45, b 40. Slaine,
Guile the first duke his death,
352, a 70
Gutillus generall of the Brit-
tish armie, 92, a 60. Causeth
fue hundred of the enemies to
be hanged, b 10. Slaine with
twentie thousand Britons,
92, b 50
Guns made and superscribed:
note, 293, b 50
Guthred king of Man, 201, a 40

H.

Haddington besieged, 346, b 60
Hattell, 351, b 20. Rased
a left by the English, 351, b 50
Siege remoued, 347, a 30
Haie an husbandman with his
two sonnes their valianties:
note, 155, a 60. Refused collic
garments, is made one of the
nobilitie, reuenues assigned
him, 155, b 60. His request,
arms of enignes, 156, a 10
Hamilton sir James arrested,
321, b 20. Beheaded, 321, b 34
Hurt, 316, a 20
Hamilton lord marieth with the
kings sister, 280, b 50. Taketh
part with the erie of Argile,
371, a 20

Hamilton palace burnt, 400, b
70. The castell besieged, 400, b
40. Delivered to the Eng-
lish, 400, b 40. Blown by
400, b 60

Hamiltons fourtene slaine,
362, b 10. Of whom descen-
ded: note, 225, b 40. Mynghed
with the kings blood, 60
Harold passeth into Norwale,
drowned in his returne, 201, a
60. He Herald at arms,
Haruek wet a cause of derth,
198, b 30

Hastings his challenge to the
croune of Scotland, 205, b 60
Hated, 110, b 60. Procuring
murther: note, 150, a 50, ec.
Betweene the queene and hir
husband, and the cause, 306, b
20. He Enue & Maxice,
Heirgult chosen king of Dides,
76, a 10. Desireth the bitter de-
struction of Scots, 78, b 10
Killeth himselfe, 80, b 10
Heirgult slaine, 98, b 10. He
Maximus.
Hemecus K. of Ireland, 31, a 20
Hengist purposed at the first to
make conquest of Britons,
his offers misliked of Brit-
tish nobles, prolongeth time
to giue battell, 94, a 30, ec. b 50
He & Hozlus retained in ser-
uice with Hoztigerne, 93, a 20
He & Yorke.

Henrie the fourth K. of Eng-
land crowned, 253, a 20. In-
uadeth Scotland, 253, b 30
Henrie the first taketh the prince
of Scotland ouer with him
into France, 259, b 10. Me-
naceeth the Scots, marieth
the French kings daughter,
258, a 60, b 10. Discomfited by
the welshmen, 258, a 30. Re-
turneth into England, 280, a
40. By safe conduct cometh
into England, 279, a 60. Im-
prisoned, 280, a 60
Henrie the seuenth deceaseth,
292, b 60

Henrie the eight seeketh to kep
the duke of Albaine out of
Scotland, 306, b 40. Doubt-
eth to haue the duke of Al-
baine gouernoz to the pong king
his nephue, 307, b 60
Henrie Beaucherk K. of Eng-

land, 181, a 60
Henrie prince of Scotland de-
ceaseth, 184, a 40. His issue, 50
Henrie inuadeth Scotland, 194
b 20

Henrie Hotspur, 249, a 30. Al-
saileth the Scots at Emil-
don, 254, a 60
Hepborne James his familia-
ritie with the K. of Scots
mother to James the third,
280, a 20

Hepborne their first aduance-
ment, 250, a 60
Heracianus is sent against
Maximian, 84, a 10. He
Maximian.

Herald at arms sent into Scot-
land to denounce war, 307, b
50, 60. Sent to the duke of
Northfolke, 371, b 60. Sent
to the queene of Scots, 372, a
60. Being an Englishman
his report of K. Robert W-
ses balancie, 227, a 10, 20, ec.
Herbert king of Britaine sent
ambassadors to K. Gregorie,
142, a 20
Herburt thezentheth the Scots,
141, a 10. Remeth his men
together, remaineth in campe,
50, 60

Hereford. He Erie.
Heretic Delagian, 89, b 10, 98, b
60. In Didiand, 107, b 50
Hermophobite buried quicke:
note, 278, b 20
Herris lord his lands spoiled,
274, a 30. And he hanged, 50
Hessen. He Rhene.

Hiber returned into Spaine, &
succedeth his father, 30, b 60
A conqueror, 31, a 10
Hibernia of whom so named, 30
b 30

Hilland mans salutation, and
why so named, 197, b 10
Hoddum yielded to the Regent,
392, a 40

Holburton James defendeth
the countrie against the En-
glish, 345, b 30
Holie rood house builded, 183, a
30

Hollanders & the erie of March
at wars, 265, b 30. A hire
ships taken, 291, b 10

Honage required by summons,
185, b 60. Of the Scottish
king for certeine earledoms:
note, 183, b 30. Done by the
king of Scots, 184, a 30.
Done to the king of Eng-
land, by the king, prelates, and
nobles of Scotland, 189, a
60, b 10. To king Edward of
Carnarvan, 215, b 60. Of the
barons of Scotland to king
Edward, 208, b 30. He
Balioll.

Hozlus presented to James the
fourth, 291, b 50. Trapped
and presented to James the
fourth, 292, b 40. Affrighted,
246, a 40

Hozles and mares out of Hun-
garie into Scotland for bzow
265, a 60

Hozlus, 93, a 20. He Hengist.
Hozlages required, 136, a 30.
Delivered to king John, 193,
a 30. He Hozlages.

Howard sir Edmund freshie
assaulted, 300, b 40
Hubba laued from dawning,
138, b 40

Hume Alexander deliuered out
of prison, 399, b 10
Hume lord chamberleine, 301, a
10, 20. Submitteth himselfe,
303, b 60. Denounced a rebell,
303, b 40. Taken, 403, a 20. He
and others convicted of trea-

son, 304, a 10. Arrested, com-
mitted to ward, beheaded, 304
b 60. His head taken noone,
307, a 60

Hume castell rendzed unto the
English, 343, b 40. Recovered
by the Scots, 349, a 60
Humber a fatal place for the
Britons to be banquished in,
106, a 10

Hungar kept the battell, 139, a
20. His bow, 139, a 20

Hungus king of Dides refuseth
to conclud league with the
French, 122, b 50. Aided with
Scots inuadeth Northum-
berland, 123, b 60. He warred
without slaughter and bur-
ning, 60. Repareth saint An-
drews church, 124, b 40. Fal-
leth in a consumption, 125, a 40

Hunndon lord maketh a robe in-
to Scotland, 423, b 70

Hunting, lawes made for it:
note, 36, b 40, 66, a 30

Huntington lands and North-
thumberland annexed to the
croune of Scotland, 182, b 20
Huntie earle giueth an over-
thow to the English, 328, b
10. Suspected by the queene,
379, b 60. Taken prisoner, 343
a 40. Entreth bond for his
countrie men, 343, a 10. He
recovered manie lands, 358, a
10. Sent for, 380, a 30. Com-
meth to Cornethie in War,
382, a 60. Fled, 382, b 10. Com-
meth to aid the queene, 392, b
20. Lieutenant of Scotland,
401, a 10. He scapech 401, a 30

Husbandmen made honourable:
note, 155, b 60.
I.

Icke Strau. He Rebelli-
on.

James prince of Scotland ta-
ken by the English, 255, b 20.
Staled as prisoner in Eng-
land, 256, a 40. His bringing
by note, the greife of his fa-
ther Robert, causing his
death, 50, 60, b 10

James the first ransomed, 261, b
40. Married to the earle of
Summerst his daughter.
Gifts giuen him, cometh to
Glenburgh, 50, 60. Crowned
keepeth an audit, his solenne
oth at a parlement, 262, a 10,
ec. Desirous to purge his
realme of vnruke persons,
264, a 40. His saing, 183, a 60.
Murdered by conspirators,
266, b 50

James the second crowned K.
marieth the duke of Gelber-
lands daughter, 268, a 20, 30.
272, a 60. Commed to Ster-
ling, 268, b 10. Will rule and
reigne himselfe, 271, a 30. War-
red against, 274, b 40. Would
haue fled, 275, a 10. Writings
set by in contempt of him, a 60
Inuadeth England, 277, b 50
Slaine, 278, a 20. His burfall
and lamentation of the people
for him, his conditions and
illur, 30, 40

James the third king of Scots
crowned, 278, a 40, b 60. Mari-
ed, 280, b 10. Killeth an armie
282, a 50. Giueth himselfe to
keeping of women and lust-
fulness, 286, b 10. Sent an
ambassage to Edward king
of England, 283, a 10. He pre-
pareth an armie, 20. His con-
cubine named Daile, a 60.
He is kept vnder arrest,
b 10. Prisoner, 50. Set
at libertie, 60. Signifieth
by

Historie of Scotland.

by letters his wind touching
the articles of Dunbar, 286, a
10. His answer & promise to
an ambassage, 286, a 30, 40, 50
Conspired against, 286, b 30,
40. Gathereth an armie, 287,
a 10. Put to the worst, and
slaine, 50
James the fourth crowned, 287
a 60. Repentant, wore an iron
chain, given to devotion, a
great iulicer, lerned, b 10, 20,
went on pilgrimage, 291, b 40
Diet of the faith, 40. In
armes against the English,
maketh too much haste, 298, a
60. Whinded to kepe his
ground, 299, b 60. His quarell
vnto the earle of Surrie, 300,
a 30. His practice, and tokens
of ill lucke to befall him, 60, b
30. Deceined himselfe and a-
lighted from his hope, his
hardnesse marred all, 60.
Commended, 301, b 10, 20, 50.
Goeth on pilgrimage, 293, b
50. Persuadeth to peace, 294,
b 50. His ballad married, 295,
a 10. Reasoneth with the
counterserf duke of York, 290
a 10. Requreth to take with
the bishop of Durham, purpo-
seth to be a sutor for marriage
in England, & the same con-
passed, 60, b 10. 291, a 10. A
wife sought out for him, 288, a
40. Goeth in progresse, b 40.
Inuadeth Northumberland,
289, b 10. Returneth without
profiter of battell, 20. Slaine,
301, a 10
James the fifth crowned, and the
quene appointed regent, 302,
a 10. Great vniquenesse in
his minoprie, 60. Sutor vnto
the duchesse of Longueuil,
320, b 30. He marrieth Ma-
rie de Lozaine, 320, b 60. He
saileth to the Isles of Orke-
ney, 321, a 10. All fled the pope
319, a 60. He saileth about the
Isles, 319, b 10. He goeth the
second time into France, 319,
b 10. He is sutor for marriage,
319, b 40. Contracted mari-
age with the ladie Margdalen
319, b 60. Returneth with his
quene into Scotland, 320, a
30. Remoued from place to
place, 305, a 60, b 10. Delin-
red to the keeping of certeine
lordes, 303, b 40
James the first bozne, 383, b 60.
His godfathers, 384, a 20.
Crowned, 388, a 10. His oth,
390, a 50. Displeased with
earle Argyll, for the lord of
Johnstone, 437, b 10. His de-
claration of his acts confir-
med in parlement, 438, a 30.
His intention drawne into
certein articles, 441, b 60. His
speech to the estates, concer-
ning a league in religion with
England, 445, a 50. Belleged
at Sterling, 448, a 40. Sen-
deth to the lordes of the reli-
gion, 448, a 50. Granteth the
request of the lordes, 448, b 60.
His gard remoued, 448, b 50.
In custodie of the lordes of
the religion, 449, a 10
Jane daughter to the earle of
Summerlet married to king
James the fifth, 261, b 40, 60
Iceni, 49, b 20, 47, b 40
Jolene the breder and nou-
risser of Iesuall lads, 116, b
60. The root of all mischeefe,
265, a 30
Idolaters of the Saxons bur-
ned, 98, b 60
Jedworth defended from as-

salt, 408, b 40
Jehus redie to die, 448, b 60
Image of war. See witches.
Images of gold and siluer, 124,
b 50. Dullied downe, 366, b 20
Inchuthill. See Culline.
Incubus, 97, a 40
Indolph prince of Cumber-
land, king of Scots prouo-
ked to warre against Eng-
land, 148, a 10. Diligent in
his office, b 10. Incountereth
the Danes, b 30, 40. Dieth of
a wound with a dart, 149, a
10
Inskith fortified by the Eng-
lishmen, 350, a 60. Usailed by
the Frenchmen, 350, b 40.
Reconered by the french,
351, a 10. Raced, 391, a 40
Inuerness castle giuen bp, 379
b 60. Burned, 265, a 60. See
Cruernesse.
John the king diuen into the
castell of Foxfaire, 208, a 60
John lord of the Isles attainted,
282, a 40. Submitteth him-
selfe, 50
John Scot fasted fortie daies,
317, a 60. See Scot John.
Johnstancie had two houses
taken by the regent, 393, a 70.
Himselfe taken, 437, b 10
Julia crowned king, interre-
teth philosophers, 39, b 40.
Deceaseth, 40, a 30
Ireland doctoe sent into Scot-
land, 282, b 40. See Rufe
Edward, and Ibernia.
Irishmen seich priores to Gal-
lowaie, 248, b 30. Chepaf-
sair the Scots in two seue-
rall places, fortie put vnto
flight, 50. Come in thre bat-
tels, run a waie, 143, b 20, 50.
Two gather their powers,
142, b 60. Their practice, 143, a
10. Gentle intreated, 30, b
50. Land in Argile, 65, b
60. Sent vpon reuenge, take
a priore in Isle, & seke peace,
120, a 40, 50, 50. Line by
mulke and by hearbes, 30, b
40
Irmirike king of the English-
men, 107, a 60
Iubria. See Scots.
Iralic. See Iubria.
Iudgerighteous, 182, b 60
Julius Agricola sent into Bri-
taine, prepareth against the
Scots, 55, a 10. Studieth to
bring them to ciuilitie, a 60.
Commeth to Sterling, b 10.
Buildeth the castell and
bridge, b 10
Julius Cesar his inuasion of
Britaine: note, 44, a 50
Julius host, 44, b 30
Julius Frontinus sent into
Britaine, 54, b 30
Irmirike. See Irmirike.
Justice ministered without re-
spect of persons, 131, b 40.
Sharpelie and speedlie exe-
cuted: note, 163, b 50. See
ucrelie executed against of-
fenders, 228, b 50, 60. Up-
right & tempered with mercie
229, a 10. Neglected, 39, a 60
Julis and combats betwixt
the Scots and Englishmen,
252, b 30. For life and death
vpon London bridge, 252, b
40
K.
Karanach assailed: Sterling
bridge, he is elsowes cha-
sed, comforted by his nobles,
55, b 40, &c. King of Picts
slaine by misfortune of his

stone subuers, 56, b 10
Katerens a kind of wild Scots
253, a 50
Keith lord taken prisoner, 363,
a 20. William sent vnto
the quene of England, 453,
a 20
Keiths, a familie advanced for
good seruice in the field, 166,
a 60
Kenedie archbishop of saint An-
drews, 276, b 40. His practice,
50
Kenedie James archbishop go-
uerneth the realme of Scot-
land, 279, b 50
Kenneth innest king of the
Scots, 122, a 20. Fortified
the realme, b 10. Calleteth his
nobles to reuenge his fa-
thers death, 20. A priore list
of his to perswade the no-
bitrie, 40. Entrech into
Sterling shire, 129, a 40.
Getteth into Wernes, b 40.
With boyemen disordereth
the Picts arate, 130, b 10.
Cansteth retreat to be foun-
ted, b 20. His oration, 50.
Sendeth to Camelon com-
manding them to peise, 131, b
20. His extreame bow, 131, b
60. A priore craft died by
him: note, 132, a 20. His
lawes and ordinances, 133
a 20, &c. Deceaseth, 134,
b 10
Kenneth crowned king, vertu-
ous of life, 153, a 10, &c. His
oration, b 10, &c. Gather-
eth an armie against the
Danes, 154, b 60. Getteth
his men in arraie, exhor-
teth them to valiantie, 155,
a 10, &c. Worthilie commen-
ded for his iustice, poisoned
his consine Malcolme, not
suspected of the fact, 156, b
50, 60. Requesteth that the
croune might come by inde-
ritance, 157, a 50, 60. He sur-
mised iustice trucelie, his
guite conscience, confession
of his sinne, repentance and
pilgrimage, 158, a 10, &c.
Furthered: note, 158, b 30,
50
Kennethus Keir K. of Scots
dieth of the cough, 111, a
30
Kentigerne begotten in a ra-
uishment, 107, b 60
Kernes, 143, b 20
Kilbois whye so named: note,
152, a 10
Killegrew Henrie sent into
Scotland, 410, b 30
Kimbaine king of Britons, 45,
a 50. Deceaseth, 45, b 40.
King goeth secretlie to France,
318, b 60. To the west boy-
ders, 329, a 10. Receiveth the
order of saint Michail, 382,
b 10. Persuaded to staie the
parlement, 382, b 40. He en-
treth into the quenes pri-
ue chamber, 382, b 50. Per-
suaded by the quene, 383, a
20. Goeth to Argyll land,
384, a 30. As a solitarie per-
son goeth to Strueling, mur-
dered, 384, a 60
King, and what mischances in-
fue for lacke of one, 204, a 50
Kings, the chooling of thein not
allowed, 35, b 50. Of Scot-
land take vpon them to rule
the realme (without procura-
tors) being within age, 41, b
50. See England, Scot-
land.
Kinnatill king of Scotland,
108, a 40. His death, surren-

dereth his kingdom on his
death bed, 108, a 60
Kinterinued, 336, a 50
Kircawdie causerth the priso-
ners not to returne at the
daie appointed, 409, b 10
Kircawdie James entrech E-
denburgh castell, 412, a 10
Kings his fine dubbed, 204, a 20
Kirtie and two of one sur-
name, 198, a 40
Knights of the Rhods, 182, b 50
Knights of saint Michaels or-
der, 337, b 60
Knocklergus whye so named,
35, a 30
L.
Lancaster towne burnt, 224
a 10
Langton burnt, 362, b 50
Lawes of king Kenneth: note,
133, a 20, &c. Of King Malcol-
beth, 171, b 60
Lawes hithe, 45, a 10
Lecherie in James the third,
286, b 10
Legat from Rome with the an-
swet made to him, 223, b 20
For a collection from the
pope, 195, a 60. From pope
Clement, his demand, 202, a
10, 20
Legue published by heralds,
and the articles thereof, 123, a
10, 20. Betwene France and
Scotland, 306, a 30. Conclu-
ted, 122, b 20, 30. Renewed,
194, a 50, 207, a 60. Betwene
Eldene and Scotland, 360,
b 10. Betwene the Scots,
Picts, and Britons, 96, a 60
98, a 10, b 40
Leremouth James ambassadoz
into England, 322,
b 50. See Leremouth.
Leith belleged, 368, a 50. War-
ned, 335, a 10. Fortified, 348,
a 20, 367, a 40, 403, a 30. Un-
prouided of vittell, 373, b 10
Leneux the earle gathered a po-
wer, 314, a 10. Slaine,
314, a 30. Goeth into Scot-
land, 331, b 60. Confer-
reth with quene Dowag-
ger, 332, a 10. His displea-
sure, 332, b 30. He renoun-
ceth his seruice to the French
king, 332, b 40. He setzeth on
the French ships, 332, b 60
Commeth to the gouernour,
333, a 10. He fortified Glas-
frow, 333, a 20. He sendeth
vnto the king of England,
331, b 30. He goeth into
England, 335, b 10. He
marrieth the ladie Margare-
ret Dowglas, 335, b 10
He is heire to the lord of
Obegnie, 335, b 20. Re-
turneth into Scotland, 339
b 20. In danger to be de-
traied, 335, b 60. Landeth
at Dinnane, 336, a 20. He
procureth those of the Isles
to serue the king of Eng-
land, 338, a 50. He en-
treth into Scotland, 344,
b 40. In doubt what to
do, 344, b 60. Dissembleth
with his dissemblers, 345,
a 10. He with the lord
Wharton inuadeth Scot-
land, 345, b 50. Commeth
into Scotland, 381, a 10
warden of the east mar-
ches, 381, b 60. Pardoa-
ned, 383, a 40. He returneth
into Scotland, 400, a 10
He carieth Englishmen into
Scotland, 400, a 40. He com-
meth to Edinburgh, 400, a 40
Made

The fourth table for the

Made regent, 401, a 10. Goeth against the earle of Caſſels, 401, b 40. Taken in his lodging, 403, b 50. Wounded, 403, b 60. His words befoze his deſth, 404, a 10. His deſth, 404, b 10.
Lenex & Argile at variance, 114, b 60. **See Earle**.
Lenex harried, 168, b 60.
Lenex counteſſe. **See Margaret**.
Lele their familie, 425, a 10.
See Erldome,
Letter of Henrie the eight answering the king of Scots, 297, a 10, &c. Of James the fourth to the king of Portingale, 293, a 20. Of the Scottish king to Henrie the eight, 295, b 40. Of Robert king of Scots to his ſonne prince James, 255, b 20, &c. Of the prioz of S. Andrews to the French king, 368, b 20. Of the French king to the prioz of S. Andrews, 367, b 50. Concerning the marriage of his ſonne to the queene of Scots, 361, 20. Of the nobilitie to the regent, 369, b 30.
Libels againſt king James the ſecond, 275, a 60.
Liberalitie of king David the firſt reproveth, 183, a 40.
Liberties of Scotland defended, 190, a 10.
Lermouth James would have reſcued the cardinal, 340, a 20.
Lermouth capteine defendeth the countrie againſt the Engliſh, 345, b 30.
Leon crowned, 123, b 10.
London ſworne by the Britons, 101, b 20.
Lordane. **See Larden**.
Lords aſſemble, 312, a 10. Cried come into Scotland, 383, a 10. They make their poſteſtation, 383, a 10. Fle into England, 383, a 40. **See Conſpiracie and Nobles**.
Lorges ſent into Scotland, 337, b 50.
Lonſon. **See Twinnam**.
Loth king of Scots, 98, a 40.
Married to Aurelius Ambroſe his daughter, 98, b 50. Contrarie to his oth of credence, &c. ſideth the Saxons, 100, a 60. Requieeth the kingdome of Britaine, 101, a 50. **See Gouvernement**.
Lothian, of whome to named, 105, b 10.
Louchhouſe caſtell burnt, 437, a 40.
Louchquhaber the reſalon of the name, 84, b 20.
Lucret lord ſaine, 338, b 10.
Lucius king of Britaine dieth, 66, b 50.
Lucius Antenous lieutenant of Britaine, 61, b 40. He is wounded, 62, a 10.
Lugthake king of Scots, his incontinencie and other vile vices, murdered with a number of his men, 61, a 30.
Lugthake crowned at Scone, ſaine, 176, b 50.
Larden a terme of reproch how it came by, 163, b 30.

M.

Macnell James, 364, a 50.
Magdalene the queene dieth, 320, a 40.
Magiſtrats ſubiet to ſpite & ennie, 281, a 10, 20.
Magnus king of Norway cometh into the weſterne Iles, 180, b 60. Sendeth ambassa-

doys to Alexander, 201, a 10.
 His reſale of the Scottish Iles, 201, b 40.
Maigne the marqueeſe, 352, a 60.
Maius crowned, confirmed the league with the Scots, devout in religion, 36, a 40, &c.
Major of York ſaine, 222, b 20.
Makbeth a valiant gentleman, 168, b 20. Sent againſt the rebels, 169, a 30. His crueltie, defamed, a 60. Maketh the campe of the Danes overcome with drinke and ſleepe, 170, a 50. Made thone of Cawder, deviſeth how he might obtaine the kingdome, he ſlaeth king Duncane, & ſurpeth the crowne, his liberalitie, and ſtudie to advance juſtice, 171, all. His lawes, 171, b 60. His counterſet zeale and equitie, his guiltie conſcience, his deuiſe to ſlea Banquo & his ſonne, 172, b 20, &c. His bread, his crueltie cauſed through feare, 174, a 30. His conſcience in Swizzards, his crueltie, 174, b 10, 40. His truſt in propheteſie, 175, b 60. He and Makduſſe in armes one againſt another, 176, a 20. He is ſaine, 176, a 30. His lawes abrogated, 176, b 50.
Makdonald proclaimed king of the Iles inuadeth Lozne & Cantire, 119, b 10, &c.
Makdonald Roſſe a notable robber notable puniſhed: note, 263, b 60.
Makdonald offereth himſelfe to be capteine of the rebels, 168, b 60. He diſcomfitteth the kings power, ſlaeth himſelfe, his wife and children, his head ſent to the king, 169, a 10, &c.
Makduſſe thone of Fife, 174, a 60. His eſcape into England, b 40. His advancement: note, 176, b 10. **See Makbeth**.
Makferlane Walter, 336, a 60.
Makintolch Lanchlane apprehended, 353, a 30.
Makintolchs at variance with the Glenchattens, 315, a 10. They raile ſeditiſh, 315, a 60. Their wonderfull faith to their capteine, 315, b 20.
Makpender earle of Merns ſlaeth R. Duncane, 180, b 40.
Makulzen and Makkein capteins of pirats: note, 190, b 40.
Malcolme the ſonne of Donald the ſiſt, he is created beire apparant, 146, a 10. Eſcapeth hurts, a 60. Promitted king, 147, a 10. He is murdered, b 10. He keth friends againſt Conſtantine, 159, a 40. Goeth with an armie to fight with Conſtantine, 159, a 60. Poisoned by his couſine Kenneth, 156, b 50, 60.
Malcolme the ſonne of king Kenneth prince of Cumberland, 157, b 30. In armes againſt Gume for the crowne, 160, a 10, 20, &c. Reſuſeth the crowne but vpon condition, he is made king, his wiſedome in ordering officers, 162, b 10, 20. Sendeth ambadaſſors to the Danes, 164, a 20. Wounded, 164, b 30. His priſer, 165, a 30. Maketh forward to fight with Danes, his oration, b 60. winneth the field againſt the Danes, 166, a 50. His ordinances &

decrees after peace obtained, 167, b 10, 20, &c. He waxeth avaricious, cruell to purchaſe riches, conſpired againſt and murdered, 167, a 10, &c.
Malcolme recouers the crown, 176, a 40. His mantle courage againſt a conſpirator, 177, a 30. Marrieth Margaret, ſiſter to Edgar Etheling, 177, b 10. In armes againſt William conquerour, 177, b 60. Giueth himſelfe to deuotion, 178, b 40. Reſtoreth & createth biſhops ſees, 178, b 60. Saine in battell, 179, b 50. A builder of churches, 179, a 60, b 10. His ſons, 180, a 40.
Malcolme the ſonne of Henrie proclaimed prince of Scotland, 185, a 30. Summoned to do homage, 185, b 60. Beginneth his reigne, his education, 185, b 20. Goeth with king Henrie into France, 185, b 60. Reproued by his nobles, goeth to York, ſentence againſt him, beſieged, hated of his people, 186, a 10, &c. Meaneth to gouerne in upright juſtice, not perſuaded to take a wife, his death, 187, a 20, 60, b 20.
Maldwin inueſted king of the Scots, a lover of peace and juſtice, 114, b 60. Went about to puniſh the authors of a commotion, 115, a 10. Buildeth the church of the abbey of Colmekill, 30. Strangled in his bed, 30.
Mallerie the viceadmirall of France, 348, a 40.
Marian ſle ſpoiled, 248, b 60.
Marianus Valens inuadeth the Scots, 51, a 10.
Mar earle made regent, 407, a 20. Died, 410, a 60.
Mar for Marthea, 84, b 20.
Margaret queene of Norway deceaſeth, 203, a 10.
Margaret Dowglaſſe counteſſe of Lenex, ſome part of hir liſe, 414, b 40, &c. Hir deſth, epitaph, ſatelle deſcent, &c.: note, 415, a 30, &c.
Mari the queene of Scots borne, 329, b 10. Seven daies old when ſhe began hir reigne, 330, a 20. A motion made for hir to marrie king Edward the ſiſt, 330, b 10. She is committed to the lord Leuiſtſone, 330, a 20. Hir marriage to king Edward confirmed, 331, a 10. The French king miſliketh the match, 331, a 40. Conueied to Sterling, 332, a 20. Crowned, 332, b 10. Order taken for hir cultodie, 332, b 10. She goeth to Mentuth, 343, b 10. Conueied into France, 347, a 60. Hir diſſigence, 350, b 40. She giueth the gouernment of the realme to the queene mother, 357, a 40. She goeth to Inuerneſſe, 358, b 60. She goeth on progreſſe for juſtice cauſe, 359, a 30. Hir dowrie in France, 362, a 50. Hir marriage to the Dolphin of France, 362, a 60. She requieeth a matrimoniall crowne of Scotland to be giuen vnto hir huſband, 365, a 20. She ſpitteth out of France to the prioz of ſaint Andrews, 368, a 40. She dieth, 374, a 70. Hir praiſe, 374, b 10. She goeth into Lozaine, 375, a 50. Cauſes to make hir ſaine in France, 375, a 60.

She cometh to Caſſis, 377, a 62. Priueth at Leith, 377, a 70. Hir collie ſewels and houſholdſtuffe, 377, b 40. She viſiteth the townes of Scotland, 378, b 10. Maketh hir progreſſe into the nozth parts, 379, b 10. Maketh a progreſſe to Atholl, 381, a 10. She goeth into Fife, 381, a 20. She marrieth the Lord Dornelie, 381, b 10. She ſendeth into France for aid, 382, a 50. She conſereth with the king, 383, a 10. She cometh to Edinburgh, 383, a 60. She agreeth the nobilitie, 383, a 10. Maketh hir chamber for to be deliuered of child, 383, b 10. Sendeth vnto the queene of England and to the king of France, 383, b 20. Sendeth for the nobilitie againſt hir deliuerance, 383, b 50. She goeth to Allowaie, 384, a 10. Sendeth for godfathers for hir ſonne, 384, a 20. She goeth into Mearggar land, 384, a 30. She burrieth hir huſband not farre from David Richio, 384, b 20. Taken by force by Bothwell, 384, b 20. Married Bothwell, 384, b 40. He excheſeth the marriage vnto the French king, 384, b 50. She gathereth a power, 387, a 40. She is taken of the lords, 387, a 40. Impriſoned in Lochleuar, 387, b 50. Hir rendeth hir title to hir ſonne, 388, a 40. Eſcapeth out of Lochleuar, 391, b 60. Gathereth a power, 391, b 60. Diſcomfited, 392, b 10. Fleeth into England, 392, b 40. Committed to ſir Raſſe Sabler, 443, a 60. Committed to ſir James Dawlet, 443, a 50.
Marie Magdalens daie propitious for the Engliſhmen to fight againſt the Scots, 210, b 40.
Marriage of the kings daughter and his ſonne the prince of Scotland, 202, b 60.
Marriage repented, 244, a 50.
Inceſtuous, 275, b 10.
Marius made king of Britaine, 52, b 60. Doubteth rebellion of his ſubjects, 59, b 60. Comprolieth the Romans to leaue the nozth parts, 60, a 10. Saine, 81, b 60.
Marnachus, thane of Wuchgahane, 166, b 40.
Marquell Dorſet appointed to keepe Berwick, 311, a 60.
Martignes a forward capteine but an vntrue prophet, 372, a 30.
Martyrs, 138, a 30.
Martian ſent ouer into Britaine, 85, a 50. Cauſeth them to come with him againſt the Romans, 60. Marſueth the bitaorie, 85, b 60. Taketh vpon him the abſolute gouernment of Britaine, with the imperiall title, 86, a 30. Granteth peace to Scots, 86, a 60.
Martius his praſtice to deſtroye the Scots, 76, a 60. Sendeth to Heirgult king of Scots, b 10. Sendeth an herald to Eugeniſe, raiſeth a mightie power, inuadeth the Scottish regions, 40, 50, 60. His ſeigned graſſe, 77, a 50. Approcheth towards the Scots, 60. His ſudden arrival, b 30. Granteth peace to the Iriſh, and ſeeketh by his bountious liberalitie to win

Rule

Historie of Scotland.

the people, 79, b 60. Chosen emperor in Britaine, 80, a 20. Kiled the chiefe lieutenant parrs, 30
 Macwell lord inuadeth Eng- land, 311, b 60. Heareth misle, 453, b 40
 Macwell John deliuered out of prison, 399, b 17
 Macwell Robert bese bother to the earle Morison, 437, a 16
 Macwells would not be subiect to the earle of Arraine, 437, b 40
 Macnith John captaine of Dundyciton castill: note, 220 b 20
 Mercie notable exemplified, 143, a 60
 Merheras wrote men of godlie nature, 52, b 10
 Merues and Angus cruelle punished, 129, b 50
 Meruers an ordinance for them 264, a 60
 Metellan k. of Scots, 45, a 50 becommeth friend to the Ro- mans, 45, a 60. Departeth the world, b 10
 Mike castill paided, 344, a 10
 Ministers called home, 448, b 60
 Miracle, 111, a 20. Of a child healed, 193, a 50
 Miracles, 220, a 20: note, 254, a 20
 Mogall admitted king, studieth to redress abuses, 61, a 60. Se- leued of his subiects, b 10. Acquireth a restitution of wrongs done by the Ro- mans, prepareth to warres, exhorteth his men vnto val- antnesse, 30, 30, &c. Thoughe ptebe abuserh himselfe in sun- drie kinds of vices, conspired against, flieth out of his owne house, murdered, 62, b 50, 60
 Molocke a preacher, 112, a 20
 Monasteries of Scottismen in Germanie, 123, b 30
 Monte, and a devise to get it for king James the fourth, 291, a 50
 Monsieur de la Varenne sent out of France to aid the part of Margaret queene of Eng- land, 279, b 60
 Monsieur de Bantier slaine by the lord of Woodburne, 306, a 10
 Monster bozne, 59, a 50. Of a strange forme and of no litle strange qualities: note, 283, a 10, &c.
 Monsters, 268, a 10. Strange: note, 146, b 40
 Montgomerie earle of Eglin- ton slaine, 457, a 40
 More new worshipped, 36, b 20
 Morke poisoneth the gones- nour of Scotland, and is bur- ned, 229, a 60, b 10, &c.
 Morke were preachers, 112, a 30. Called the whyle monks, 182, b 50
 Moronians helpe to apprehend theues and offenders, 53, b 10. Kill slaine, 52, b 60
 Morzacke king of Scots a tou- ner of peace, deceaseth: note, 117, b 10, &c.
 Morzacke the kings lieutenant beareth with offenders, 118, a 40. Put to death, b 10
 Morzacke obtineth the earle- dome of Morle, 433, b 50
 Morzo. Of the duke.
 Morzard, the opinion which men conceiued of him for his wit and forwardnesse, desir- ous to be reuenged, 103, a 50 b 60. Complained to king

Arthar, for that Constantine was created heire apparent, 105, b 10. Succedeth Arth in the kingdome of Britland, 105, b 10. He and Eugenius perswaded to peace, 106, a 20. Is slaine, 106, a 60. His li- nage quite extinct, 107, a 20. Of the Gawen.
 Morston earle made regent, 410 b 20. Put to the worst, 402, b 60. Succedeth his regent- ship, 416, b 10. His examinat- ion, 429, b 10. He is beheaded, 433, a 60
 Morles captaine general vnder Haro, his doings not fol- lowed, be fled, called out of Adarian into Egypt, not re- garded, 29, a 30, 40, &c. b 10, &c.
 Morobiane sir Philip knight, valiant: note, 216, b 20. Of the Beaumont.
 Morbiard apprehended, 357, a 60. Yieldeth to the queene, 358, b 40
 Murrettus (an innuador) with manie more hanged, 44, b 50, 60
 Murredac. Of the Mudiard.
 Murrecie Andrew fellow go- uernour with the earle of March, 231, b 50. Taken prisoner, a 60. Cometh out of the mountains, his wast, &c: 237, a 60. His victories, 237, b 10. Deceaseth, 238, a 40
 Murrecie William departeth from the kings faction, 391, a 60
 Murrecie earle a tutor vnto the queene, 381, a 40. Earle re- gent slaine, 397, b 20
 Murrecie rebell, discomfited and ouerthrowne, 186, b 50. De- strayed, 187, a 10
 Murrecie lands, 53, a 10
 Murrecie monieur, 352, a 50
 Murther detestable, 42, a 60
 Murtherer, 40, b 60. Of one for another, 117, a 30. Suspec- ted & tried by the racke: note, 118, a 20. Whereafter infused open war, 274, b 40. By mis- fortune: note, 56, b 10. Most shamefull of R. Duffe: note, 150, b 10, &c. How punished, 151, b 20. Of a king done by his owne hands on himselfe, 43, a 50. Of the Conspiracie.
 Murtherer murdered, 70, b 50, 60: note, 125, b 60
 Murtherers tozne in paces with wild horkes: note, 147, b 20
 Musgrane Thomas, captaine of Berwick, prisoner, 246, a 50
 Mutinie among soldidors, 59, a 60. Among the people of Louchquhaber, 168, b 40

N

Narne castill besieged, 164, a 10. Yielded by composition, b 50
 Natholocus chosen king, pro- claimed, 68, b 60. Goeth to Dunstafage to be inehzoni- sed, 69, a 10. Seeketh loue of his nobles by bribes, putteth such to death as he suspecteth, 60. Murthered, b 10
 Nectanus king of Scots bze- thier to another Nectanus di- eth of hurts received in field, 75, b 60. warreth vpon the Scots, 75, a 20. Desirous of reuenge, 40. Inuadeth the Scottish confines, 60. Refu- seth all offers of peace, b 10. Slaine, 30

Nobles created, 275, b 40. Con- spire against Thereus, 39, a 60. Haue the government gi- uen them by lots, 34, b 60
 Noline in battell, 210, b 30
 Their presumptuous demer- its, 283, a 50. Dinded, 175, b 50. Shewre to stand to the king of Englands order, 206, b 48. Sworne to king Ed- ward, 213, a 10. Banished in- to England, 230, a 30. Draw their swords at a parlement, and whie: note, 222, b 60
 Confpire, and are committed to ward, 223, b 10, 20, &c. Dis- contented with the kings doings, 149, a 40. They mur- mur, and whie, 50. Set wit- ches on worke to bewitch their king, 150, a 10. Goto worcke, 146, a 50. Slaine and taken prisoners, 241, b 40
 Noline at Duplin, 231, a 10
 Raise an armie against king James the fourth, ouer- throwne, 287, b 20. Summo- ned, 224, b 20. Through feare consent to creat Gillis king, 42, a 20. Committed to custo- die, 448, b 40. Of the Discon- tention.
 Norman of passing strength o- uerthrowne by a Scot, 202, b 30
 Northumberland, when it first began to be so called, 95, b 60
 A portion thereof reioiced to the Scots, 188, a 30. Taketh part with king Hakoline, 177, b 60. Under the English- men, 189, a 50. Alotted vnto England, 147, a 60. Inuaded, 249, a 10. Of the Inalassus.
 Norwate, the king therof relig- ious his title to the out Isles, 280, b 30
 Norwegians come to the aid of Inalassus, 148, a 40. Put to flight, 200, a 60. Their fleet sunke by vehement winds, 170, b 10. Of the Acho.
 Nothatus crown'd king and murdered, 37, a 30

O

Oelisks, 38, b 60, 166, a 60
 Oeca returneth out of Germanie with a new pow- er, 101, b 60. Flieth by seain- to Kent, 96, b 30. He and Pa- scentius retourne into Bri- taine, 99, a 60. Constrined to flie, 103, a 10. King slaine, 100, 60
 Otaulus obtineth the rule of Britaine, 73, b 60. Courteth to enlarg. his dominion, 74, a 10. Entereth amitie with the English king, becommeth tributarie to the Romane emperor, 40, 50. Vanquished flieth into Scotland, 73, a 10
 Odonell the great of Ireland proffered friendship vnto James the fourth, 295, b 10
 Offenders put in feare, 118, b 10
 Thie thousand within two peeres space put to death, 263, b 50. Of the Pardon.
 Officers created, 411, b 60. New made, 380, b 60. Changer, 357, b 60. Of king Edward chal- led out of Scotland, 211, b 40
 Odiann and Godredas diuie the kingdome of the Isles be- twene them, 201, a 60
 Oliver a Scot in seruice with the Saracens to their losse and hinderance, 191, b 30
 Ouelus a Danish captaine slain, 165, a 60

Oration of Coman in the hea- ring of king Schanus: note, 120, b 60. Of Alban a noble man, 121, b 10. Of king Da- mid to his nobles at the death of his sonne, 184, a 60, b 10, &c. Of the Scottish ambassa- dors to the french king, to excuse the marriage of Mor- well, 384, b 60. Of an ambassa- dor to Icho k. of Norway, 198, b 60. Of Leslie against the earle of Murrie, 376, b 10
 Of the Q. Dowager at hir death to the nobilitie, 373, b 44
 Of a bishop and the Romish clergie, 185, b 10, &c. Of Ken- neth king of Scots, 130, b 50
 Of Thomas Randolph sent into Scotland, 397, b 50
 Ombones mistaken by the Scots, 53, b 40
 Organ an accuser, &c. Slaine within listis: note, 180, b 10
 Organs brought to Scotland, 264, b 10
 Oskrie whie called Pictland, 37, b 60
 Oskrie Isles and Shetland engaged, 181, b 20, 50
 Oskrie put to flight, 133, a 10
 His poudion by water ta- ken, 20. He and Ella kings of Northumberland, 134, b 60
 He and Ella slaine, 139, b 50
 Oskrie an insidell, 113, a 50
 Ostorius Scapula sent into Britane, 49, a 40. Encoura- geth his Romans to fight, 50, a 20
 Oth of king James the first at a parlement, 262, a 60. Of knights in Norway to re- uenge the death of their friends, 170, b 20. Of the Fealite, Loth.
 Outlawes. Of the Wyndus, Conrane.
 Ouzpshire assaulted, 49, b 20

P

Pladius sent into Scotland, 89, b 20. Their apostle, 30
 Palmer. Of the Pilgrime.
 Pardon none to offenders for the space of seven peeres, 286, a 60. General to rebels: note, 287, b 30, 277, a 30. Granted by the gouernors are void, 263, b 40
 Paris. Of the Uniuersitie.
 Parlement summoned, 403, b 10. Golden, 375, a 20, 382, b 60
 359, a 70. At saint Andrews, 444, a 40. At Edinburgh, 391 a 10, 402, b 10, 380, b 60, 361, b 30, 365, a 10, 358, b 10, 410, b 60
 411, a 20, 455, b 60, 456, a 10, 456, b 30. At Strueling, 381, a 20.
 Parlement of the thre estates, 286, a 60
 Parlement called the Blache parlement, 223, a 40
 Parlements after what order held in Scotland, 442, b 20.
 Pickenamed, 442, b 60. Run- ning parlement, 443, a 10
 Pascencius. Of the Oeca.
 Pasleie taken, 401, b 10. Relie- ged by the regent, 401, b 10
 Surrendered to the regent, 401, b 20
 Patilloche called Le petit roy de Gascoigne, 261, a 60
 Patrike Dunbar vanquisheth theues, made erle of March, his arms, 177, a 10
 Pavia. Of the Paris.
 Peace increased, 352, a 10. Con- cluded, 318, b 50, 456, b 60, 352, a 10, 358, a 10
 Peace

The fourth table for the

Peace betwene England and Scotland, 290, b 30, 360, b 30. Articles thereof, 374, b 40. At Nottingham, 284, b 60. Concluded for thre yeares, 285, a 10, 319, a 10. Concluded betwixt the Danes and Scots, 170, b 40. Betwene king John and king William of Scotland, 193, a 10. Concluded betwene the lordys of the religion and the queene, 367. Betwene England and France, 302, b 60. In Scotland, 291, b 60. Concluded for want of power to mainteine battell, 167, a 50. Expoyted vnto after wars, 34, b 30, 40. Pelagian heresie, 89, b 20. *¶* See Heresie.

Penda king of Mercia, 114, b 50.

Perkin warbecke, 288, b 50.

Harrieth the earle of Huntles daughter, 289, b 10. An article for him, 290, a 10. Went into Ireland to come into Flanders, 30.

Persecucion. *¶* See Christians.

Perle earle of Northumberland, 246, a 30. *¶* See Henrie Hotspur.

Perles Rafe and Henrie prisoners, 250, a 10.

Perles with others conspire against Henrie the fourth, 254, b 40.

Perles, their name and originall, 179, b 60.

Perth a towne builded and privileged, 193, b 20. Otherwise called saint Johns towne, 216, a 60. Besieged, 238, b 30, 366, b 60. Surrendered, 239, a 10.

Pertinax sent as lieutenant to Britaine, drieth backe the Scots and Picts, chosen emperor, 65, b 30, 40.

Petillence, the first coming of it into Scotland, 203, b 50. The second that was heard of in Scotland, 242, a 10. The third time in Scotland, 246, b 10.

Petillence and derth great, 115, a 40.

Petilius Cerealis a Romane captaine sent into Britaine, 53, b 30. His men slaine, & he returneth, 52, a 30. Dieth, 54, b 30.

Philosophers thorough shipwracke arrive in Scotland: note, 39, b 50.

Physicians & surgeons, a law for them, 39, a 20.

Picts and Scots ioinc their powers, and enter into their enemies lands, 61, b 30. Overthrowne by the Romans, 53, b 40. Vanquished, 129, a 60. Sue for peace, b 30. Desire aid of the Scots against Romans, 61, b 10. Their cruell dealing, 78, b 50. Punished for their vnturth, 82, a 50. *¶* See Victorie. Become tributarie, put to bafe seruices, commanded to dwell beyond the water of Forth, diuided from the Britons by a wall, 80, b 10, &c. 50, 60. Are forbidden to creat a king, 80, b 10. Offended with Maximus, 79, a 10. Their king vanquished, 93, a 60. Stand in feare of the king of Britaine, 91, b 60. Their king refueth to be in league with the Romans, 54, b 60. Burne the citie of Euline, 57, a 60. Send for aid

to R. Gald, 55, b 60. Brought to agreement among themselves, 56, b 30. Howe warre against the Romans, overthrow their foragers, 50, b 30, 40. Joine with Scots and Britons against the Romans, 54, b 60. Send to the Scots for aid, 51, a 30. Chose Feredeth to be their king, 126, a 10. Their hope deceived, 136, b 40. Went into Denmarke and Norwaye, 50. Miserable slaine without regard of person, their whole nation destroyed, 132, a 40, 60. Remaining after a great slaughter dispersed, 132, b 60. Wine God thanks for victorie, 128, a 10. Fall at variance among themselves, 40. Purpose to be reuenged on the Britons by open warre, 105, b 60. Beginne the battell rashly, 127, b 60. Exiled require aid of the Englishmen, 134, b 50. Came into Scotland out of Germany, 31, b 60. Came first to Dkeneir, &c. make strong holds, require women of the Scots, good husbandmen, become enemies vnto the Scots, 32, a 10, &c. b 10, &c. Admonished by thir wiues to peace, moved to pittie, 33, b 40, 50. *¶* See Constance and Policie.

Pictland parted vnto diuers men, 131, a 30. *¶* See Dkeneir.

Pilgrime with letters of conspiracie in a staffe: note, 223, a 20.

Pirat. *¶* See Crab.

Pirats put to death on the wheele, 190, b 50.

Placidus lieutenant of Britaine, his exploits, seeketh to haue peace, 84, a 20, &c. Dieth, b 50.

Plantius sent forth with an armie against Caratake, setteth vpon the Scottish campe, 48, b 10, 20, &c. Left a generall, prepareth to meet the Scots, falleth sick, dieth, 49, a 10, 20, &c.

Pledges sent into England, 370, a 10. Executed, 346, b 20. *¶* See Hostages.

Polson given but prevented, 284, b 10. To the gouernour practiced, 229, a 60. Of Malcolme brought into suspicion, 156, b 60. *¶* See Uter.

Policie, 239, a 60, 142, b 10. Subtill, 243, a 60. Craftie, 106, a 50. wonderfull, 127, b 40. To affright hostles, 246, a 40. Of king Edward to win Berwik, 207, b 60. Of a queene, 268, a 60. Of the English to vanquish the Scots, 188, b 20. Of the Picts to escape danger, 95, b 20. Of the Scots, 95, a 10. To relieue in the time of dearth, 209, b 40.

Pomonia now Kirkwale, 46, a 20.

Powe pittied, 185, b 10. Cared for, 182, b 60.

Pope and king John at dissention, 193, b 50. Hath a thousand marks sent him out of Scotland, 202, a 40. Sent to intreat for peace, 284, b 60. His present to R. William of Scotland: note, 192, b 40. Sanderth a role and a scepter to the king of Scotland, 288, b 30. His vails published, 303, a 30. His ambassadoys not regarded, 233, b 20. His authority abolished, 391, a 20.

Praier of Fiacre, 112, b 40. Of king Malcolme, 165, a 30.

Praiers publike made for deliuerance from the Danes, 167, b 20.

Preachers, 112, a 10, 20.

Preaching despised, 159, a 30.

Prells to be tried before secular iudges, 122, b 60. Letters provided for them, 36, b 20. Which should onlie attend their vocation, 137, a 50.

Present of hostles and hounds, 71, a 60. *¶* See Hostles.

Presumption, 283, a 50.

Printing first inuented, 277, b 60.

Prizor of St. Andrewes. *¶* See Letter.

Prizes of Englishmen fourecene taken, 295, a 30.

Prisoner. *¶* See Captiuitie.

Prisoners breaking promise how disgraced, 250, b 10. Taken on the king and queenes part, 410, a 10.

Privilege for all the Scottish kings to be anointed, 181, a 50.

Privileges granted to Malcolme kinage, 176, b 10. Granted to the towne of Dundee, 192, a 40. Granted to the viceritie of saint Andrewes, 264, b 10.

Procession in signe of reuoluing, 292, a 30.

Processions solemne for victorie gotten, 170, b 20.

Proclamation published by the nobilitie, 446, a 50.

Promise breakers how disgraced. *¶* See Prisoners.

Prophecie, 114, a 60. Of saint Colme, 111, a 50. Of Minna-till, 108, a 50. Of a tempest, 203, a 60. Of a witch, 267, b 40. Of three women supposed to be fairies, 170, b 60.

Prophecies, 32, b 10. Howe men to vniuersall attempts, 171, a 50. Of the dukes of England and Scotland, 434, b 40. Trusted, 175, b 60.

Prosperritie changeth conditions, 63, b 10.

Protectors of Scotland their catalog, 417, a 40.

Prouerbe, Man purpoeth, but God disposeth, verified, 200, b 60.

Prout. *¶* See Edenburgh.

Purcuants sent into England and France, 295, a 50.

Q.

Quarell. *¶* See Frate.

Quaterage kept by the Scots for defense of their liberties, 361, b 10.

Queene of England desirous to speake with the queene of Scots, 379, a 40. Disuadeth the marriage of the lord Darnley with the Scottish queene, 381, a 30. Sanderth to the queene of Scots, 382, a 60. Hir answer to the queene of Scots, 383, b 30.

Queene Annabell deceased, 253, b 60.

Queene Dowager fled with hir sonnes into Ireland, 104, b 60.

Queene Jane of Scots delineated of two sonnes at one birth, 264, a 20. Deceased, 197, a 10.

Queene Margaret dieth for greife, 180, a 10. Hir bones translated, 197, b 50.

Queene Maude deceased, 183, b 10.

Queene mother married, 302, b 60. In armes, 313, a 64. Deceased, 280, a 20. *¶* See Marie.

Queene Regent of Scotland, 302, a 10.

Queene of Scots doubted of hir owne people: note, 305, b 10. Taketh the gouernement into hir hands, 312, a 50. Hir faction overcome, 409, a 60.

Queene, a murderer, hir confession: note, 119, a 20. Giveth hir owne sentence, and executeth hir selfe: note, 50, b 60.

Queene slaine in sted of hir husband, 117, a 30.

Queene of Scots. *¶* See Marie.

Queenes, their meeting appointed betwene them, 379, a 50.

R.

Rache. *¶* See Suspicion.

Rauncie Alexander to renowned, that euerie noble man was glad to haue his sonne and kinsman serue vnder him, 239, b 40. Imprisoned, 60.

Randolph Thomas ambassadoy, 397, b 50. Sent ambassadoy into Scotland, 433, b 10.

Ransome gentle and tollerable, 143, b 10. Of king James, 261, b 40.

Rasie cheefe generall of the Danes in England, 141, a 50.

Raushment, 107, b 60. Renewed, 92, a 10. *¶* See Fleance.

Rebell. *¶* See Gilespie.

Rebels cruell, 186, b 50. Seruere punished: note, 192, b 20. Pursued by the king, apprehended and executed, 150, a 30. Kill a sargent at armes, 168, b 50. Sharpie punished, 229, a 10. In armes against James the third, & kill him, 287, a 10, 20, &c.

Rebellion in Cornwall, 289, b 30. In England of Iacke Straw, 247, a 20. In Wales, 258, a 20. In Kent, 77, a 30. In Galloway, 178, a 50. And Murrie, 60. Of commons that beheaded their king, 53, a 60. Mowed by Donald of the Fles, 257, a 20. Of Gethzed forth to an euill end, 193, b 30. Mowed by the Murrie, 186, b 50. Practised: note, 149, b 10, 20. To how euill an end it setteth: note, 279, a 40, 50, 60. With ill successe, 189, b 20, &c. *¶* See Commotion, Treason.

Regents of Scotland their catalog, 417, a 40.

Regicides, 104, b 50.

Reingraue returneth into France, 349, b 10.

Religion Scottish reproued, 40, a 10. Disputed of, 366, b 10, 375, a 20. Certeine burnt therefore, 321, a 60. Established, 377, b 60.

Religious houses overthrowen in Edenburgh, 367, a 10.

Report. *¶* See Fame.

Request of Haie: note, 156, a 10.

Rentha king of Scots, 38, b 30.

Resigneth the state roiall to his consine Thereus, 39, a 60.

Reuther crowned king, conspired against, fled, pursued, pardoned of life, 37, a 50, &c. b 30. Escapeth danger, passeth into Ireland, is sent for, his drach,

death
Reuther
Rhene
Roch
Richard
uadi
Drepe
all p
seth
Richard
delt
ouer
Rich
Richard
Richm
spot
me,
Right
succ
Riot.
Rioter
nec
Robbe
Robert
com
Robert
Rob
Rob
com
Roge
Ma
Rome
Rome
stro
for
cal
de
Rome
lie
77
Sh
Ca
rou
Sh
ron
rtu
of
58
can
ma
fun
59
Wal
rou
of
ne
Sh
pu
me
fel
ou
the
a
tel
C
ki
fo
20
lou
br
fo
ca
a
th
an
D
P
62
de
all
di
51
an
P
Rom
Rog
Roth
S

Historie of Scotland.

death, 38, a 40, &c. b 10, &c.
 Gouthertale whie so named, 38, b 30
 Whene and the ten now called
 Hochrug, &c. note, 57, b 10
 Richard king of England in-
 uabith Scotland, 248, a 40.
 Deposed, iudged to perpetu-
 all prison, escapeth, deca-
 seth, 253, a 10
 Richard the third would not
 deliuer the castell of Dunbar,
 ouerthowne by the earle of
 Richmond, 286, a 20
 Richard de sancto victor, 182,
 b 50
 Richmondshire redeemed from
 spoile with a summe of mo-
 ney, 223, b 50
 Right ministreth hope of god
 successe, 85, b 10
 Riot, & of Scotland.
 Riotousnes the mother of like-
 ness, 115, a 50
 Robbers punished, 142, b 20
 Robert the sonne of William
 conqueror, 178, a 20
 Robert duke of Fozmandie
 whie he was not king of Je-
 rusalem, 181, a 60
 Robin hoo and little John his
 companion, 202, a 10
 Roges punished, 154, a 20, & of
 Magabonds.
 Rome sacked, 81, a 40
 Romacius saeth means to de-
 stroie his coulns, receiued
 for king, gouerneth tyranni-
 callie, apprehended and put to
 death, 74, b 10, &c.
 Romans following to forward-
 lie the chafe recetue damage,
 77, a 60. Wenaile against the
 Scots, b 60. Withdrow into
 Cantire, &c. 60, a 20. Tho-
 rough pollice vanquish the
 Scots, 49, a 20. Passe tho-
 rough Elidon wood ouer the
 ruer of Bmon, 57, a 50.
 Their ships through want
 of pilots lost in Distant frith
 58, a 20. Withdrow to their
 campe and the Scots to the
 mountains, 58, b 40. In pur-
 suing vnaduisedlie distressed,
 59, a 10. Their last sailer
 round about the north point
 of Tibion, 59, a 40. Determi-
 ned againe to fight with the
 Scots, fierlie assaile them,
 put to flight, require a com-
 munication, submit them-
 selues as vanquished, depart
 out of Gallowaie, giue by all
 their holds and fortresses, 60,
 a 10, &c. b 10, &c. Discomfited,
 59, b 10. Withdrow to
 Culine, send vnto Marins
 king of Britaine for aid, b 60.
 Giue battell to the Britons,
 fortune fauoureth them, 47, a
 20 b 60. The people of Gal-
 lowaie do submit themselves
 vnto them, 48, b 40. Trained
 forth into ambushes and so
 distressed, 50, b 40. Slaue, 52,
 a 50. Put to flight and ouer-
 thowne, 52, b 20. They score
 and ten thousand slaue, 29.
 Ouerthow the Scots and
 Brits, 52, b 60. Put to flight,
 62, a 10. Inuade Scottish boy-
 ders, 61, b 10. Their campe
 assailed in the night by Woa-
 dicie, 54, a 60. Vanquished,
 51, a 10. Slaue, 72, b 50. Flea,
 and slaue, 73, b 40, 50. & of
 Brits and Scots.
 Romero Julianus distressed,
 351, b 30
 Rose called taken, 374, a 20
 Rothlaie a transpomer of the
 Scots, &c. 31, b 20

Rowland in fauour with the
 king of England made lord
 of Gallowaie, 205, b 20, 30.
 Constable of Scotland, 40.
 Roxburgh in old time called
 Markin, 183, b 60. The ca-
 stell taken & broken downe,
 278, b 60
 Russell sir Francis knight
 slaue, 444, a 30. His epitaphs
 444, b 10
 Ruthwen lord repenteth, 383,
 b 30. Commeth to Hawke,
 409, a 60
 Ruthwen william cometh with
 a power to Dyrburge, 409,
 a 10
 Rutland earle goeth into Scot-
 land, 456, b 50. & of Erie.

S.

Sacrell king of Scots see-
 keth to destroe such as
 were in fauour with his pre-
 decessors, conspired against,
 strangled by his owne ser-
 uants, 66, b 10, &c.
 Sadler sir Rafe sent to Scot-
 land, 330, b 50
 Saint Andrews quondam es-
 tablished saint Reule, 134, a 60. His
 crosse, 124, a 60. The Scottish
 mens racione, b 10, 30. The
 castell besieged by the french
 340, b 60. Yeldeb, 340, a 10.
 Saint Colme indued with the
 spirit of secret knowledge, de-
 ceaseth, 110, b 10, 40. His pro-
 phetic of Eugenius, 111, a 50.
 He cometh ouer forth of Ir-
 eland into Scotland, 107, b
 30. Returneth into Ireland,
 108, a 10
 Saint Cuthberts banner, 181,
 a 20
 Saint Germane preacheth to
 the campe, 99, b 60. Leaceth
 their fore ward, beareth the
 kings standard, 100, a 10
 Saint Johns towne besieged,
 231, a 60. Fortified, b 10.
 Wome, 20. & of Brits.
 Saint Phillane, 217, b 60
 Saint Reule cometh into
 Fife, 76, a 40. & of Saint
 Andrews.
 Saluation of an Hillandman,
 197, b 10
 Sanctuaries, 90, b 60
 Saracens lose the citie of A-
 con, 191, b 60
 Saturdai after none to be
 kept holie, 192, b 40
 Saxons incounter with the
 Scots, 96, b 10. Vanquished,
 expelled out of Kent, fle out
 of Britaine, 30, &c. Placed in
 Kent, 95, b 50. English brea-
 kers of promise, 121, b 30. Re-
 lished by the Scots & Brits:
 note, 100, b 20, &c. Miracu-
 louslie discomfited, 100, a 10.
 Chased, made their race to-
 wards York, &c. 101, b 50. In
 hope of god successe begin
 the wars against the Scots
 with blood, 93, a 40. Receiued
 vpon their submission, 103, a
 10. Discomfited & discomfited,
 103, b 10, &c. 104, a 10. Their
 hatred towards the Britissh
 preests, 110, b 60. Conuered
 by bishop Colman, 114, b 40.
 Put to flight, 102, b 60. Van-
 quished, and diuerse idolaters
 of them burned, 98, b 10, &c.
 60. Vanquished by the Bri-
 tons become their tributa-
 ries, 101, b 10. In danger of
 an ouerthow, 95, a 60. First
 inhabited in Lindsey, against

the Scots and Brits, 94, b
 20, 40. A new power cometh
 ouer into Britaine, 94, b 10.
 Their women praised and
 the Britons noted of cowar-
 dice, 93, a 60. Returne into
 England and drine the Bri-
 tons into Wales, 107, a 30.
 & of feare.
 Stone abbey repaired, 182, a 50.
 The abbey burnt, 366, b 60
 Scorpions two found in Scot-
 land, 294, a 10
 Scots daughter to Pharo, 29,
 b 10
 Scot Adam of Tushlaw na-
 med king of the Scots, 317, a 40
 Scot John an Englishman, he
 taught king Iureb, husband of
 his owne scholars, 144, b 50,
 60
 Scot Thomas, 408, b 50
 Scots plagued for their beast-
 lie crueltie, 78, b 30. They and
 Brits pursue the Britons,
 94, a 20. Assembled against
 the Romans, 85, b 10. In-
 uade the Britons, 86, b 10.
 Their carcers furious rage,
 78, a 20. Their king doth se-
 alize to the king of England
 for Scotland, 189, a 60.
 Slaue by the Romans, 77,
 b 60. Their battell ouer-
 thowne, 78, a 10. Indamage
 the Brits, 77, a 40. Repaire
 into Ireland, 79, b 10. Come
 with the Irish, both encon-
 ter the Brits, and are ouer-
 thowne, 30, 40, &c. All not of
 one mind, 53, b 60. Agree to
 fight with the Romans, 54, a
 10. Discomfited, 20. Durst
 not fight with the Romans,
 submit themselves, 54, a 10,
 &c. b 60. Deceined with a
 counterfet troupe of hoys-
 men, fled, 128, a 10. Hon-
 rable receiued of Carolus
 the french king, 123, a 10.
 Rafe the wall of Aircorne,
 87, b 60. They and Brits put
 in feare of the Saxons va-
 liancie, 100, b 20, &c. Put to
 flight, 101, a 10. Line in quiet,
 133, a 10. They and Danes
 toone battell, 138, b 10. Their
 immoderate ioy for victorie
 making them fall out, b 50.
 Consul to elect them a new
 king, 35, a 50. They & Brits
 twentie thousand slaue, 10,
 b 60. Giuen to hunting and
 hawking, 32, a 60. Sake new
 feasts, 30, b 20. Arise in Ire-
 land, 40. When they receiued
 the christian faith, 68, a 10.
 How they came to be so cal-
 led, 29, b 10. Shandislaue with
 against the English: note,
 310, a 60. They and french
 retire ouer the water, they
 burne Glendate, enter into
 England, 311, a 60, b 10, 40.
 Banished out of England,
 308, a 40. A great disorder in
 their campe, 135, a 30. Sub-
 denlie inuaded, 50. Twentie
 thousand slaue, 60. That
 went with Lewis the king
 of France into Egypt, 197, a
 60. They and Brits inuade
 the Britains, 34, a 40. Re-
 nenge iniuries done them,
 32, b 30. Send for aid into
 Ireland, 40. Slaue, 343, a 60.
 Assure themselves vnto the
 English, 344, a 60. They de-
 liuer pledges, 345, b 20. A so-
 reb and yet reuolt, 346, a 30.
 Put to flight, 346, a 60. Their
 crueltie, 349, b 60. They gain
 by spoile, 350, a 30. They in-

uade England, 360, b 60. Re-
 sisted by the erle of Westmer-
 land, 361, a 10. Sake by their
 arme, 361, a 30. Discomfited
 by the erle of Northumber-
 land, 361, a 60. They assaile
 the English at Swinton, 362
 b 60. Their hoysmen fle,
 363, a 10. Footmen slaue, 363,
 a 10. Put to flight at Goxdon,
 363, a 50. Vanquished, 368, a
 50. Repell their enemies at
 Bonull, 412, a 60. Denie
 their furtherance to the writ-
 ting of the annals of Scot-
 land, 414, b 10. Put to flight
 besides Wege, 414, b 30. Dye
 teine victories in the low
 countries, 422, b 30, 435, b 60.
 Inhabite the Ile of Roth-
 laie, and the maine land of
 Scotland, make lawes and
 ordonances, line in peace, 31, b
 20, &c. Discomfited and dis-
 comfited, 75, b 30, 50. Their
 first annotated king, 181, a 50.
 Their ancient spaciouesse of
 diet, 179, a 20. Rob the Britissh
 boyders, discomfited, 71, b 20,
 30. The line of their kings,
 172, b 60. They and Brits
 fight for a greithow, 71, b 10.
 Determine to warre onlie
 with incursions, 127, a 10.
 They and Danes one afraid
 of another, 165, a 20. Adu-
 siber and able to abide hard-
 nesse, their vnquiet nature,
 137, b 10. Short arrows and
 darts as thicke as haile, they
 are put to flight, 139, a 60. E-
 gerlie inuade their enemies,
 141, a 10. Peace concluded
 with them, and lands surren-
 dered vnto them, b 40. Ouer-
 thow the Britons, 142, a 10.
 Their pollice to haue taken
 York, 142, b 10. Their spiced
 cups for the Danes, 170, a
 40. Grant to aid the Britons
 against the Romans, 44, a 10.
 Ouerthowne, deuoure one
 another, 38, a 10, 20, &c. Prof-
 perous successe, 86, b 10. They
 and Brits kill the Romans,
 52, a 20. Their vslage to burne
 dead bodies, 49, a 50. Their
 contribution for a tozie into
 the holie land, 203, a 30. Shew
 themselves too malicious in
 most things which they writ
 in defamacion of K. Edward,
 204, b 10, 20. All bled at the
 french kings hands, 306, a
 60. Reuiled of their owne peo-
 ple, 301, a 60. Inuade the boy-
 ders of England, raise their
 siege, 289, b 40, 50. Inuade
 England, 272, b 50. A great
 slaughter of them, 230, b 60.
 An armie of them sent into
 France, 258, a 60, b 20. Cer-
 taine noble families in Italie
 and Fabyia flying from
 them, 284, a 50. Put to flight,
 slaue and taken prisoners,
 233, a 30. Their writers slan-
 der Edward the third verie
 maliciouslie, 229, a 40. Set
 vpon the Romans, 59, a 10.
 Giue the Romans notable
 discomfures, 59, b 30, 40. As-
 saile the Romans at aduan-
 tage, 59, a 60. They and Brits
 break by their campe, 59, a
 10. Determine to giue bat-
 tell to the Romans, 58, a 40.
 Disaduantaged by reason of
 their vnfit weapons, b 20.
 Slea the Romans in cer-
 taine garrisons, 56, a 20. As-
 semble, 56, a 60. Summoned
 by the Irish, b 60. Their neg-
 ligence

The fourth table for the

uigence, 230, b 30. Forced
 downe a hill, discomfited and
 slaine, 254, b 10. Relieued at
 point to be overcome, 249, b
 40. Wild called Caterans, 252
 a 50. Their maner to carrie a
 horne about their necks in
 battell, and whie, 251, a 10, 20.
 The number of thirtie
 thousand innade England,
 248, a 50. Innade Northum-
 berland, 247, b 40. Redie to
 helpe the french and hinder
 the English, 240, b 10. Pre-
 paration against them both by
 sea and land, 247, b 10. Dis-
 comfited at Falkirke, 210, b
 20. Enter falle to the English-
 men, 145, b 60. They and the
 Danes confedered, 146, a 10.
 Duerthowne, 146, a 40.
 Kepe off the Danes from
 landing, 165, b 30. Their re-
 quest to their king for licence
 to fight, 167, a 20. They win
 the name of victorie, rather
 than victorie it selfe, 167, a 30.
 Though feare are astoni-
 shed, 164, a 40. Disorderlie
 rush out to battell, and put to
 flight by the Danes, 164, b 20
 30. Discomfited by the Eng-
 lish, 329, a 40. Go in processi-
 on for iote, 147, a 40. Staid
 from running awaie: note,
 155, a 60, b 10. Enter further
 into England than they were
 accustomed, 222, a 40. Innade
 England, b 40. whie they
 ble saint Andeows crosse in
 warfare, 124, b 20. Recieve
 peace, 136, a 60. Their wri-
 ters burthen king Edward
 of England with tyranie,
 208, b 60. That were learned
 commanded to be resident in
 Oxford, 212, b 50. Slaine to
 the number of foure thousand
 219, b 60. Write maliciouslie
 of king Edward, and whie,
 206, a 50. Slaine like dogs,
 208, a 20. Deceiued and in-
 trapped, 208, a 10. Withdrew
 to their hoies, 212, a 40. With
 king Richard in the holie
 land, 191, b 30. Restored to
 their countreies, 82, a 60.
 when they got certene seats
 in the Ile of Britaine, b 10.
 Make robes into England,
 183, b 40. Hated of the Pias
 to the death: note, 78, b 10.
 They and Pias would agree
 upon no reasonable condi-
 tions of peace, prepare against
 the Pias, their maner of en-
 tering into the lands of the
 Britains, 88, b 40, &c. Foure
 thousand slaine, 92, b 60. Re-
 new the warre against the
 Romans, 65, a 40. They are
 set upon spoile and wast, 60.
 Made pession of bitels a-
 fozehand, 143, a 10. The
 Wolfe, Crueltie, Heirgust,
 Religion, Romans, Seruili-
 tie, Spaniards, Sweno.
 Scottis king, The King.
 Scottis lord, 123, b 20
 Scotland the whole realme dis-
 comfited, 135, a 60. Subiect
 to diuers gouernours, 68, a
 30. The bounds of the king-
 dome, 134, b 10, when it toke
 the name, 29, b 10. Innaded,
 308, a 40. Instructed in crafts
 and occupations, 39, a 10. In-
 naded, 309, b 60. Parted into
 portions, 34, b 50. Riot and
 superfluous chere brought
 thither, 179, a 10. The armes
 thereof, 123, a 30. Was free
 of the pestilence and plague,

115, a 50. without a king and
 gouernour, 204, a 50. Inter-
 duced, 194, b 60. Innaded, 284,
 b 10. In great disquietnesse
 during the minoztie of king
 James the first, 302, a 50. Dis-
 gangs brought thither, 264, b
 10. Use of baked meats when
 it began, b 60. Manifestlie
 plagued: note, 268, b 60. Go-
 uerned by two rulers, 230, a
 10. In peace and quietnesse,
 291, b 60. The Hostes and
 Hares. Men of occupation
 brought thither to instruct
 the Scots therein, 265, a 20.
 Innaded both by sea & land,
 234, b 50. The north parts
 fore disquieted by two clans,
 252, a 40. Innaded by king
 Richard, 248, a 40. The line
 of the kings thereof, 172, b 60.
 A new act for the succession
 of the crowne, 157, b 40. En-
 tered into by the kings of
 Denmarke and Norweie,
 148, b 20. Innaded by the
 Danes, 163, b 60. Ruled by
 seuen gouernours, 279, a 10.
 Twelve gouernours elected
 to rule it, 209, a 10. King Ed-
 ward his officers chased
 from thence, 211, b 40. Six go-
 uernours chosen to haue the
 rule thereof, 204, a 60. A ciuill
 warres, 156, a 30. More inda-
 maged by domesticall theues
 than by forren enemies, 188, a
 10. Described: note the con-
 tents of the fiftene chapters,
 5, all. The Bishops, Crown,
 Wipatrike, Liberties, Pro-
 bles, Sweno, warres.
 Scrope lord, ambassadoz into
 Scotland, 265, a 50. Ended
 the controuersie betwixt earle
 Whyton and Johnstone, 437
 a 60
 Helbie sir Walter knight be-
 headed by the Scots, 240, b
 60
 Simple lord taken, 400, b 50
 Sencier Oliver goeth with the
 king, 329, a 20. Enuied of the
 lords, 329, a 30
 Sencier bishop of saint An-
 drews goeth into France,
 381, a 10
 Septimus Seuerus, 66, a 60
 Seruice well thought of, and
 sought for yong gentlemen,
 239, b 40
 Seruillie most impudent in-
 truded, &c: note, 90, a 40
 Sellofoz the lard slaine, 313,
 b 60
 Sessions to be kept yearly, 108,
 b 40
 Seton Alexander captaine of
 Berwike, 232, a 50. His
 wines manlie stomach, 232, b
 20. His sonnes executed, 40.
 Slaine, 230, b 10
 Seuerus flieth south toward
 his enemies, cometh into
 York, incountried by his eni-
 mies, 67, a 50, 60. Wintereth
 at York, b 10. Sicknesse, 40.
 Dieth, 50
 Shipwacke, 43, a 10. 235, b 50.
 281, b 60
 Shooting, a decree for the same
 to be bled, 281, b 40
 Sicknesse called scrope gallant,
 294, a 10. The Diet and Ri-
 otousnesse.
 Signes. The Tokens.
 Silures mistaken for Scottis
 men, 54, b 30
 Slward earle of Northumber-
 land, 171, a 30. 175, b 60
 Skirmish at Malidowne hill,
 363, b 20

Skirmishes about Edenburgh
 407, b 10. 411, b 10
 Skringmour a surname: note,
 182, a 40
 Societie, and that without it no
 estate can stand, 90, b 60
 Solvan innadeth the christians,
 203, a 30
 Soldior valiant aduanced for
 seruice. The Hae.
 Soldiors rewarded, 106, b 60.
 The Britons, Bartall,
 Keiths, Spoile, 199, b 60
 Solitarinesse, The Fiactre.
 Soluathius admitted king of
 Scotland, an impotent man,
 119, b 10, &c. Deceaseth, 120,
 a 10
 Somerleid thone of Argile go-
 eth about to make himselfe
 king, 185, b 30. His crueltie
 and flight into Ireland, b 60.
 Returneth into Scotland,
 banquished, hanged, 187, a 10,
 20. Rebellet, his humble
 submission, 197, a 30, 40
 Show a kind of engine so called,
 237, b 66
 Showtherland John heire ap-
 parant to the crown, his deith,
 243, b 60
 Spaniards and Scots become
 one people, 31, a 10
 Spirits, illusions of them, 97, a
 40
 Spoile diuided among soldiors,
 78, a 50. 110, b 30. 155, b 50. 166
 b 10. Of the Britons campe
 diuided, 106, b 20. Of Do-
 glasdale giuen to soldiors, 275
 b 50
 Spoile, the hope thereof incou-
 rageth men of warre, 199, b
 60. Requemed with monie,
 223, b 50
 Stanlie sir Edward knight, his
 valiantnes against the Scots
 301, a 10
 Starre bright appearing in the
 skie, 291, b 20. The Blasing
 starre.
 Stephan the king an blasper,
 183, b 20. His repentance, 183,
 b 60. Passeth into Roxburgh,
 returneth into Kent, 184, a 10
 30
 Stepmothers loue, 50 a 30
 Sterling castell builded, 55, b 20
 besieged, 448, a 40
 Steward Henrie created erle of
 Arghwen, 316, b 20. Lord
 Dornelie cometh into Scot-
 land, 381, a 20. Made earle of
 Ross, 381, a 30. Made duke
 of Albanie, 381, b 10. Procla-
 med king, 381, b 10. Marrieth
 the queene, 381, b 10. Was
 channans verses of him, 434, a
 10
 Steward James surnamed the
 blacke knight banished, 272, a
 30
 Steward James made earle of
 Arrerrie, 379, a 30. Created
 erle of Arrane, 433, b 10. His
 marriage, 449, a 30
 Steward John admitted to
 the crowne, 251, b 60. Disfo-
 ner, put to death, 282, b 50
 Steward Morde gouernour of
 Scotland, repugnant bices
 in him, 259, b 60. 260, a 10, &c.
 Steward Robert created erle
 of Lenex, 422, b 20. Made
 erle of Mar, 425, b 30
 Steward Robert disheirited of
 the crown, 243, b 60. Ordeind
 againe heire apparent, 244, a
 10. Crowned king, 245, a 50
 Steward Walter put in prison,
 262, a 60
 Steward erle of Atholl sent in-
 to the north parts, 358, b 30

Steward lord of Obegnie made
 erle of Lenex, 425, b 20
 Stewards their descent, 168, b
 40. First coming to the
 crowne of Scotland, 245, a
 60. Kings of Scotland neuer
 of full age when they came to
 the crowne, 390, a 60
 Stone hill in Scotland a why
 so named, 196, a 50
 Stowe gallant, 294, a 10
 Strife for the leading of a vent-
 gard, 210, a 60. Betwixt
 Howbrise and Beaumont,
 233, b 40. Godlie & commen-
 dable, 178, b 50. The Con-
 striction.
 Striueling burned, 274, b 50
 The Sterling.
 Submission of gentlemen, 178,
 b 30
 Suetonius innadeth Angie-
 leie, 51, b 60
 Summerlet. The Duke.
 Superintendents & ministers
 how to be elected, 376, a 10
 Surfering the cause of strange
 diseases, 39, b 40. The Riot.
 Surrender made to a yle, 193, a
 30
 Suspicion caused by great pa-
 per, 276, b 60. For murder,
 and the parties racked, 119, a
 20
 Suller and Eller receiue the
 christian faith, 110, b 60.
 The Erie.
 Sweno king of Denmarke
 landed in England, commen-
 ted to the christian faith, 162,
 b 50, 60. His cruell imagina-
 tion, under what conditions
 helicensed the English to
 live in their owne countrie,
 163, a 40, &c. Departeth to in-
 uade the Scots, b 60. De-
 parteth the third time to in-
 uade Scotland, 166, b 60
 Landed in fife, 169, a 60
 His crueltie, 169, b 60. His
 commandement to spare fire
 and sword, 170, a 10. Banqui-
 sheth the Scots, 170, a 10
 Belieged king Duncane, 170
 a 30. He with ten others es-
 caped, 170, a 60
 Swearing of fealtie first be-
 gun, 41, a 40
 T.
 Tale of queene Guainours
 graue, 106, b 40. Of spirits,
 97, a 40, &c.
 Tantallon castell besieged, 316,
 b 40
 Tax yearlie to be leuied, 359, b
 10. Not granted, 359, b 10
 Tempest great, 94, a 10. 200
 phesied, 203, a 60
 Tenths giuen to the clergie,
 124, b 50
 Thaness changed into earles,
 176, a 60
 Tharan king of Pias is slain,
 48, a 10
 Thebes giuen vnto Cathelus,
 29, b 10
 Theefe that bled to kill yong
 persons and to eat them, ex-
 cited: note, 278, b 30. Burnt
 to death, 317, b 20
 Thelargus king of Pias an
 aged man desirous of peace,
 71, b 50
 Therenus king of Scots fled to
 the Britons, 39, a 60, b 10
 Thernes monie succedeth
 Delle, 311, a 10
 Thernes banded and banqui-
 shed, 176, b 60. 177, a 10. Laws
 deuised against them, 191, a
 50. Their crueltie, 181, b 40
 Punished

Historie of Scotland.

Dumfries: note, 228, b 50
Notable notable executed: note, 263, b 60, 264, a 10
Tholouse besieged, 186, a 10
Thongcaill, 94, b 10
Throckmorton Sir Nicholas knight sent into Scotland, 381, a 30
Thunder terrible and inoptail, 180, a 30
Tokens. ¶ See warning.
Trahers invaded westmerland, 73, b 10. Killed by Fincomarke, 40. Returneth into Britaine, banquetheth De-taunus, 74, a 10. By conspira-cie murdered, 30
Traitors that murdered king James the first, most terri-ble executed: note, 267, b 60. In article for them, 285, a 50
Trebellius lieutenant of Bri-taine, given to conuocallie, hated of the Britons, fighteth against his enemies, for-taken of his owne men, cha-ssed out of the field, writeth for aid to Rome, 65, a 10, &c: b 10, &c. Certifieth the emper-our of the state of Britaine, 67, a 30
Treson of conspirators to haue slaine king Alexander, 181, b 60. Tried by combat: note, 180, b 10. Of the thane of Cawder for the which he is condemned, 171, a 20. Of Moritzgerne, 92, a 50. Beten=ded, 76, a 10. Against king Bruce of Scotland, & what illue it had, 220, b 40, 50, &c. Seuerlie executed vpon a woman, 51, a 60. ¶ See Con-spiracie, Euan, and Rebel-lion.
Tribute released, 235, a 30
Truce betwene England and Scotland, 303, a 50, 304, a 40. For certeine yeares, 289, b 60. For one yeare betwene England and Scotland, 312, a 60. For thre moneths be-twene England and Scot-land, 183, b 60. For foureteene yeares betwene England & Scotland, 243, b 40. For thre yeares, 228, b 20, 273, b 20. For fiftene yeares betwene the kings of England and Scotland, 179, b 49. Renew-ed, 313, a 30. ¶ See League and Peace.
Crumbils with others taken by king James the fourth, 294, a 30
Cutdale reconered out of the Englishmens hands, 238, a 10
Culine citie now called Inch-tuthill, 57, a 60
Curkes. ¶ See Dowglas James.
Cwang castell, 94, b 10
Cwinan Loxison his historie: note, 230, a 20
Cyzannie inoptable, 53, a 50, 60

V.

Vagabonds an ordinance for them, 228, b 60. Compel-led to learne an occupation, 149, a 30. Judged to die: note, 154, a 40. ¶ See Roges.
Waldor doctor of the Picts, 111, a 10
Variance, 114, b 60. Betwene king Robert and the erle of March, 253, a 30. ¶ See

Strife.

Venulus the husband of Car-timandua, he reuolteth, 51, a 50, 60
Vernanius lieutenant of Bri-taine, dieth, 51, b 50, 60
Vespasian cometh into Bri-taine, assaileth the Britons in their campe, 47, b 20, 50. Appeareth the rebels, retur-neth to Rome, 49, a 10
Vices. ¶ See with.
Vices following delicate fare, 264, b 50. Repugnant in one man, 259, b 60, 260, a 10, &c.
Victorie doubtfull, 257, a 60. Fured before the battell fought, 217, a 40. In name not in deed gotten by the Scots, 167, a 30. Modestlie bled, 96, b 60. Used with mercie, 143, a 50, 60. Used with gentleness, 102, a 20. With triumphant top, 109, b 20. With crueltie, 132, a 50, 60, 133, b 30
Victories ascribed to Arthur, 105, a 10, 20. ¶ See Procession
Victorine his answer to Sen-thidius request, 64, a 50. Sen-thidius letters to Rome, is sent for to returne, 20, 30. Prepa-reth an armie against the Scots, seeketh to persuade the Picts from talking with the Scots, incampeth nere Camelon with 50000 men, 82, b 60. Inuadeth Gallo-wale, accused unto Honorius, taketh vpon him the name & authoritie of emperor in Bri-taine, 83, b 30, &c. Delivered into Heraclianus his hands, 84, a 10
Villegagnon departed from Leith, 347, a 40
Vision: note, 128, b 60, 129, a 20, Of Edgar, 181, a 20
Visions. ¶ See wonders.
Vniuersitie of saint Andrewes when first began: note, 257, b 20. Of Glasgow founded, 276, b 10. Of Paris and Dania, 123, b 40. ¶ See Priuileges.
Woad a queene desireth aid of hir brother Copzeid, she killeth hir selfe, 52, a 40, b 60. Allem-bled an armie against the Ro-mans, 52, b 40. Imprisoned, 46, a 50. Released, conueied into Wales, 60
Woadicia reneweth wars with the Romans, 54, a 60. Slain, 54, b 20
Woztigers treason, 92, a 50. Doubting the hatred of his people would haue fled out of his realme, 92, b 60. Counsel-led to send for aid into Ger-manie, 93, a 10. With honor to Hengist, 94, a 60. Deposed by his subiects, 99, a 10. Har-rieth Hengists daughter, 95, b 60. Burned, 97, a 30
Woztmer generall of the Bri-tons, 94, b 40. Chosen to go-uerne the Britons, 96, a 10. Useth the victorie modestlie, 96, b 60
Woz kept and performed, 192, a 30. Of Hungar and his sol-diers, 139, a 20. Of king Hualcolme if he might obtene victorie, 178, b 10. ¶ See Ren-neth.
Wspites what kind of people, 57, b 10
Wsurpation. ¶ See Mabbeth, Somerleid, and Stephen.
Wter begat Arthur the great,

99, b 40. Poisoned, 101, a 10. ¶ See Turlius.

W.

Will Roger his words of the duke of Summerfer, 435, a 10
Wallase William beginneth to war famous, 209, a 20. Win-neth castles, &c: 209, a 60. His policie to reueue the people in the time of deth, b 40. Inua-deth Northumberland, 50. His answer to the king of Englands message, 60. En-tred England with an armie of 30000 men, 210, a 20. He is enuied, 40. Raileth a power to resist the king of England, 50. Conference betwene him and Bruce, b 40. Refuseth the offers of king Edward, 212, a 50. Escheweth to agree with the Englishmen, 213, a 20. Is taken, brought to Lon-don, and put to death: note, 214, a 10, 20
Walter the son of Fleance high steward of Scotland, 178, a 60
Wanthop archbishop of Arma-cham, 355, a 50
Warke castell besieged, 361, a 10
Walded, 311, a 50, 60. Wane, 279, a 10
Warre without slaughter and burning, 123, b 60. Continuall in Scotland what calamitie it caused, 237, b 10. Cuill and what mischeues insue, 162, a 10. The frutes thereof, 160, b 50. ¶ See Battell, Commu-tion, and Victorie.
Warning of a yong babe to his mother: note, 137, a 10. Of some great mischance, 300, a 60
Welshmen rebelling against the Romans brought to their for-mer obedience, 64, b 60. Sub-dured by Henric the first, 258, a 40
Welth superfluous occasion of dice, 90, b 10
West doctor ambassador into Scotland, 295, a 60
Westmerland why so named, 52, b 60, 53, a 10. Assigned to the Scottishmen, 73, b 60. It and Cumberland recouered, 146, a 60. It and Kendall by the Scots & Picts spuld, 65, a 60
Wharton Henric, 345, b 60
Whitherne a place of sanctuarie, 186, b 40. ¶ See Candida cala.
Wight Ile rebelleth, 49, a 10
Wiles two in a monster & both contrarie, 146, b 50
Wilford Sir James taken, 349, b 20
William Conqueror threteneth king Hualcolme, 177, b 50. He proclaimed open warres, 60
William Rufus in armes a-gainst the Scots, 179, b 30
William surnamed the Lion crowned, required to do ho-mage, his request, goeth ouer with R. Henric into France, 187, b 50, 60. His zeale of ius-tice, he receiueh a peece of Northumberland, with his right lained to the residue, he inuadeth Cumberland, 188, a 10, &c. Yieldeth himselfe pris-oner, conueied into Rozmandie b 50, 60. Ranfomed, 189, b 10. His gift vnto king Richard,

192, a 60. Did homage to king John, 192, b 50. Surren-dereth to king John the lands of Cumberland, &c. 193, a 30. Deceaseth, 193, b 50
William lieutenant of Cusane 123, a 60. Mabbeth Chyrt his heire, 123, b 20
Willoughbie Sir Hugh, 352, a 10
Wind. ¶ See fire.
Wine sold by weight, 268, a 10. ¶ See Measure and Ale.
Winter long, 139, b 30.
Wiscart George burnt, 339, b 10
Witches consulted withall, and what happened by giuing cre-dit to their words, 69, a 60. In Fozes inquire made for them, found out, their practise against king Duffe, exami-ned, 149, b 30, &c. Confesse and are burnt, 150, a 10. Burnt, &c. 282, b 50, 60. ¶ See Pzo-phetie.
Wobburne lord indicted, 306, a 30
Woldosius earle of Northum-berland and Huntingtong, 182, b 10
Woman abused with a spirit, 97, a 40. Of vnnaturall crueltie 278, b 40. Of a foot stomach, being a queene, 278, b 60. Her manlike stomach: note, 232, b 20. Mhanlie, See Blacke Agnes. Of manlike force and stature, 236, a 40
Women as redie to the battell as men, 62, a 40. Combance to the Picts, 130, a 60. Desi-rons of high estate, 171, a 60. They and children are kept harnelesse, 143, a 60. Set bp-on mischiefe. ¶ See Counsell and Fenella. Waile their friends, 58, b 60. Placed in or-der of battell, 50, a 10. Come with the queene in armour, 52, b 10
Wander of a yong babe giuing warning to his mother, 137, a 10. Strange of a voice, 158, a 10, 20. Of adders, 192, a 50.
Wonders strange: note, 180, a 10: note, 152, a 10, 151, b 60. 170, b 60, 171, a 10. 245, a 10, 20. In dancing: note, 203, b 60
And strange lights, 167, a 60. 59, a 40, 268, a 10, 203, b 20, 50, a 60. Maruellous & vncouth, 137, a 10, 106, b 60, 89, b 40. Rare and notorius, 139, b 20. And visions, 116, b 10. 128, b 60. Terrible, 79, a 40. Most dreadfull, 159, a 20. And prodigious chances, 300, a 60
Woe in the aire, 193, b 50, 60 317, b 40. 190, a 50. 132, b 20. Appearing to the Scottish ar-mie, 53, b 50. Impozt a mea-ning, 146, b 60. Interpreted, 137, a 10, &c. 132, b 40
Wrestling betwene a Rozman and a Scot, 202, b 30
Writers of Scotland their ca-talog, 457, b 20. ¶ See Scots and Scotland.

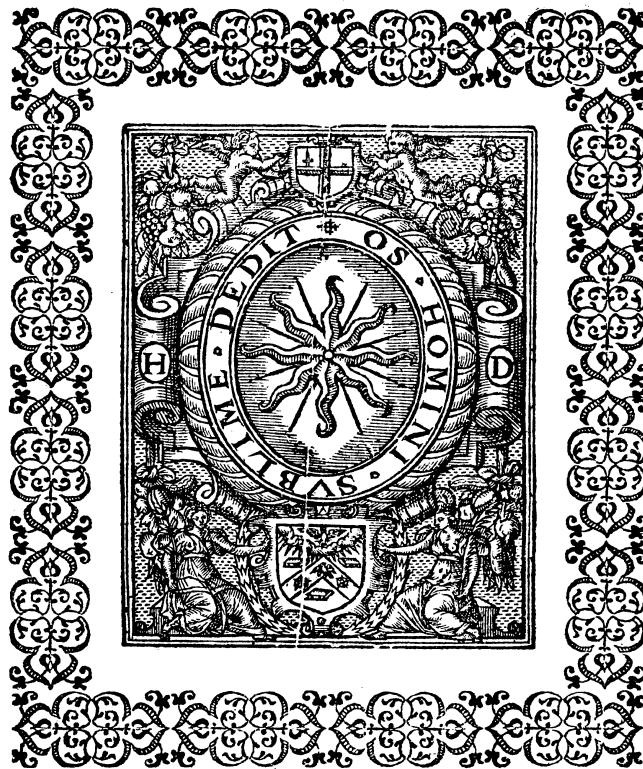
Y.

Yorke peided to Octauius, 73, b 50. Besieged, 101, b 50. ¶ See Scots.
Yorke in possession of Hengist, 96, a 10
Yorkeswold wasted by the Scots, 224, a 60
Youth trained by in hardnesse, 137, a 60. Shoulde eate but one meale a daie, 59

FINIS propositi laus Christo nescia FINIS.



Finished in Ianuarie 1587, and the 29 of the Queenes
Maiesties reigne, with the full continuation of the
former yeares, at the expenses of Iohn Hari-
son, George Bishop, Rafe Newberie,
Henrie Denham, and Tho-
mas Woodcocke.



AT LONDON
*Printed in Aldersgate street at the signe
of the Starre.*

Cum priuilegio.